

**FASHIONING DEATH: THE CHOICE AND REPRESENTATION
OF FEMALE CLOTHING ON ENGLISH MEDIEVAL FUNERAL
MONUMENTS 1250-1450**

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**PAMELA ANNE WALKER
SCHOOL OF ARTS, HISTORIES AND CULTURES**

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Abstract

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Pamela Anne Walker

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This interdisciplinary thesis reassesses the use of funeral monuments for the study of medieval clothing. By using an object-centred quantitative approach, a chronological database of changes depicted on English funeral monuments of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has been developed. The analysis of the clothing represented on the monuments has then been used to inform qualitative analysis which looks at the monument in context. For example, the disjunction between depictions of ‘immoral’ clothing on effigies and brasses and the criticism of this type of clothing has been analysed by using literary sources to show both sides of the contemporary debate on fashionable clothing and its relation to identity .

A further study was done on the depiction of jewellery on monuments which found that perceived notions of jewellery being popular with medieval women did not concur with the evidence from the funeral monuments. Analysis of literary, documentary and archaeological sources showed that visual sources must not be taken at face value to illustrate discussions because they need to be seen in context as a funeral monument with its own function, which is the key argument of the thesis.

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1. Introduction

Material evidence for clothing from the Middle Ages is scarce, although excavations over the past twenty-five years have increased the amount of textiles and clothing-related artefacts available to the dress historian.¹ Generally scholars have to rely more heavily on other sources in order to build up a picture of what the medieval man or woman might have worn. These sources include documentary evidence such as wills and household accounts; literary evidence; and art forms such as monumental effigies, monumental brasses, manuscript illustrations, stained glass, and wall paintings. These sources continue to be used by dress historians and can be valuable pieces of evidence in the study of medieval costume although their limitations have to be addressed.

For this research I focus on the role of funeral monuments as a visual source for the study of clothing in the Middle Ages. The key argument in this thesis is that funeral monuments cannot be drawn on in isolation to illustrate or explain the development of medieval fashion and it is not realistic to separate the source from the costume depicted on it. The clothing on funeral monuments is tied in intrinsically with the medium and the context of production and therefore I suggest the monument cannot be 'undressed' as many clothing historians seem to do. For example, writing in 1986, dress historian Margaret Scott states that she is examining effigies, not as pieces of sculpture but as sources of information on dress.² This is problematic, in that any piece of visual evidence provides certain information but also has its own context and the two cannot be divorced, thus an effigy has to be examined as a piece of sculpture.

¹ See Elizabeth Crowfoot, Frances Pritchard and Kay Staniland, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 4, Textiles and Clothing* c. 1150-c. 1450, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001, 1, for a list of recent works detailing material evidence found in England.

² Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, London: Batsford, 1986, 13.

Therefore, I am using an interdisciplinary approach to show that the medium cannot be studied without placing it in context with recourse to further evidence including literary and documentary sources, archaeological findings, additional visual sources, and by focusing on the political, economic, social and religious attitudes of the contemporary population. Rather than looking at the monuments from a twenty first century perspective, they need to be analysed from the standpoint of the people who commissioned, designed and viewed them. Funeral monuments served a particular purpose and the clothing depicted on them is inextricably linked to this. This view is also taken by Aileen Ribeiro, an art and dress historian, who although not writing about funeral monuments specifically, states that ‘the visual arts are the reflection of human history’ and provide much more information than actual garments or written evidence. She also points out that the study of clothing from art sources needs the scholar to be both a historian and an art historian.³

1.1 Research Outline

My research draws on Roland Barthes’s ideas of ‘real clothing’, ‘image clothing’ and ‘written clothing’,⁴ and a brief discussion of his ideas is useful when considering the advance in scholarship which is being made in relation to the visual and written representation of medieval clothing. Barthes makes the distinction between real clothing, written clothing and image clothing and his main point is that to move from the real or technological structure to the visual and verbal structures, there needs to be a transition. But he says: ‘This transition, as in all structures, can only be discontinuous: the real garment can only be transformed into “representation” by

³ Aileen Ribeiro, ‘Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress’, *Fashion Theory*, Vol. 2, Issue 4, 1998, 315-326, 320, 315.

⁴ Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard, London: University of California Press, 1990, 3-6.

means of certain operators which we might call *shifters*'.⁵ This idea is key to the study of medieval clothing, particularly as there is not much material evidence of 'real' clothing to work with. This has not been taken into account as fully as it should have been and dress historians have tended to equate both image and verbal clothing directly with real clothing, using the former as evidence for what existed, without questioning the idea of these sources being a representation of the real clothing, and without thinking about the disjunctions between the three types and what this may tell us.⁶ In fact Scott states, 'By the use of such material, the reader is given a clear idea of what was worn and how,' and Mary Houston talks of manuscript illustrations giving 'a very complete idea of the varied silhouettes of the centuries and the proper wear for each class and section of society.'⁷

The aim of the research was to produce a chronological description of the clothing shown in art forms from 1100-1450 and preliminary research on the evidence from this period showed that there were a number of areas which could be researched in their own right, both by time period and by medium. I therefore made the decision to concentrate on the depiction of clothing on funeral monuments with the dates for this study being defined by the availability of the evidence. This provides to a certain extent a closed data set, making the research more manageable and focused. Although sculpted effigies and engraved brasses are different mediums, they share a common quality in that they are memorial funeral monuments, and this I suggest allows the

⁵ Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 3-6.

⁶ See for example, C. Willet Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of Mediaeval Costume*, London: Faber, 1952; Herbert Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses*, London: The Tabard Press, 1970; Mary G. Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and France: The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries*, London: Constable and Company, 1996 (first published in 1939); Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, London: B. T. Batsford, 1986.

⁷ Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and France: The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries*, vii.

same theoretical arguments and context to be applied to them. This view is shared by medieval historian Nigel Saul who states that it is vital to reintegrate the study of these two areas as there is no reasoning behind a separate study of each.⁸ This research, therefore, aims to focus on clothing represented on female funeral monuments from c. 1250-c. 1450. The research is divided into two areas, the former feeds into the latter. The first section is a quantitative content analysis of clothing items depicted on the monuments. This is explained in more detail in the chapter on methodology. The purpose of this section of the research is to build up a chronological picture of how image clothing developed over the period under study and what changes can be seen. This is important because, although there are works which look at the development of medieval clothing over time, there is no indication that this has been done systematically, rather that subjective assumptions have been made from the visual evidence. By using content analysis and being as objective as possible with this analysis, the results will be replicable and hence more valid for future research. The results will not, however, show how costume developed over the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but how its representation on funeral monuments developed.

This leads to the second area of the research which is more subjective and qualitative but will be informed by the quantitative section. Returning to Roland Barthes's theory of real clothing, verbal clothing and image clothing as discussed above, the research question being asked is 'What transforms the real clothing from the medieval period into the visual clothing of the funeral monument?' Barthes identifies the structure of real clothing as 'technological' and the structure of image clothing as 'iconic'. He

⁸ Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 8.

suggests that the technological structure of real clothing acts in a language sense as ‘the mother tongue’ with real clothing itself an instance of ‘speech’ and iconic structure as another instance of language, both of which are the result of transformation. The real garment is transformed into ‘representation’, which may be written or visual clothing, but these are not the same as the real clothing, therefore this transformation is ‘discontinuous’. Barthes calls the operators of this transformation ‘shifters’ and cites the sewing pattern as the shifter from the technological garment to the iconic garment.⁹ For Barthes the shifter is a tangible entity but for this research, I take Barthes’s basic ideas and develop and apply the principle to funeral monuments. The first point that I wish to address is that the real and visual clothing are not the same for Barthes and also for clothing in the medieval period under this research. This point is key in my research in relation to furthering the research on medieval dress already undertaken. I intend to show that there is a disjunction between real and visual clothing and that this link or ‘shifter’ to use Barthes’s term is something which has long been ignored by dress historians. The idea of reality and representation is not new and Plato’s views on this can also be applied to the present research. Plato discusses the representation of objects made by painters and states that the image is an apparition and not the truth.

‘The art of representation is therefore a long way removed from truth, and it is able to reproduce everything because it has little grasp of anything, and that little is of a mere phenomenal appearance. For example, a painter can paint a portrait of a shoemaker or a carpenter or any other craftsman without understanding any of their crafts; yet, if he is skilful enough, his portrait of a

⁹ Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 4-6.

carpenter may, at a distance, deceive children or simple people into thinking it is a real carpenter.”¹⁰

I suggest that the medieval sculptor or engraver is in the same position as Plato’s painter and may not know anything of women’s fashion but can deceive the viewer (in this case the modern dress historian) into thinking the clothing depicted is real clothing. I will be questioning how far the contemporary viewer was fooled, or whether they understood a different message from what they were looking at as Saul also questions whether understanding monuments needs an understanding of society first.¹¹

Barthes again makes the distinction between real clothing which ‘is burdened with practical considerations (protection, modesty, adornment)’ and represented clothing, for which these obligations disappear. Represented clothing ‘no longer serves to protect, to cover or to adorn, but at most to signify protection, modesty or adornment.’¹² By investigating the link between real and representation this research will explore the social, political, economic and religious ‘shifters’ which have influenced the choices made to transform real clothing into visual clothing and the messages which this clothing gives about medieval women and society. I will discuss the ideas put forward by Barthes that the purpose of visual clothing is more about signifying than satisfying practical concerns and Plato’s view that representation can be far from the truth, and again serves a different purpose than the reality. The three main chapters using qualitative methods focus on aspects of this link between reality and representation using results from the quantitative analysis. There are three case

¹⁰ Desmond Lee, trans. Plato, *The Republic*, London: Penguin, 1987, Part Ten, Book X, 364.

¹¹ Saul, *Church Monuments*, 10.

¹² Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 8.

studies: firstly looking at the link between modesty in real clothing and modesty in represented clothing and the paradox between what was depicted on funeral monuments and the perceived criticism of these fashions; secondly focusing on the influence of the Black Death from the middle of the fourteenth century on represented clothing on funeral monuments; and thirdly the disjunction between the archaeological, literary and documentary evidence for jewellery and its representation on funeral monuments.

In the next section of this introductory chapter I will look initially at how funeral monuments have been utilised for the study of dress history, focusing on two distinct areas - the use of monuments as a source for dress historians, and the discussion of dress on memorials by art historians and scholars of funeral monuments. I suggest that these two discrete areas of the study of funeral monuments as evidence for medieval clothing have so far have not been brought together to discuss clothing as part of the funeral monument in its historical context. Following this I will highlight areas of the study of medieval and sixteenth century dress where scholars have begun to question the depiction of clothing in art sources and to analyse the costume in more detail, looking beyond the initial information sources such as these can impart. Some of these scholars have started to look at the disjunctions between the representation of clothing and real clothing. These include: dress historian Stella Mary Newton, and art historians Jane Bridgeman and Carla Tilghman, who have re-assessed the representation of costume in European paintings;¹³ Elizabeth Wincott Heckett, a textile archaeologist, who has considered archaic dress on effigies in sixteenth century

¹³ Stella Mary Newton, 'The Study of Costume as an Aid to the Dating of Italian Renaissance Paintings', *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, 1953, Vol. 37, 3-25; Jane Bridgeman, 'The Palermo Triumph of Death', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 117, No. 868, 1975, 480-478; Carla Tilghman, 'Giovanna Cenami's Veil: A Neglected Detail', *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, Vol. 1, 2005, 155-172.

Ireland;¹⁴ and dress historian Kay Staniland who has looked at similar use of old-fashioned clothing on the brass of Sir John Bassett and his wives, c. 1533.¹⁵

1.2 Survey of Literature

Dress historians of medieval clothing who use visual sources can be categorized into three main areas of scholarship – surveys and classification of clothing; contextualising clothing; and more recently, as discussed in the previous section, the re-appraisal of evidence for clothing. Survey literature follows a chronological approach to list and describe the development of clothing using visual and written evidence to illustrate this. Some authors have focused on the medieval period while others have surveyed costume from antiquity until the time of writing. These include Mary Houston, who in 1939 wrote *Medieval Costume in England and France: The Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, a descriptive study of clothing based on art sources such as manuscripts and funeral monuments;¹⁶ C. Willet and Phillis Cunnington, both medical doctors and art historians, who wrote a series of handbooks of costume during the 1950s, including *A Handbook of Mediaeval Costume*;¹⁷ and art historian James Laver with his 1969 work *A Concise History of Costume* which gives an overview of the development of costume from antiquity with one chapter devoted to medieval clothing.¹⁸ All of these authors use visual evidence for their works but they do not address the limitations, or if they do they accept these but seem to ignore them. For example, Houston states that sculptures and brasses ‘give us such an

¹⁴ Elizabeth Wincott Heckett, ‘Tomb Effigies and Archaic Dress in Sixteenth-Century Ireland’, ed. Catherine Richardson, *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, 63-75.

¹⁵ Kay Staniland, ‘Costume of the Wives of Sir John Bassett’ in ‘A Case History’, ed. Fr Jerome Bertram, *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1996, 186-87.

¹⁶ Mary G. Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and France: The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries*, London: Constable and Company, 1996 (first published in 1939).

¹⁷ C. Willet Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of Mediaeval Costume*, London: Faber, 1952.

¹⁸ James Laver, *A Concise History of Costume*, London: Book Club Associates, 1969.

accurate idea of the clothes of their day'¹⁹ and seems to be comparing the visual evidence with 'real' clothing, of which there is hardly any material evidence. She states of the clothing on one of the earliest brasses, that of Margaret Camoys, c. 1310, at Trotton in Sussex,²⁰ that 'This simple dignified costume is altogether typical of the dress of a middle-aged or elderly lady in the first quarter of the century.'²¹ The evidence for the dress of a middle-aged lady at this period is problematic, in that most of the evidence would come from effigies or brasses, and without detailed information on the people represented, it would be difficult to ascertain their age.

Laver describes the clothing on brasses and funeral effigies as being a direct representation of the fashionable clothing worn by women in everyday life, calling brasses the 'fashion plates' of the later Middle Ages. The Cunningtons state that the evidence for their handbook comes from effigies and brasses as well as manuscript illustrations but they do not address any of the limitations of funeral monuments. Like Houston and Laver, they describe what they see on funeral monuments as being representative of real clothing being worn, for example 'gloves, of fine linen, were worn by ladies of high rank to protect their hands from sunburn'.²² This statement is not backed up by any evidence from either the Cunningtons, or from my research. By the 1980s there began to be a change in how art sources were used in the study of costume starting with dress historian Margaret Scott in her work *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*.²³ She accepts the limitations of visual sources and the problems with dating but her work is still very descriptive of

¹⁹Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and France*, vi.

²⁰ See Appendix I, Data 1300-1350, Sussex, for an image of Margaret Camoys.

²¹ Houston, *Medieval Costume in England and France*, 98.

²² Arnold, *Handbook of Mediaeval Costume*, 53.

²³ Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, London: Batsford, 1986.

what can be seen on funeral monuments without putting them into context. However Scott states that dress historians have to rely on visual and literary evidence and of visual evidence says it ‘records how people wished to be seen, perhaps rather more accurately than surviving garments would allow us to guess at.’²⁴ But she does not go any further to differentiate between how people *wished* to be seen and how people *were* seen. Scott’s work, however, does show that historians at this stage have started to realise the importance of evidence in its own right and how it needs to be analysed and assessed in relation to research on costume rather than being taken at face value as a source, which so many earlier authors appear to do. An example is the image of a monumental brass to the merchant John Lethenard and his wife Joanna, which Scott dates to the late 1440s. In the note Scott says: ‘John Lethenard did not die until 1467, about twenty years after the date suggested by the dress.’²⁵ She does not question *why* he is depicted like this and there is much scope for further research into why people are represented wearing certain styles of clothing rather than just what they are wearing.

Some authors do address the problems of evidence for historical clothing and, in particular, dress historian Janet Arnold produced *A Handbook of Costume* in 1973,²⁶ which looks specifically at the sources and evidence available to the costume historian. Arnold only touches on the use of effigies as evidence for dress and states that they show people in contemporary clothing with very rare cases showing earlier dress, so she does not convey the limitations of the evidence to the reader. However, she is much more assured in her discussion of the limitations of brasses and warns of accepting dates on these as the costume could be many years out of date for various

²⁴ Scott, *A Visual History of Costume*, 13.

²⁵ Scott, *A Visual History of Costume*, 84.

²⁶ Janet Arnold, *A Handbook of Costume*, London: Macmillan, 1973.

reasons.²⁷ Dress historians Stella Mary Newton in 1953, and in 1975, Jane Bridgeman, a former student of Newton, focused on costume to date Italian Renaissance paintings.²⁸ Newton used an object-centred Morellian²⁹ approach to classify costume in order to date undated paintings within a margin of five years.³⁰ Jane Bridgeman focused on a particular painting, the fresco of the *Triumph of Death*, now in the Galleria Nazionale della Sicilia, Palermo, and suggested a date from comparing the costume with other dated paintings.³¹ Newton's work has been called pioneering,³² and she stated that all painters during the Italian Renaissance would have been influenced by contemporary costume even if they were painting generalised or imaginative clothing, or archaic styles.³³ Bridgeman also discusses archaism in dress and puts forward ideas of why the women's clothing in the painting appears to be an earlier fashion than the men's.³⁴ However, Newton also states that by studying paintings it can be shown 'exactly what men and women looked like and how often they changed their ideas as to how they should be dressed'.³⁵ This idea is contrary to the argument that I make in this thesis that art forms cannot be seen as merely a mirror of real fashions, which follows the ideas above of the disjunction between real and image clothing. Bridgeman shows awareness of this difference between what is real and what is depicted to some extent in her work, when, for example, she points out that exaggerated styles of clothing were often utilised by

²⁷ Arnold, *A Handbook of Costume*, 46, 77.

²⁸ Stella Mary Newton, 'The Study of Costume as an Aid to the Dating of Italian Renaissance Paintings', *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, 1953, Vol. 37, 3-25. Jane Bridgeman, 'The Palermo Triumph of Death', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 117, No. 868, 1975, 480-484.

²⁹ Jessica Hughes and Phil Perkins, ed. *Approaches*, Milton Keynes: The Open University, 2012, 189-90.

³⁰ Newton, 'The Study of Costume as an Aid to the Dating of Italian Renaissance Paintings', 4.

³¹ Bridgeman, 'The Palermo Triumph of Death', 480.

³² Ribeiro, 'Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress', 316.

³³ Newton, 'The Study of Costume as an Aid to the Dating of Italian Renaissance Paintings', 7.

³⁴ Bridgeman, 'The Palermo Triumph of Death', 484.

³⁵ Newton, 'The Study of Costume as an Aid to the Dating of Italian Renaissance Paintings', 3.

artists to depict foreigners, rather than Italians.³⁶ While innovative in its day, Newton's work could now be seen as of its time, when the study of dress has moved on. Historian John Styles suggests that studies which see as their main objective establishing time lines of fashion or chronologies of changes in clothing, are now unsustainable. Meaning and interpretation are key components in the study of dress.³⁷ Christopher Breward also points out that this 'obsession' with chronological costume change has come under criticism, although it has provided a starting point with dating and styles for dress of early time periods including medieval. He then goes on to list the changes in fashion for the medieval period, but accepts that a wider context is vital as well.³⁸ This is the approach I have taken for this research in that the first part is a detailed analysis of the costume depicted on funeral monuments over the time period being studied. This quantitative content analysis then informs qualitative interdisciplinary work, putting the findings into context. My study addresses the issues raised by a new generation of dress scholars who have highlighted the previous tensions between the object-centred study of dress in museums and the academic study of dress and the negative associations linked to studying clothing.³⁹ Costume curator Alexandra Palmer points out that reliance on quantitative analysis without a wider cultural framework leaves results unapplied and with no context. She also states that dress historians are unwilling to adopt a multidisciplinary approach.⁴⁰ My research addresses this issue by using the analysis of garments, headwear and accessories on funeral monuments to show the changing patterns of clothing and to

³⁶ Bridgeman, 'The Palermo Triumph of Death', 480.

³⁷ John Styles, 'Dress in History: Reflections on a Contested Terrain', *Fashion Theory*, Vol. 2, Issue 4, 1998, 383-390, 387.

³⁸ Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985, 13.

³⁹ Styles, 'Dress in History: Reflections on a Contested Terrain', 383-384; Alexandra Palmer, 'New Directions: Fashion History Studies and Research in North America and England', *Fashion Theory*, Vol. 1, Issue 3, 1997, 297-312, 297.

⁴⁰ Palmer, 'New Directions: Fashion History Studies and Research in North America and England', 299, 302.

identify anomalies, disjunctions and significant features worthy of further study. This qualitative analysis draws on many disciplines to access contextual evidence, including history, art history, language, literature, archaeology and material culture, in order to highlight and explain factors of significance. This approach also follows what dress historian Lou Taylor calls ‘good practice’, referring to artefact-based history.⁴¹ As discussed above, dress historians have generally grouped funeral monuments together with paintings, wall paintings, manuscripts and other visual sources to illustrate their discussions, however I am studying monuments from both an object-centred perspective, describing and cataloguing their features in a database,⁴² but also using an object-driven approach looking at the broader context in which the monuments are located in order to understand the meaning behind them and the choices made about the clothing depicted on them.

There has been a move away from the purely descriptive and illustrative study of medieval dress in the past twenty-five years to more analytical and contextual studies. By the end of the 1990s, problems associated with visual evidence are addressed quite clearly by Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane and they have produced a work, which although it gives a general overview of clothing in Europe of the Middle Ages, looks not just at what people might have worn but is more analytical about the reasons behind the clothes. For example, there is a chapter on identification markers and status.⁴³ Limitations they point out are the dates of art sources such as effigies and how the deceased could be depicted in clothes never worn in real life, the technical constraints which could render colours used not reflecting contemporary reality, and

⁴¹ Lou Taylor, *The Study of Dress History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002, 52.

⁴² See Appendix I: Data and Analysis.

⁴³ Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, London: Yale University Press, 1997, 3.

they suggest that the main objective of a medieval artwork is ‘to illustrate and propagate the precepts of Christianity’.⁴⁴ Other scholars have started to look at disjunctions between the representation of clothing. For example, Carla Tilghman has questioned the depiction of the veil worn by Giovanna Cenami in the painting by Jan van Eyck.⁴⁵ She looks at two aspects of this, firstly whether there is more meaning behind the veil shown rather than it representing contemporary headwear, and also whether the veil could exist in real life. In terms of Barthes’s ideas, she is looking behind the transition to find meaning rather than using the transition as a direct link between the image and reality. Her conclusion is that the veil is more than ten years out of date compared to the date of the painting but that van Eyck has deliberately portrayed this archaic headdress to depict dignity, maturity and ceremony. Tilghman, as well as Stella Mary Newton and Margaret Giza, and Sarah Thursfield,⁴⁶ have all questioned the transition from real clothing to image clothing, in terms of the technological production of what is depicted in art. By trying to recreate the forms of headdresses seen on effigies, brasses and in paintings, they have highlighted the possible pitfalls in assuming an artist has depicted something from real life rather than using artistic licence.

The study of funeral monuments in relation to costume follows a similar path to the way that dress historians have approached it, in that earlier works focus on the funeral monument and simply describe the clothing depicted. Later works do address the limitations of using funeral monuments as a source for medieval clothing and some

⁴⁴ Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 3.

⁴⁵ *Giovanna Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami Betrothal*, 1434, National Gallery, London.
<http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/work?workNumber=ng186>, accessed 29/01/09.

⁴⁶ Stella Mary Newton and Mary M. Giza. ‘Frisled Edges.’ *Textile History* 14, No. 2, 1983, 141-52; Sarah Thursfield, *The Medieval tailor’s assistant: making common garments, 1200-1500*, Carlton Ruth Bean, 2001.

recent scholars have re-assessed the usefulness of these sources.⁴⁷ Apart from Herbert Druitt, who published *A Manual of Costume on Brasses* in 1906,⁴⁸ there has been no real attempt at a study of clothing on funeral monuments, and this is still the case with the most recent scholarship.⁴⁹ Early antiquarian scholars such as Weever, Blore, Boutell, Stothard, Gough, and Hollis and Hollis, who have produced surveys of funeral monuments, rarely mention clothing, although the drawings show what the effigies were wearing. If it is mentioned, as with Blore, it is simply a description of what a particular effigy is wearing with no further comment.⁵⁰

The early twentieth century saw a number of survey works on sculpture, including effigies, and brasses, none of which really addressed the depiction of costume in any great detail. Art historians Edward Prior and Arthur Gardner give a survey of sculpture, which includes funeral effigies, but when they discuss costume it is descriptive and they rely on styles to date monuments, without questioning the problems arising from this.⁵¹ The next major work published on funeral effigies by Fred Crossley – *English Church Monuments* - although published originally in 1921, is more useful for the modern researcher as an introduction to the study of funeral monuments, but again does not analyse dress in any great detail.⁵² In 1972, historian,

⁴⁷ For example Kay Staniland, 'Costume of the Wives of Sir John Bassett' .

⁴⁸ Druit, *A Manual of Clothing on Brasses*.

⁴⁹ Personal communication from Sally Badham (Monumental Brass Society and the Church Monuments Society).

⁵⁰ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*. London, 1631; Richard Gough *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*. London: The Author, 1786-1796; Charles A. Stothard *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*. London: The Author, 1817-1832; Edward Blore, *The Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons*. London: Harding, Lepard & Co, 1826; Thomas & George Hollis *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*. London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1839-1842; Rev Charles Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales*. London: George Bell, 1854.

⁵¹ Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912.

⁵² Fred H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments, A.D. 1150-1550: An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies*, London: Batsford, 1933.

Lawrence Stone wrote a survey work, *Sculpture in Britain: the Middle Ages*,⁵³ which was welcomed by Harry Tummers, founder-member of the Church Monuments Society, for its more ‘modern approach’.⁵⁴ Tummers also praises Stone for being one of the first to point out that it is wrong to take dress and armour as decisive indications of date.⁵⁵ But when Stone discusses clothing on effigies, which is rare, it is, as before, a description of what can be seen, with no analysis or attempt to put it into context. He does, however point out that similar stylised brasses were produced over a period of twenty five years, so is aware of the problems of using clothing to date monuments.⁵⁶ Tummers, although only allocating one chapter to costume and just six pages to the costume on effigies of females, follows up Stone’s views on the dating of monuments. He suggests that in the thirteenth century changes in clothing on funeral monuments were gradual and funerary art was more conventional so care must be taken when using costume to date monuments. His short section on female costume gives descriptions of dress.⁵⁷

Works on brasses have followed a similar path to those on effigies, in that the earlier works are mainly surveys of the brasses in the country or a particular area and they include descriptions of the costume shown on specific examples, or as a chronological change in styles.⁵⁸ From the literature on brasses surveyed, there are three stages of scholarship which include works from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a revision and addition to these in the 1960s and then more recent scholars

⁵³ Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.

⁵⁴ Tummers, H. A. *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 1980, 11.

⁵⁵ Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century*, 18.

⁵⁶ Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 179.

⁵⁷ Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England*, 53-59.

⁵⁸ See for example, Herbert W. Macklin, *Monumental Brasses*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960; Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*. London: Headley Brothers, 1926; Julian Franklyn, *Brasses*. London: Arco Publications, 1969.

working in the late twentieth century up to the present day. Seventeenth and eighteenth century works such as those by Weever and Gough, as discussed above, are supplemented by a number of late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century works, which mirror the work done previously in that they are surveys of brasses, listed chronologically or regionally, usually well illustrated, but with general descriptions of clothing and no analysis. These include Herbert Macklin's *Monumental Brasses*, first published in 1890, but with many subsequent editions. It has a descriptive chapter on brasses to females but is aimed at the amateur brass rubber.⁵⁹ Survey works include Suffling's *English Church Brasses from the thirteenth to the 17th Century*, published in 1910; and Mill Stephenson's *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*, published in 1926; and Muriel Clayton's *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs*, from the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection, published in 1915.⁶⁰ All of these works were republished in the early second half of the twentieth century – Macklin in 1960, Suffling in 1970, Stephenson in 1964 and Clayton in 1929 and 1968. But there was also new wave of literature focusing on monumental brasses including heraldry expert Julian Franklyn's *Brasses*, an introductory book aimed at the general reader, originally published in 1964 and republished in 1969.⁶¹ However, clothing was not a major focus for these authors and even Druitt's 1906 work, which was republished in 1970, looking specifically at costume on brasses does not address any contextual issues either, and is purely descriptive. Henry Trivick, a painter and lithographer, published *The Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses* in 1969, which concentrated on producing

⁵⁹ Herbert W. Macklin, *Monumental Brasses*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960.

⁶⁰ E. R. Suffling, *English Church Brasses from the thirteenth to the 17th century*, London: Upcott Gill, 1910. Bath, 1970; Mill Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles*. London: Headley Brothers, 1926; Muriel Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1968.

⁶¹ Julian Franklyn, *Brasses*. London: Arco Publications, 1969.

illustrations rather than a detailed discussion of brasses. Trivick admits it is only an introductory work which does not enlarge on previous works but aims to show how to appreciate monuments as works of art.⁶² There appeared to be no development in the scholarship in regards to costume with Trivick in his two and half pages on women's fashion stating that brasses showed females in their everyday clothes. He also suggested that as a funeral monument, people would consider it 'bad taste to have themselves represented in all their finery'.⁶³ This type of sweeping statement, which is incorrect as I demonstrate in the following chapters, does nothing to advance the scholarship on the study of dress on funeral monuments.

1.3 New Scholarship

However, as with the study of medieval dress, there has been an advance in scholarship recently, in that authors have started to look in more depth at the social and cultural contexts of funeral monuments. The publication of *Early Secular Effigies* by Tummers was a major turning point in the study of effigies and the main criticism is that it only covers the early period of this type of funeral monument. He takes a much more analytical approach to the study of effigies, looks at the social status of the people commemorated and questions the use of costume for dating.⁶⁴ Other scholars have also begun to move away from the simply descriptive and have started to re-assess and analyse monuments from different perspectives to the purely art, art historical or archaeological. There has been a resurgence in the study of monumental brasses with scholars such as Sally Badham, Nigel Saul, Paul Binski, Jerome Bertram,

⁶² Henry Trivick, *The Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses*. London: John Baker, 1969.

⁶³ Trivick, *The Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses*, 61.

⁶⁴ Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century*, 18.

William Lack, John Coales, and Malcolm Norris publishing relevant works.⁶⁵ For example, art historian Binski states that it is now accepted that brasses should be classified by engraving styles rather than by periods, or fashions of dress and armour.⁶⁶ This has implications for clothing in that a brass style could cover decades with the clothing looking the same over this period. Other areas which are being focused on as well as stylistic include heraldry, livery badges and inscriptions and what these can tell about the self-image of the commemorated.⁶⁷ These ideas are discussed in a recent book which appears to be a turning point in the study of brasses the aim of which was “to call on as wide as possible a range of the [Monumental Brass] Society’s members, each to contribute on different aspects of brasses to show how the study has developed since 1945, adopting a very different approach from the traditional ‘manual of monumental brasses’.”⁶⁸ In particular, Kay Staniland, a dress historian writes on costume generally on brasses but does not simply describe it, rather she points out the problems of accepting the depictions at face value. However, although Staniland also contributes to a case history of a particular brass to John Bassett and his two wives,⁶⁹ she only touches on some interesting aspects of fashionable costume depicted together with almost out of date costume. This is disappointing but opens up the idea of clothing not necessarily reflecting the dress of the period for much more detailed study and re-assessment. This is something that I address in this research.

⁶⁵ See for example Sally Badham, ‘Thomas Adynot and His Brass at Northleach, Gloucester’ *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 2006, XVII, 4, 347-353; Nigel Saul, ‘Bold as Brass: Secular Display in English Medieval Brasses’, Peter Coss and Maurice Keen, eds. *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002.

⁶⁶ Paul Binski, ‘The Stylistic Sequence of London Figure Brasses’, John Coales, ed. *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350*. London: Monumental Brass Society, 1987, 69.

⁶⁷ Bertram, Fr Jerome, ed. *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing/The Monumental Brass Society, 1996, xx.

⁶⁸ Bertram, *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*. 1.

⁶⁹ Staniland, ‘Costume of the Wives of Sir John Bassett’, 186-187.

Medieval historian Nigel Saul's 2009 work on church monuments looks at the representation on funeral monuments and their function in their social, political and cultural context but unfortunately as is the case with recent works, which are moving much further forward in their analysis of the sources, he does not address costume as significant for the function of a funeral monument.⁷⁰ One original piece of work which re-assesses clothing on monuments is Elizabeth Wincott Heckett's 'Tomb Effigies and Archaic Dress in Sixteenth-Century Ireland', in which she discusses what message an Irish earl and countess were trying to give out on their funeral monument by being depicted in archaic dress from at least one hundred years earlier. Heckett focuses on context such as the political situation in Ireland and compares the effigies to others of the same date. This is the only work that I have been able to locate which seriously questions the depiction of costume on monuments and tries to analyse the meaning behind it in terms of outside influence rather than it being seen as a mirror of fashionable dress at the time.

Although there has been clear development in the study of medieval clothing, there are still gaps which need addressing. The study of the sources and the study of the clothing represented need to be brought together. Scholars of funeral monuments do not address clothing in any great detail, still being mainly descriptive, although they analyse many other aspects of the monuments.⁷¹ Dress historians use funeral monuments as evidence but do not look further at these in their own right in relation to the clothing in context. There is a need to bring together scholarship on medieval

⁷⁰ Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

⁷¹ For example, Brian and Moira Gittos, "Motivation and Choice: The Selection of Medieval Secular Effigies", in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen, eds. *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002.

dress and scholarship on funeral monuments, both brasses and effigies, to study the representation of clothing on funeral monuments as sources in their own right. These need to be researched in very different ways to other visual sources for medieval clothing, something which I suggest has not been appreciated by previous scholars in both areas. Therefore, the work that I have done on English monuments is breaking new ground in the analysis of costume depiction by being one of the only studies to address the monument in context and to question the choices behind the representations of dress.

2. Methodology

2.1 Funeral Monuments as Sources

The evidence being used in this study of medieval clothing is funeral monuments, which have been chosen as distinct artefacts for an object-based enquiry followed by a qualitative discussion of meanings behind choices of clothing depicted. Visual sources for English medieval clothing also include sculpture, manuscripts, wall paintings and stained glass. These all have separate functions as well as illustrating costume and it is because of the inherent differences in the type of object that funeral monuments were singled out rather than looking at a wider selection of visual sources. However, some of these sources provide secondary evidence together with archaeological, documentary and literary sources. This chapter looks at the initial choice of data and some of the issues surrounding this.

Research into sculpture rather than funeral monuments as a separate medium across the initial period to be studied showed that there are very different styles of sculpture between 1100 and 1450, which function in different ways to show clothing. During the Romanesque period, from approximately 1066 to the early thirteenth century, sculpture was very much part of the architecture of the time and figure sculpture depicted imagery rather than nature or reality.⁷² Preliminary research into the sculpture of this period was undertaken by drawing on the electronic *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*.⁷³ The majority of figure sculpture depicts Biblical scenes and saints, and the clothing is very stylised, heavily influenced

⁷² For more information on the Romanesque period see George Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066-1140*, London: Alec Tiranti, 1951; Ben Heywood, *Romanesque Stone Sculpture from Medieval England*, Leeds: Henry Moore Sculpture Trust, 1993; George Zarnecki, Janet Holt, Tristram Holland, *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200*, London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1984.

⁷³ <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/index.html>, accessed 2008.

by late Anglo-Saxon manuscript illustrations.⁷⁴ Classical-style drapery is depicted in manuscripts and in sculpture and without material evidence it is impossible to know whether this was a reflection of earlier styles or reflected contemporary clothing. The dates of the architectural, sculptural and art styles in the medieval period are fluid and some scholars prefer not to use the terms such as Romanesque and Gothic to describe changes in design.⁷⁵ However, for those that do, the Gothic style is stated to begin after the Romanesque from the mid to late twelfth century, well into the 17th century.⁷⁶ It was a gradual transition and there were regional differences in the execution of Gothic-styles.⁷⁷ Images of clothing, however began to move away from the abstract flowing draperies, which appeared to reflect classical antiquity with their nested v-folds rather than anything being worn contemporarily.⁷⁸ There was a move towards what Paul Williamson calls 'believable garments'.⁷⁹ Although sculpted figures were still generally of saints, Biblical characters or allegorical, there were references to contemporary clothing which can be connected to manuscript illustrations and literary evidence. For example, at Brayton Church near Selby in Yorkshire, there is a sculpture of a woman with such long sleeves that they are knotted to keep them off the ground.⁸⁰ This can be compared with an image of the devil in the mid-twelfth century Psalter of Henry of Blois, *British Library, MS Cotton Nero C. IV*, in which he is depicted wearing long flowing sleeves and a train all of which are knotted to try to keep them from trailing on the ground. Jennifer Harris

⁷⁴ Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth: Pelican History of Art, 1972.

⁷⁵ Veronica Sekules, *Medieval Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 2.

⁷⁶ Patricia Dirsztay, *Church Furnishings: A NADFAS Guide*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978, 4.

⁷⁷ See Stone, *Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages*, for an account of the changing styles and their influences.

⁷⁸ Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Art*, 12.

⁷⁹ Paul Williamson, 'Sculpture', in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, ed. *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987, 98-106, 99.

⁸⁰ Stone, *Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 80.

suggests that manuscript images of this period like the devil in the Blois Psalter can reflect contemporary dress⁸¹ and there is scope for research into the use of contemporary fashions in manuscript illustrations and in sculpture depicting biblical and allegorical scenes from the twelfth century. The choice of clothing clearly is significant and the artist or sculptor is likely to be trying to give a message about some aspect of contemporary life by doing this.

However the difficulty for my research became apparent when looking at art forms depicting costume for the later dates. There is a change in style of sculpture and architecture in the mid-thirteenth century which also included the establishment of effigial funeral monuments.⁸² These were followed by the introduction of monumental brasses as memorials in the late-thirteenth century.⁸³ Funeral monuments serve a very different purpose to architectural sculpture, stained glass and manuscript illustrations and I suggest therefore that the clothing depicted on them has different motivations underpinning the choices made. I agree with Nigel Saul who states that including effigies in a general study of sculpture is acceptable if using an art historical approach, but if concentrating on the social and cultural significance then it is more appropriate to look at funeral monuments together.⁸⁴ The next section focuses on effigies and brasses as evidence for study and the challenges of using medieval funeral monuments for research.

⁸¹ Jennifer Harris, “‘Thieves, Harlots and Stinking Goats’: Fashionable Dress and Aesthetic Attitudes in Romanesque Art”, *Costume*, 1987, 12, 4-15.

⁸² Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, Cambridge: The University Press, 1912, 1.

⁸³ Nicholas Rogers, ‘English Episcopal Monuments’, in John Coales, ed. *The Earliest English Brasses*, London: Monumental Brass Society, 1987.

⁸⁴ Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation*, 5.

A three-dimensional, usually life-sized recumbent representation of a fully-clothed human body could be seen as an ideal source for the study of medieval costume. There is no doubting the importance of the study of tomb monuments and their contribution to our and our ancestors' knowledge of the medieval period.⁸⁵ However, these sculpted effigies which began to appear in England from the twelfth century⁸⁶ need to be approached with caution and their limitations addressed before their usefulness can be recognised.

This research is looking at women's clothing on tomb monuments which immediately limits the availability of evidence as the earlier monuments are usually ecclesiastical or of knights in armour.⁸⁷ Funeral monuments depict both males and females and people from different professions or classes including ecclesiastical, military, legal, merchants, and civilians, and therefore show a range of clothing dependant on the wearer. As with the different types of sculpture discussed above warranting specific research in relation to the manufacture, artist, date, and representation of clothing, I suggest that the distinct genres of funeral monument necessitate separate study. So far, however there has been little focus on clothing or apparel on funeral monuments in their own right. By this I mean that the study of funeral monuments as evidence for medieval clothing can be divided into two types of literature – scholars of brasses and sculpture who include reference to clothing on these and dress historians who use funeral monuments as evidence for their work.⁸⁸ Within the former, apart from possibly only Herbert Druitt, who devoted a whole work to costume on brasses, scholars have tended to focus on a specific genre and to describe, for example, armour

⁸⁵ Phillip Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: Medieval Monuments in Early Modern England*, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007, 1-2.

⁸⁶ Prior and Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 69.

⁸⁷ Coales, *The Earliest English Brasses*, i.

⁸⁸ See Chapter 1: Introduction for a review of this literature.

or ecclesiastical costume.⁸⁹ Druitt himself divided his work into ecclesiastical, academical, military, legal, male civilian and female civilian.⁹⁰ There is no one work, at present which looks at female costume on funeral monuments, apart from articles focusing on individual monuments in which the clothing is either described as an aside or analysed in relation to a specific context.⁹¹ The primary evidence for this research, therefore is English funeral monuments of females from 1250-1450. The study of funeral monuments and the clothing depicted on them has its own specific limitations and these are discussed below as sample size, medium and dating.

2.2 Evidence: Sample Size, Dating and Identification

Sample Size

Although according to historians of sculpture, there are almost 2,000 surviving effigies in England and Wales from the period 1100-1550,⁹² and nearly 350 alabaster tombs from the later Gothic period of c.1350-1550,⁹³ it cannot be known if these are a true reflection of the number of tomb effigies produced in this period. These numbers

⁸⁹ See Bertram, *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* for genres.

⁹⁰ Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses*. see also, for example, M. E. Bagnell-Oakley, 'The Dress of Civilians in the Middle Ages from Monumental Effigies', *Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 18, 1893-4, 252-70; E. T. Beaumont, *Academic Costume Illustrated by Ancient Monumental Brasses*, London: Privately Printed, 1928; E. Browne, 'Ecclesiastical Head Dress', *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, (1895), 155; L. Edwards, 'The professional costume of lawyers illustrated chiefly by monumental brasses', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. 40 (1934), 135-54; R. A. Raven, 'Brasses of Ecclesiastics in the Fourteenth Century', *Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society*. 2, 1900, 116-35.

⁹¹ See for example, Loveday Gee, 'Fourteenth-Century Tombs for Women in Herefordshire', in David Whitehead, ed. *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, Leeds: The British Archaeological Association, 1995, where the position of the drapery over the tomb is discussed; Kay Staniland, 'Costume of the Wives of Sir John Bassett: A Case History', 186-187; Elizabeth Wincott Heckett, 'Tomb Effigies and Archaic Dress in Sixteenth Century Ireland', 64-75, the latter two looking at brasses or effigies in the sixteenth century.

⁹² Prior and Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England*, 69.

⁹³ The dates for the Gothic Period have been taken from Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 178, (1350-1540); and Edward Prior and Arthur Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, 679, (1360-1550)

may seem fairly substantial but these extant monuments could be just a small sample of what was there originally or they may still be present in large enough numbers to give a significant indicator of medieval funeral effigies and thus are reliable as a source for costume. Evidence tells us that there were more monuments in place during the Middle Ages and that some of these were destroyed during the Reformation and the English Civil War.⁹⁴ In 1631, Weever, writing just before the Civil War, attempted to list and survey all the monuments which had not been defaced and was critical and damning of the damage done during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth.⁹⁵ It is difficult to know the extent of the damage and scholars still disagree on the amount of monuments which may have existed. In comparison to the loss or destruction of similar monuments in other European countries, there are more extant in England.⁹⁶ Although the iconoclasts destroyed tomb monuments they did not destroy as many as the revolutionists did,⁹⁷ and Stone suggests that the nobility never lost the ability to protect their ancestors' memorials, although he also states that more than 90 per cent of medieval religious imagery has been destroyed.⁹⁸ The survival rate in towns is lower than in country churches but Saul suggests that the corpus is still 'of some size'.⁹⁹ The problem with a higher survival rate in the countryside is whether country gentry and urban gentry would be wearing clothing of a similar style and whether evidence would be skewed towards a less 'fashionable'¹⁰⁰ style of clothing. Without

⁹⁴ Phillip Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, 1.

⁹⁵ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, London, 1631, 197.

⁹⁶ Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, The Low Countries and England*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, 8.

⁹⁷ Harry Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century*, Leiden: Brill, 1980, 2.

⁹⁸ Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*. Edited by Nikolaus Pevsner, The Pelican History of Art. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1972, 2-3.

⁹⁹ Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 2.

¹⁰⁰ The definition of fashionable in this case is taken from the Oxford English Dictionary Online at http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50082539?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=fashionable&first=1&max_to_show=10, accessed 25/6/2009.

the comparison of urban and rural monuments to see if there is a time lag with styles of clothing, this cannot be asserted. More recent research has begun to question the amount of damage done to funeral monuments during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Art historian, Phillip Lindley argues that the attacks and destruction of tomb monuments under Edward VI and Elizabeth I, together with those during the Civil War were more serious than previously thought.¹⁰¹ The majority of wall recess tombs in the country do not now contain effigies, so whether the recesses were always empty or the effigies these have ended up in different locations or have been destroyed cannot be known.¹⁰²

It was not just these periods when monuments were damaged as there is evidence that effigies and brasses were displaced, destroyed or re-used pre-Reformation. Earlier tombs, and especially incised slabs, were often recycled and by the fifteenth century many churches would have been packed with monuments, so older ones would have been moved to make way for new ones.¹⁰³ This means that the extant monuments are more likely to be from the later medieval period and this is backed up from the evidence collected for this research with 29 per cent of monuments dating from c.1250-c.1350 but 71 per cent dating from c.1351-c.1450. But it is impossible to say whether there were similar numbers consistently across the period without knowing what existed originally. There were more monuments produced and placed in churches than are extant today and there are a number of reasons why monuments no longer exist or are damaged, but it is possible to fill in the gaps to some extent. There

4. a. Of persons: Observant of or following *the fashion*; dressing or behaving in conformity with the standard of elegance current in upper-class society.

¹⁰¹ Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, 4, also for a full discussion of the effects of the Reformation and the Civil War on tomb monuments in England.

¹⁰² Gee, 'Fourteenth Century Tombs for Women in Herefordshire', 132.

¹⁰³ Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 56.

are works by antiquarian authors such as Weever, Gough, Stothard, Blore, Thomas and George Hollis, and Boutell,¹⁰⁴ which contain valuable information and images of monuments which may no longer be available to see or may have been damaged in the intervening years. Medieval wills refer to funeral monuments which no longer exist such as that of Lady Isabella Despenser, Countess of Warwick, whose 1439 will requests that she be buried in Tewkesbury Abbey with a marble tomb and her effigy to portray her naked and to be a similar size and design to presumably another tomb made by Thomas Porchalyn.¹⁰⁵ There are no traces of a tomb but the Warwick chantry chapel which she commissioned in 1422 is still there and her grave has been identified nearby.¹⁰⁶ With no remains of the tomb, it is difficult to say whether it was ever built, or whether it was destroyed or moved, so although wills may give information on requests, they may be misleading in regard to actual tombs. John Coales, editor of *The Earliest English Brasses* also points out that in regard to brasses what we have left may not be a true representation and what now seems to be ‘unique or innovatory’ may not have been at the time.¹⁰⁷ Although we have to accept that there are fewer monuments available for study than there were originally, research on the extant monuments is still valid as if the numbers are reasonable for different date periods and geographic areas then they can still give us a representative sample of those that did exist.

¹⁰⁴ John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*. London, 1631; Richard Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*. London: The Author, 1786-1796; Charles A. Stothard *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*. London: The Author, 1817-1832; Edward Blore *The Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons*. London: Harding, Lepard & Co, 1826; Thomas & George Hollis, *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*. London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1839-1842; Rev Charles Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales*. London: George Bell, 1854.

¹⁰⁵ From ed. F. J. Furnivall, *Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London : A. D. 1387-1439 online at the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;idno=EEWills;rgn=div1;view=text;cc=cme;node=EEWills%3A53> accessed 28/01/10.

¹⁰⁶ G. H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, London, Phoenix House, 1963, 172-3.

¹⁰⁷ Coales, *The Earliest English Brasses*, 38.

Dating and Identifying

The first examples of effigies featuring women appear in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, with c. 1243 being the earliest female effigy in the evidence for this research.¹⁰⁸ Brasses first appeared in the early thirteenth century.¹⁰⁹ The context of a monument is important when using them as sources but identification and specific dating can be problematic. The majority of effigial tombs do not have inscriptions or dates on them so it can be mainly guesswork as to who and when they are commemorating.¹¹⁰ There are indications of who they are commemorating from families associated with the parish church or from heraldry with coats of arms but these can still be misleading, as in the case of the tomb of Sir William Gascoigne and his wife at All Saints Church, Harewood, Yorkshire. The tomb, of c. 1487, had previously been ascribed to John Neville of Oversley as it displayed the Neville coat of arms.¹¹¹ These visual clues have to be able to be confirmed from documentary evidence.¹¹² Tombs and brasses could be commissioned at any time during the subjects' lives or on the death of either the wife or husband, or both,¹¹³ or even by a relative or executor much later, such as Sir Arnold Savage, who in his 1420 will left 20 marks for a brass of his parents.¹¹⁴

Brasses are more likely to have information on them but the early ones may have had the deceased's name and a request for prayers for their soul but no date of death. Later brasses of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries usually had a name and

¹⁰⁸ Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England*, 50.

¹⁰⁹ Coales, *The Earliest English Brasses*, 38.

¹¹⁰ Prior and Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture*, 547; Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England*, 8.

¹¹¹ Pauline Routh and Richard Knowles, 'The Medieval Monuments', *All Saints Church Harewood, West Yorkshire*, London: The Churches Conservation Trust, 2004, 10.

¹¹² Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 11.

¹¹³ Scott, *A Visual History of Costume*, 13.

¹¹⁴ Extracts from the will of Sir Arnold Savage the Son, as part of *Multiple Meanings of Remembrance*, unpublished conference paper by Nigel Saul, Harlaxton Medieval Symposium, July 2008.

date of death, with an inscription such as ‘Here lies.....may God have mercy on their soul.’¹¹⁵ Father Jerome Bertram, writing on how to interpret brasses in the 1996 work, *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, suggests that brasses are meaningless without inscriptions that indicate who are commemorated, what sort of people they were, and when they lived.¹¹⁶ This is not necessarily a limitation that cannot be overcome. The location and cost of tombs and the status of those depicted who are identifiable indicates that monuments were commissioned by the well-off. Some idea of the cost of an alabaster tomb can be determined by a comparison to a tomb where the cost of production is known. A contract from the Chellaston workshop of Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton exists for the tomb of Ralph Greene and his wife in Lowick, Northants.¹¹⁷ The tomb was commissioned in 1419 and cost £40,¹¹⁸ which is the equivalent of £18,000 today.¹¹⁹ The evidence, therefore from tombs is going to give information on the nobility rather than the ordinary person living in the medieval period.

For this research the investigation of every monument to try to check dates and be as accurate as possible would be extremely time consuming, therefore a decision was made to accept as far as possible the dating ascribed to monuments by previous authors, researchers, antiquarians, and information from individual churches.

However, for the initial analysis, to categorise the data, date ranges have been used and the dates that have been given by previous scholars have to be accepted to some

¹¹⁵ Jerome Bertram, “How to Interpret Brasses: The Inscriptions of Brasses”, in Jerome Bertram, ed. *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1996, 65-68.

¹¹⁶ Bertram, “How to Interpret Brasses: The Inscriptions of Brasses”, 65.

¹¹⁷ Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk, eds. *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the Long Fourteenth Century*, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010, 217-224.

¹¹⁸ Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, 179.

¹¹⁹ <http://www.measuringworth.com/ppoweruk/>, Institute for the Measurement of Worth, 2008. Accessed 28/07/08.

extent. This research is not necessarily about re-dating. If something appears not to fit with the date range given then it will be questioned in context of other areas rather than just re-dated. This is discussed more fully in the chapter on methodology and data analysis.

Medium

Even though sculpture is three-dimensional, carving still cannot replicate the texture and draping of cloth, although this can be better represented than with a brass. There are attempts to demonstrate texture and pattern on effigies and brasses, but a criss-cross pattern which the modern viewer may surmise to represent fur, may not necessarily be this and is down to guesswork,¹²⁰ although comparison with other art forms can strengthen the argument. Many of the earlier effigies, from the thirteenth century have been badly worn so provide no detailed information on clothing such as accessories. This is a different problem to those effigies which have been damaged, as often there are no hands on effigies but the rest of the sculpture is still fairly detailed in relation to accessories and trimmings. Many tombs and effigies would have been painted or gilded when they were originally made,¹²¹ and fragments of paint which are still present on some effigies show that colours such as red, green blue, ochre and gold were used.¹²² But the majority of extant tombs do not have traces of colour and it is difficult to imagine what they may have looked like. Again, the antiquarian drawings can be helpful with this and there is an example at Farleigh Hungerford of a drawing showing the effigies as painted.¹²³

¹²⁰ Arnold, *A Handbook of Costume*, 76.

¹²¹ Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 3; Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, 37-41.

¹²² Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, 37.

¹²³ See Appendix, Images: Sculpture/fourteenth Century/Wiltshire/Lady Joanna Hungerford/ - image numbers 2632-2650.

While it is obvious that there are limitations in using the evidence available and it is difficult to ascertain how representative what is extant is in relation to the amount of monuments which would have been present in the medieval period, there is still ample evidence which is useful for the study of represented clothing. The next chapter discusses the methodology in more detail and the collection, analysis and interpretation of the data used for this research.

2.3 Data Collection

Initial research indicated that there were many extant medieval funeral monuments in England and images of these are available on websites, in books and in archives.¹²⁴

The quality of these images is variable¹²⁵ and it was felt at this point that trying to analyse three-dimensional sources from two-dimensional images would not make for quality research. Images of two-dimensional brasses would present fewer problems, but details could still be missed if the original brass was not inspected closely.

Although initially the aim was to collect data from across the whole of England, it soon became apparent that this would not be possible in the time available. This then posed the question of how representative the data collected would be compared to the extant monuments. A decision was made to supplement the newly collected images and data with secondary images. Despite the reservations discussed above, this would have the advantage of increasing the data set, therefore giving more valid results, and also meant that the data could include effigies and brasses that were no longer extant and only existed in image form.

¹²⁴ See for example, www.mbs-brasses.co.uk; www.effigiesandbrasses.com; Muriel Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1968; The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

¹²⁵ See for example the Monumental Brass Society's *County Series*, eds. William Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore. These are fully-illustrated guides to the brasses of the British Isles, but some of the images are disappointingly small and difficult to pick up on any detail.

The starting point was to find all the funeral monuments that were available and then to decide on a sample of these. Rather than randomly choosing areas, these needed to be looked at methodologically with the first step being to list all the sources available about which generalisations are to be made.¹²⁶ Lists of effigies and brasses are available in the literature,¹²⁷ but these were sometimes limited to particular dates,¹²⁸ or particular regions,¹²⁹ and sometimes were not complete. Rather than try to piece together the information from these sources, the best way of locating the evidence required was deemed to be the use of Pevsner's *Architectural Guides to the Buildings of England*.¹³⁰ The guides contain information on church monuments including effigies and brasses and where these can be located. A systematic search through the fifty plus volumes in the series would have added to the time spent on the research but a database containing the information was available and access to this reduced the search time considerably.¹³¹ Each county was searched by century, to include thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth, and each century was searched for brasses and church monuments. The results were then narrowed down further to include just those monuments which were relevant to the research, which is limited to monuments depicting women. Therefore knights in armour and ecclesiastics were not included. To get a varied sample, the country was divided into areas to ensure that monuments

Table 2.1 Region and County Divisions for Data Collection

¹²⁶ O. R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Science and the Humanities*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969, 128.

¹²⁷ See for example, H. W. Macklin, *Monumental Brasses*; J. Franklyn, *Brasses*.

¹²⁸ E.g. H. A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 1980.

¹²⁹ The Monumental Brass Society's *County Series* (see n.2) is incomplete with counties up to Herefordshire (2008) being published alphabetically since 1992.

¹³⁰ N. Pevsner, ed. *The Buildings of England*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

¹³¹ Pevsner Database accessed through the John Rylands University Library at <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/eresources/databases/p/dbname,12965,en.htm>. (Subsequently unavailable)

North West	Cheshire Cumbria Greater Manchester Lancashire Merseyside	
North East	Durham Northumberland Redcar and Cleveland Tyne and Wear	
Yorkshire & The Humber	East Riding of Yorkshire North Lincolnshire North Yorkshire South Yorkshire West Yorkshire	
West Midlands	Herefordshire Shropshire Staffordshire Warwickshire West Midlands Worcestershire	
East Midlands	Derbyshire Leicestershire Lincolnshire Northamptonshire Nottinghamshire Rutland	
East of England	Bedfordshire Cambridgeshire Essex Hertfordshire Norfolk Suffolk	
South East	Berkshire Buckinghamshire East Sussex Hampshire Kent Oxfordshire Surrey West Sussex	
South West	Bristol Cornwall Devon Dorset Gloucestershire Somerset Wiltshire	

from all regions were included. Once the evidence had been collected from these areas, an assessment was done to see where there might be gaps either by region or within region. At this stage secondary images were then accessed to increase the data set. The division of the country was made using the regional boundaries used by English Heritage as shown in Table 2.1.¹³²

The regions initially chosen to cover were the North West, the North East, Yorkshire and the Humber, East Midlands, West Midlands, East of England, South East, and the South West.¹³³ Counties that had a variety and significant number of effigies or brasses were then chosen as representative of that region, as all counties could not be covered in the time available for data collection. The initial counties covered were Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Devon, Gloucestershire, Hereford, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northumberland, Somerset, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Tyne and Wear, Wiltshire and Yorkshire. Again, due to time constraints, at this point it was not possible to photograph every effigy and brass. Research visits were organised to enable the photography and data collection in the identified regions. After compiling a list of relevant effigies and brasses from the Pevsner database, information about, and the location of, churches was found by using diocesan websites,¹³⁴ and other websites such as *A Church Near You*,¹³⁵ *Find a Church*,¹³⁶ and for redundant churches, *The Churches Conservation Trust*.¹³⁷

¹³² The regions of the National Trust and the Churches Conservation Trust were also considered but the Churches Conservation Trust has recently changed its regional descriptions to county only which is too narrow; the National Trust includes the North East and Yorkshire together, which would provide a very large region as there is a lot of evidence from both these areas. It was felt that using these descriptions would skew the results when doing regional analysis. <http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main> ; <http://www.visitchurches.org.uk/>

¹³³ <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/>

¹³⁴ See for example <http://salisburyanglican.org.uk/>; <http://www.dioceseofyork.org.uk/>

¹³⁵ <http://www.achurchnearyou.com/>

¹³⁶ <http://www.findachurch.co.uk/home/home.php>

¹³⁷ <http://www.visitchurches.org.uk/>

The chosen method of recording the evidence was photographing the monuments. For this purpose a Nikon D40 digital camera was used with a Nikon Speedlight SB-800 flash unit.¹³⁸ The lighting in churches is not conducive to taking photographs, hence the right flash unit was important and a reflector was also necessary to reduce glare when taking photographs of brasses. Although the evidence is three-dimensional, by using photographic images, this reverts the data to two-dimensional, so care had to be taken to ensure as much information as possible was recorded. Therefore where possible all angles of the effigy were photographed.¹³⁹ In particular, specific items were photographed in close-up detail. These were: headdresses; necklines; jewellery including pendants and rings; belts and girdles; fastenings, including buttons; shoes where visible; sleeves; cuffs and hems. Brasses were easier to photograph but as well as a full image, specific details as with the effigies were also photographed in close up. If there were other items in the church depicting clothing, such as rood screens, wall paintings or other sculpture, these were also photographed to add to the corpus. The advantage of using a digital camera was that all images could be checked while still in the church in order to ensure that enough good quality images were collected. All the images were then downloaded to a laptop and recorded by numbering systematically with researcher's initials, whether the image was a photograph,¹⁴⁰ of an effigy or a brass, a unique reference number and a short description and a date. An example is PW-ph-2363-Isabella de Buslingthorpe-c. 1430-40.¹⁴¹ Approximately 200 monuments were photographed across the country. These were then supplemented

¹³⁸ This equipment was recommended by a professional photographer as being most suitable for use in churches.

¹³⁹ A number of effigies and brasses were difficult to access because of their location in the church so some angles or close-ups were not possible.

¹⁴⁰ Other images used as data have been scanned or downloaded from the internet so a distinction was made, partly for copyright purposes.

¹⁴¹ All the images are available on a portable USB memory stick provided with the hard copy of the thesis.

with a further 200 images taken from websites which included The Monumental Brass Society, The Medieval Combat Society, Effigies and Brasses and individual church websites.¹⁴² Issues surrounding using images from non-academic sources and the issue of copyright were considered before taking the decision to use some of these websites. As a member of the Executive Council of the Monumental Brass Society, I am aware that this is run by academics and the source of images was deemed to be very reliable. Effigies and Brasses is an online database of funeral monuments from across Europe with links to other sites and all sources are fully referenced. It uses images from some of the main antiquarian works on monuments which have been discussed earlier in this thesis, including Blore, Boutell, Gough, and Stothard. It also lists details of how the database was compiled, details of dating and use of images.¹⁴³ This site was also deemed to be of reliable quality. The Medieval Combat Society is a re-enactment society which includes images of brasses and effigies on its site, but this was thought to be less reliable than other sites and was only used when other sources did not have images. All information from these sites was cross referenced with the details on the Pevsner database where possible. A careful consideration of all these points led to the decision that it would be valuable to double the number of monuments in the data set in order to provide a higher level of significance of results.

2.4 Data Analysis

The data being analysed in this research is qualitative i.e. data which is not quantitative, and is not presented in numerical form.¹⁴⁴ However, sociologist David Silverman in his book *Interpreting Qualitative Data* suggests this negative way of

¹⁴² <http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/>, <http://www.themcs.org/> <http://effigiesandbrasses.com/>, and for example, Norfolk Churches, <http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/norwichgiles/norwichgiles.htm>

¹⁴³ Effigies and Brasses: About and Sources, <http://effigiesandbrasses.com/sources/>, <http://effigiesandbrasses.com/about/>

¹⁴⁴ http://onlineqda.hud.ac.uk/Intro_QDA/what_is_qda_php (accessed 6/10/08)

defining qualitative data as something inferior to quantitative data is not useful for researchers working in this area.¹⁴⁵ Therefore when assessing how best to analyse the data in this research it was necessary to look at both qualitative and quantitative methodology in order to ascertain which would be the best way to answer the research questions involved. This section on the methodology will therefore evaluate both qualitative and quantitative methods, compare specific methodology, highlight the appropriate analysis for this particular research and explain why and how this will be applied to the data. It will also look at similar research and the methodological approaches taken. When choosing a research methodology it is important to note that the choice of methods of analysis must be dictated by what the researcher is trying to find out.¹⁴⁶

Qualitative versus quantitative

Research on features of qualitative and quantitative methods is presented by Silverman¹⁴⁷ and is useful as a starting point when looking at the pros and cons of both types of research. The data in my research involves visual representations of medieval costume, the nature of which has been discussed fully above. There are two main aspects to the research and these involve firstly looking at the chronological development of costume depicted on funerary monuments, and secondly asking what the representation of costume can tell us about the motivations behind choice of dress within the social, political and economic context of the medieval world. These two areas of research are separate but also linked and an assessment of methodological approaches has led to the conclusion that there is value in using quantitative analysis

¹⁴⁵ D. Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text and Interaction*, London: Sage, 2006, 33.

¹⁴⁶ Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 36.

¹⁴⁷ Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*: Table 2:2, 35.

in what is ostensibly qualitative research. Qualitative data analysis is usually based on an ‘interpretative philosophy’¹⁴⁸ so observational methods could be used to give an opinion on the clothing depicted, for example, it would be possible to suggest that a certain type of headdress seemed to be popular on effigies during the early fifteenth century. However this would be subjective and speculative, and is not seen as a very important or reliable method by quantitative researchers.¹⁴⁹ In order to limit the subjectivity and to provide a starting point for further analysis of the costume and in particular the contextual motivations behind choice, it is necessary to be more systematic in the initial analysis. Therefore the qualitative aspects have to be transferred into quantitative data, which can then be used objectively to obtain results.

Which type of analysis?

There are a number of ways of analysing qualitative data in a more systematic way, of which there is not room or the need to discuss in detail here.¹⁵⁰ These methodologies can be narrowed down further into those which involve quantitative research and can include social survey; experiment; official statistics; ‘structured’ observation; and content analysis.¹⁵¹ Working with visual images further limits the choice of methodology and suggestions for analysis of this type of data include semiotics and content analysis.¹⁵² Semiotics is the study of signs, their inter-relationships and the

¹⁴⁸ http://onlineqda.hud.ac.uk/Intro_QDA/what_is_qda_php , accessed 6/10/08.

¹⁴⁹ Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 19.

¹⁵⁰ See <http://onlineqda.hud.ac.uk/methodologies.php> (accessed 13.10.08) for a discussion of the various methodologies open to qualitative researchers.

¹⁵¹ Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 37.

¹⁵² Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 248.

meanings that they create,¹⁵³ whose purpose is to ‘make explicit the cultural knowledges which are required in order for the reader to understand the image’.¹⁵⁴

Content analysis

Authors have debated the definition of content analysis and most literature has a discussion of the various features of this method,¹⁵⁵ however it is not necessary to become involved in this debate for the present research. A simple explanation of content analysis is that it involves establishing categories into which the data can be placed and then counting the frequency of instances in these categories.¹⁵⁶ Content analysis has traditionally been used for textual data, and much of the literature, while useful in explaining the principles, refers to the analysis of written data, commonly interviews for ethnographic research or other research in the social sciences.¹⁵⁷ If it is used as a method of analysing symbols in general as opposed to textual units, i.e. morphemes, words, sentences, it can be applied to visual data and more recently it has been applied to the study of costume.¹⁵⁸ In particular Paoletti has assessed the use of content analysis in the study of the history of costume,¹⁵⁹ and concludes that it is

¹⁵³ Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 249.

¹⁵⁴ Gemma Penn, ‘Semiotic Analysis of Still Images’, Martin W. Bauer and George Gaskell, eds. *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A Practical Handbook*, London: Sage, 2000, 232.

¹⁵⁵ See, for example, K. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. London: Sage, 1980; O. R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.

¹⁵⁶ Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 400.

¹⁵⁷ See, K. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*; O. R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*; Amanda Coffey, Paul Atkinson, *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies*, London: Sage, 1996.

¹⁵⁸ See Jo B. Paoletti, Catherine Beeker, and Diana Pelletier, ‘Men’s Jacket Styles 1919-1941: An Example of Co-ordinated Content Analysis and Object Study’, *Dress*, 1987, Vol. 13, 44-48; Mary J. Thompson, ‘Gender in Magazine Advertising: Skin Sells Best’, *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, Vol 18(3), 178-181; Jennifer L. Paff and Hilda Buckley Lakner, ‘Dress and the Female Gender Role in Magazine Advertisements of 1950-1994’, *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal*, 1997, Vol 26 (1), 29-58.

¹⁵⁹ Jo B. Paoletti, ‘Content Analysis: Its Application to the Study of the History of Costume’, *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, 1982, Vol 1, 14-17.

useful in addition to traditional impressionistic research.¹⁶⁰ Writing in 1982, she points out that although it is effective in the study of costume, it has not been widely embraced by dress historians.¹⁶¹ A number of studies completed since then have been identified above, but there is still not a widespread use of content analysis in the study of costume, even less for the study of medieval costume. In fact, the only research discovered so far is that done by Susan Downs Reed for her MSc into medieval men's headdresses,¹⁶² under the supervision of Jo B. Paoletti.

Content analysis can be superior to traditional subjective observation if certain elements are present. The three main elements which are seen as essential for successful content analysis and which there appears to be a consensus among authors are: objectivity; system; and generality.¹⁶³ Although the choice of data and categories will be decided by the researcher and is open to subjectivity, objectivity can be seen as present if other analysts can arrive at the same conclusion using the same data and procedures.¹⁶⁴ Therefore the categories must be clearly defined in order that other researchers would be clear where to place aspects of the data being studied and replicability is possible. Content analysis must also be systematic with the following elements – formulation of hypotheses or objectives; identification of relevant variables; sampling of sources; and the development of a satisfactory test instrument.¹⁶⁵ Finally, it needs to have generality. For this attribute, Holsti states that 'the findings must have theoretical relevance'.¹⁶⁶ These elements must be present in

¹⁶⁰ Paoletti, 'Content Analysis', 14.

¹⁶¹ Paoletti, 'Content Analysis', 14.

¹⁶² S. Downs Reed, 'From Chaperones to Chaplets: Aspects of Men's Headdress, 1400-1519' Master of Science, University of Maryland, 1992.

¹⁶³ Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 5.

¹⁶⁴ Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 5.

¹⁶⁵ Paoletti, 'Content Analysis: Its Application to the Study of Costume', 14.

¹⁶⁶ Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 5

the following research and analysis in order to make it reliable, valid and as objective as it can possibly be.

For this research the content analysis begins with a preliminary qualitative analysis of the clothing depicted in and on the art forms. From this, categories have been defined which include items of clothing, accessories, trimmings, styles of necklines and types of headdresses. These categories are defined in full in the following chapter. The analysis has been done chronologically and has been presented in table and graph form. The monuments span a period of 200 years and this has been divided into 25-year periods in order to show chronological changes. Periods of ten years were felt to be too narrow and would not show significant change and periods of more than 25 years were felt to be too large a gap. Also the problem of accurate dating of monuments meant that if the dating was out by a number of years, by placing the monument in a range, it would be more likely to be representative of that time period than a specific date.

Content analysis can be used to show the frequency of one specific item, for example, the depiction of rings on an effigy or brass, or could be used to show the frequency of two items together, for example, how often large loose sleeves are depicted on a particular style dress or the link between necklines and the wearing of necklaces.¹⁶⁷

By using quantitative analysis on qualitative data the aim is to increase objectivity and to present an unbiased chronological development of the representation of costume on funeral monuments. The use of content analysis cuts down on the initial subjectivity, although the nature of the research requires impressionistic ideas to follow on from

¹⁶⁷ See next chapter for a discussion of the terminology being used.

the quantitative results. One of the debates among content analysts is whether it must only be limited to manifest content, which is observable at a surface level, or whether it can be applied to analyse deeper meanings.¹⁶⁸ The quantitative aspect of this particular research involves manifest content – that which is clearly visible on the effigies and brasses. The aim of this aspect of the research is, as discussed above, to give a picture of the chronological development of the representation of costume, but it is also intended to inform the qualitative analysis which will follow, at which point Holsti says: ‘the investigator is free to use all his powers of imagination and intuition to draw meaningful conclusions from the data’.¹⁶⁹ Anomalies and areas of interest thrown up from the quantitative analysis leads on to the following chapters, which will look at the motivations behind the choices of costume on funeral monuments. This involves impressionistic research backed up by documentary, literary and material evidence and will be the qualitative analysis of the data.

¹⁶⁸ For further discussion of this debate see O. R. Holsti and K. Krippendorff.

¹⁶⁹ Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 12.

3. ANALYSIS

3.1 Categories

This chapter will focus on the analysis of the data with a discussion first of the terminology and categories to be used. This will be followed by individual analysis and presentation of results for specific items of dress under research. Although this research focuses on visual evidence, the clothing depicted on monuments and in other art sources needs to be verbalised. This has to be consistent and therefore requires clarification at the very beginning of any analysis of the evidence. The following discussion focuses on how the terminology was decided upon and then specific terminology for the content analysis will be outlined.

Contemporary documentary and literary evidence such as wills, household accounts, poetry, sermons, and conduct books all refer to clothing but without direct reference to visual images, it is impossible to know exactly what which garment the words are referring to. Vocabulary used in literature refers to real items of clothing that are known to the writer or imagined items of clothing, but the words used are linked to a specific item. I suggest that these contemporary words cannot then be taken from the literature to refer to items of clothing which are being examined in this present research, for two reasons. Firstly, the items of clothing are not real but representations, and secondly, the analysis being undertaken begins with a description of what can be seen now on funeral monuments rather than the contemporary clothing which may have been represented – either real or imagined by the sculptor or engraver. Therefore, language which is familiar to the researcher is more relevant for this purpose. The nature of the analysis reinforces this, as one of the fundamentals that distinguishes content analysis from more qualitative and generalized approaches is

objectivity.¹⁷⁰ Holsti states that one test of objectivity is ‘can other analysts, following identical procedures with the same data, arrive at similar conclusions?’¹⁷¹ The clarification of terminology and clear descriptions of the categories to be used in the analysis, I suggest, will minimise the chances of non-replication of results, which will therefore strengthen the basis of evidence for further qualitative analysis which will be more subjective. It is therefore necessary to formulate a set of rules to distinguish categories of clothing and the criteria employed to decide where to position each content unit.¹⁷² Rather than make up a new set of rules for the description of clothing, I decided to start with an already formulated list of terms and build on and adapt this for the present research. Paoletti concurs that taxonomic systems designed by museums for cataloguing costume are valuable tools for content analysis of costume and, if used, could mean that ‘costume researchers might all speak the same language’.¹⁷³ For this reason, and as suggested above, the reason of replication, I have chosen to adapt the Vocabulary of Basic Terms for Cataloguing Costume, laid down by ICOM, The International Committee for the Museums and Collections of Costume.¹⁷⁴ It is important to choose categories for analysis based on the data being used in order to ensure that they are relevant.¹⁷⁵ For example, ICOM’s terms include items such as jackets and trousers, which with prior knowledge of the type of clothing being examined, i.e. representations of medieval clothing, become redundant as categories for this research.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, the choice of categories will reflect the data.

¹⁷⁰ Paoletti, ‘Content Analysis: Its Application to the Study of the History of Costume’, 14.

¹⁷¹ O. R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 4.

¹⁷² See Jo B. Paoletti, Catherine Beeker, Diana Pelletier, ‘Men’s Jacket Styles 1919-1941: An Example of Co-ordinated Content Analysis and Object Study’, *Dress*, 1987, 13, 44-48, 45, for a brief discussion of the use of reference sheets showing categories for use of individual researchers.

¹⁷³ Paoletti, ‘Content Analysis: Its Application to the Study of the History of Costume’, 16.

¹⁷⁴ <http://www.collectionstrust.org.uk/costume/vbt00e.htm> accessed 3.5.11.

¹⁷⁵ Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 11.

¹⁷⁶ <http://www.collectionstrust.org.uk/costume/vbt01e.htm> accessed 6.5.11

ICOM categorises garments as follows:¹⁷⁷

- **Main Garments**
- **Outerwear**
- **Protective Wear (against dirt or danger, not weather)**
- **Underwear**
- **Supporting and/or Shaping Structures**
- **Night and Dressingwear**
- **Accessories Worn**
 - **Head**
 - **Hairdressing**
 - **Face coverings and additions**
 - **Above waist**
 - **At waist and below**
 - **Arms and hands**
 - **Legs and feet**
- **Accessories Carried**
- **Accessories Added to Body or Clothing for Ornament**
- **Accessories Used in the Care of the Person**
- **Accessories Used in the Care of Clothing**
- **Accessories Used in the Making and Adjusting of Clothes**

Each category is numbered and then sub-sets are numbered accordingly.

For example, No. 9 is Accessories Added to Body or Clothing for Ornament. This is then sub-divided with 9.2 Worn on Head or Face, with the following sub-sets.¹⁷⁸

9.21	Wreath
9.22	Tiara
9.23	Comb
9.24	Hairpin
9.25	Earrings

The analysis for my research will take the relevant headings and sub-sets and then adapt these to allow the data available to be placed in appropriate categories.

The following analysis will address specific items of clothing in this order:

¹⁷⁷

http://www.collectionslink.org.uk/assets/thesaurus_icombts/vbt00e.htm?phpMyAdmin=OYNyINPdn3sQmoXugKH1gcCLSW0 accessed 31.7.12.

¹⁷⁸ http://www.collectionslink.org.uk/assets/thesaurus_icombts/vbt09e.htm accessed 31.7.12.

Main Garments¹⁷⁹	
1.1	<i>Covering body above and below the waist</i> Dress (Types 1-6)
1.11	Dress (1) one piece

3.2 Main Garment

Every full-length effigy and brass is clothed in at least one main garment which reaches from the neck or shoulders to the feet. The choice of terminology for this item is as follows. The term ‘garment’ is used by ICOM to denote all clothing worn by women, men and children, but it does specify main garments as dresses, trousers, jackets and skirts.¹⁸⁰ The OED defines garment as ‘Any article of dress: in *sing.* esp. an outer vestment, a gown or cloak; in *pl.* = clothes.’ The word garment can be traced back to the Middle English *garnement*, which again denotes a general item of clothing.¹⁸¹ As a cloak could also come under the term garment, clear terminology is needed for the main garment. A garment covering the body above and below the waist is classed as a ‘dress’ by ICOM.

The OED defines dress as ‘Personal attire or apparel: orig. that proper to some special rank or order of person, or to some ceremony or function; but, in later use, often merely: Clothing, costume, garb, esp. that part which is external and serves for adornment as well as for covering’, or as ‘A suit of garments or a single external garment appropriate to some occasion when adornment is required; now *spec.* a lady's

¹⁷⁹ http://www.collectionslink.org.uk/assets/thesaurus_icombts/vbt01e.htm accessed 31.7.12.

¹⁸⁰ <http://www.collectionstrust.org.uk/costume/vbt01e.htm> accessed 6.5.11

¹⁸¹ Oxford English Dictionary Online, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/76812?rskey=kTwlqv&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>, accessed 4.5.11.

robe or gown made not merely to clothe but also to adorn.’ This usage of the noun dress goes back to the early 17th century and therefore is unlikely to have been used contemporaneously in the medieval period.¹⁸² However there are words used for types of dress which were in usage in the period under research. Terms such as gown, robe, kirtle, cote, surcote and cote-hardie can be found in literary and documentary evidence. It is useful here to look at their definitions from both the OED and the Middle English Dictionary to get an overview of their characteristics and the dating of the use of the words.

Kirtle

The MED definition of a kirtle is ‘a garment for women or girls, often an outer garment, sometimes worn over a smock or under a mantle, gown, or pilch’. There is also a reference for *goune and kirtle*, which indicates that a kirtle and a gown were distinct garments.¹⁸³ This is contradicted by the OED, which defines a kirtle as ‘a woman’s gown’.¹⁸⁴ However, this may be the case if the term gown is the medieval term rather than the modern term. This highlights the difficulty of using specific terminology which is not directly linked to a specific item. Thursfield defines a kirtle as ‘shaped and fitted’, appearing in the 1360s and being worn under another garment, although it could also be worn as an overgarment by women who were working.¹⁸⁵ The earliest use of the term in Middle English is at the beginning of the thirteenth century, which contradicts Thursfield’s dating.¹⁸⁶ The women depicted on funeral

¹⁸² <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/57671?rskey=2hbRcV&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> accessed 6.5.11

¹⁸³ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED24354> accessed 1.6.11

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/103672?rskey=f2EMph&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> accessed 2.6.11

¹⁸⁵ Thursfield, *The Medieval Tailor’s Assistant*, 85.

¹⁸⁶ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=92334869&egdisplay=compact&egs=92360231> accessed 3.6.11

monuments are of a higher social class so the kirtle as an overgarment is probably not likely to be seen.

Cote

This is defined by the MED as ‘tunic or kirtle (worn by men or women, either alone or under a mantle or other overgarment); also, a kind of surcoat or cote-hardie’. A cote-hardie is defined as ‘a close-fitting surcoat worn over the doublet or kirtle’. Both these terms (cote and cote-hardie) are seen from the 1330s.¹⁸⁷ A surcote is defined as ‘an outer coat or overgarment of varying style, freq. of rich material, worn by men, an overtunic’ and ‘a similar item of clothing worn by women, an overdress’. This Middle English term for women’s dress dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹⁸⁸ It could be argued then that any overgarment depicted on a funeral monument before 1400 could not be called a surcote as this term would not have been used then. However, the term came from the French and was used from the end of the twelfth century so may have been in usage in England in that language.¹⁸⁹ This again highlights the difficulty with terminology. These definitions do not refer to the sleeves on this garment, but Scott defines a cote as an ‘under-tunic’, a surcote as a ‘general term...to describe outer garment’ and a surcote-ouverte, which is not referenced in the MED, as a ‘woman’s sleeveless surcote, with armholes that deepened towards the hips in the middle of the fourteenth century’.¹⁹⁰ Again this is a French term which

¹⁸⁷ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=34799872&egdisplay=compact&egs=34807378> accessed 1.6.11

¹⁸⁸ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=200394339&egdisplay=compact&egs=200402920> accessed 2.6.11

¹⁸⁹ Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, London: The British Library, 2007, 204; see Sarah Grace-Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007, 79, for an example of the use of a woman’s surcote in Roman de la Rose, written c. 1225-40.

¹⁹⁰ Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, 204.

may or may not have been used to describe garments in England. Druitt refers to a sideless cote-hardie, questioning whether this is the same as a surcote ouverte.¹⁹¹

Gown

The OED defines a gown as ‘a loose flowing upper garment worn as an article of ordinary attire.’ Specifically for women in modern use this is ‘a garment fitting close to the upper part of the body with flowing skirts; In the 18th c. it was the ordinary word; subsequently it was to a great extent superseded in colloquial use by *dress*, but has latterly been somewhat more common, esp. in fashionable use, as applied to a dress with some pretension to elegance.’¹⁹² The Middle English Dictionary defines the word *goune* as ‘an outer garment, a robe, gown’. This word first appeared in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁹³ Dress historians equate the word gown with a style of garment which is depicted around the same time as these documentary and literary references and which they sometimes refer to as a *houppelande*. The description is usually of a loose garment but different authors give various additions to this in glossaries. Scott defines a *houppelande* as a ‘sleeved, front-closing outer garment worn by both sexes...characterized c. 1400 and later by huge sleeves’.¹⁹⁴ Thursfield’s definition of a *houppelande* is a ‘fashionable gown for men and women, often high necked and fitted down to bust level, then flowing out below into rich folds; with open sleeves’. She uses gown and *houppelande* as synonyms and suggests that the gown underwent changes in style from the 1360s, when it first appeared, to

¹⁹¹ Druitt, *Costume on Brasses*, 241.

¹⁹² <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/80342?rkey=9TdPCd&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> accessed 1.6.11

¹⁹³ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=68933855&egdisplay=open&egs=68947287> accessed 6.5.11

¹⁹⁴ Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, 204.

the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹⁹⁵ Laver's description of the *houppelande*, which he says later became known as the gown is 'it fitted the shoulders and was loose below, with a belt at the waist. Its length varied. The sleeves were extremely wide and sometimes so long as to reach the ground. It had a high upright collar, sometimes reaching to the ears, and its edge was dagged into fantastic shapes'.¹⁹⁶ In his *Costume on Brasses*, Druitt describes women on brasses wearing 'a long, loose robe, probably fur-lined, with short, girded waist, surplice-like sleeves reaching to the ground, and broad, falling collar.' He states that these depictions are possibly forms of *houppelande*, suggesting, as does Thursfield, that this garment was variable, although there were some distinguishing features.¹⁹⁷ Laver describes a 'high upright collar' while Druitt states that this dress style has a 'broad, falling collar'.

Robe

The OED definition is 'a long loose outer garment reaching to the feet or ankles; a gown. Common in Europe until the end of the Middle Ages'.¹⁹⁸ The MED definition is 'a long, loose outer garment worn by men or women; a robe, gown'.¹⁹⁹ Scott defines a robe as 'initially a set of garments, often made from the same fabric. Around 1420 changed to refer to a sleeved outer garment'.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Sarah Thursfield, *The Medieval Tailor's Assistant: making common garments 1200-1500*, Bedford: Ruth Bean, 2001, 136, Glossary, 222.

¹⁹⁶ Laver, *A Concise History of Costume*, 64.

¹⁹⁷ Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated by Monumental Brasses*, 255.

¹⁹⁸ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/166595?rskey=Q5CYFF&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> accessed 6.5.11

¹⁹⁹ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?size=First+100&type=headword&q1=robe&rgxp=constrained> accessed 3.6.11

²⁰⁰ Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, 204.

Table 3.1 Summary of dress terminology

Garment	Position	Fit	Sleeves	Earliest Date (ME)
Cote	under-garment	close-fitting		c. 1330
Surcote	overgarment	close-fitting	can be sleeveless	c. 1400
Cote-hardie	overgarment	close-fitting		c. 1330
Gown	overgarment	loose, belted	yes	c.1375
Kirtle	under-garment or overgarment	close-fitting	yes	c. 1225
Robe	over/outer garment	loose	yes	c. 1300

The description for the analysis will not use medieval contemporary words but will utilise the definitions of these to construct types which will form the basis for the analysis of the garments. These types will be based on structure and fit of the garment as seen on the funeral monument. There is a lack of consistency in the various definitions and dating of garments from the MED, OED and dress historians' glossaries and there is no evidence that a particular garment depicted on a monument was called by a particular name. There is also the confusion of the use of Middle English words and French words and how common these were in everyday language or in literature that was commonly read.

For consistency, objectivity and replication the terminology used for the main garment, which covers the whole body, will be the term 'dress' as used by ICOM. Categories will not use medieval terminology for the reasons discussed above but will divide the evidence into groups based on the structure and fit of the dress as seen. This concurs with ICOM's cataloguing system which maintains that the 'use of a

limited number of terms for both the first and second names of a garment should avoid the inexact use of more specialised naming which would lead to false grouping of material'.²⁰¹ Prior knowledge of the data and the definitions of medieval terminology help to construct and narrow down the categories. For example, it would be pointless including a category for short dresses, as, from the visual and written evidence, it is obvious that these are not present. So, in this instance, it is important to study the data before categorisation. This applies to all the data being used in this research and the rules for coding data set down by Holsti will also apply to the rest of the analysis on other garments and items of apparel. These rules are that categories should:

- Reflect the purposes of the research
- Be exhaustive – all relevant items must be able to be placed into a category
- Be mutually exclusive – items cannot be placed in more than one category
- Be independent
- Be derived from a single classification principle.²⁰²

3.3 Dress Analysis

The categories for analysis begin with the basic identification of the number of dresses depicted on the monument. This has been ascertained by looking at evidence of layering. This will in some cases be arbitrary, as often due to the age of and damage to the monument, in particular, effigies it is difficult to make out clear lines of garments. However, the presence of more than one sleeve on the arm will be taken to depict more than one dress, if there is no other defining sign. Examples of layering

²⁰¹ *Vocabulary of Basic Terms for Cataloguing Costume*, ICOM International Committee for the Museums and Collections of Costume, Introduction,

http://www.collectionstrust.org.uk/costume/vbt_ie.htm accessed 4.6.11

²⁰² Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, 94.

can be seen in (Figs 3.1 and 3.2). The image of Lady Cobham shows an over dress with loose sleeves to the wrist, with fitted, buttoned sleeves underneath, indicating an under-dress. Fig 3.2 shows where layering is possibly indicated by a variation in the engraving on a brass.

Once the number of dresses has been ascertained, the structure of the dress is then recorded. The basic categories for the dress are loose or fitted but these do not give any depth of result and do not specify the various types of loose and fitted dresses. 'Loose' in regard to clothing is defined by the OED as 'Not clinging close to the figure; loosely-fitting'. The verb 'to fit' is defined, especially in reference to dress, as 'To be of the right measure or proper shape and size for; to be correctly shaped or adjusted to.'²⁰³ As with ICOM, a system of a basic generic first term, followed by more precise identifying terms will be used to categorise items. The structure of the dress has been taken from the upper, torso area, as the skirt on all the dress-styles depicted is long and flows loosely. A fitted dress is classed as one which follows the curves of the body, while a loose dress is more shapeless and does not show the shape of the body. Examples of fitted and loose dresses can be seen in Figs. 3.3 and 3.4.

Dresses will also be categorised by whether they are sleeved or sleeveless. Again, this can be difficult to determine, especially when figures are wearing cloaks which cover the part of the arm where this would be shown. There are also difficulties with effigial monuments which have arms missing. Sleeveless is classed as lack of sleeves revealing the arm, under sleeves, or underdress up to mid torso. If the cut-away

²⁰³ OED, 3.b.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/110192?rskey=8KgTtv&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid>, OED, 5.a.
<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/70748?rskey=fbrleq&result=7&isAdvanced=false#eid>, both accessed 11.7.11.

carries on to the waist, this garment will then also be called sideless as well as being classified as sleeveless. The dress will also be categorised as to whether it is belted or unbelted as this affects the fit and structure of the garment. An example of a sideless dress can be seen in Fig 3.5. An example of a loose pleated style of gown can be seen in Fig. 3.6.

3.4 Headdresses





The data collected shows that the wearing of headdresses or some form of head covering is almost universal, with a very small percentage of effigies and brasses being depicted showing uncovered hair.²⁰⁴ Headdresses display the most variety out of all the clothing items in this research and this makes it more difficult to categorise them. A number of headdresses are shown over the time period of this research and these styles have been previously been described by dress historians using terminology which either describes the shape of the headwear, its structure, design, or uses contemporary words, which may or may not have referred to that particular style of headdress in use at the time.²⁰⁵ So, there is some difficulty in deciding what terminology to use when describing medieval headwear as there has been no consensus so far.


ICOM's terms for cataloguing costume are as follows.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ For example, see Appendix, Lady, early fourteenth century, South Anston, Yorkshire; or Elizabeth de Norwood, c. 1335, Minster Abbey, Essex.

²⁰⁵ See A. Gardner, 'Hair and Head-Dress 1050-1600.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (1950): 4-13; C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, London: Faber and Faber, 1952; Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, London: Batsford, 1986; Herbert Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated on Monumental Brasses*, London: The Tabard Press, 1970.

²⁰⁶ Vocabulary of Basic Terms for Cataloguing Costume, http://www.collectionslink.org.uk/assets/thesaurus_icombts/vbt00e.htm?phpMyAdmin=OYNyINPdn3sQmoXugKH1gcCLSW0 accessed 4.7.12

Women's Garments		
Accessories Worn		
7.1	<i>Head</i>	
7.11	Hat Hat Bonnet	
7.12	Cap Cap Turban	
7.13	<i>Covering head and extending to shoulders and beyond</i> Hood Hood Calash	
7.14	<i>Covering head and/or face and extending to shoulders and beyond</i> Veil	

7.15	<i>Covering head unshaped textile</i> Handkerchief	
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Veils and what could be classed as caps are present on the funeral monuments under research, however the majority of headwear seen on the monuments does not clearly come under a category given by ICOM. The term ‘hat’ could be used as an overarching and very general term to cover the headwear but this needs to be broken down into more specific, and relevant terminology for the purpose of analysis, and in particular to satisfy the condition of replicability.²⁰⁷

The definition of hat from the OED online is: ‘A covering for the head; in recent use, generally distinguished from other head-gear, as a man's cap (or bonnet) and a woman's bonnet, by having a more or less horizontal brim all round the hemispherical, conical, or cylindrical part which covers the head.’²⁰⁸ The term ‘hat’ was also used in the Middle Ages and the Middle English Dictionary defines this as: ‘(a) An outer head covering (often worn over a hood or a cap), a hat.’²⁰⁹ As suggested above, this term is too general to describe specific types of headdress depicted on funeral monuments, and the OED suggests that it is ‘distinguished from other head gear’ in recent use. The term ‘hat’ thus appears also to be distinguished from other

²⁰⁷ Paoletti, ‘Content Analysis: Its Application to the Study of Costume’, 14.

²⁰⁸ <http://oed.com/view/Entry/84511?rskey=zsMIBQ&result=1#eid> accessed 4.7.12.

²⁰⁹ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/84511?rskey=Vfvhkn&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>, accessed 4.7.12.

headgear in medieval use. The term headgear itself covers a wide range of head adornments, with the OED defining this as ‘That which is worn on the head; a hat, cap, bonnet, or head-dress of any kind.’ This is first in use in the early sixteenth century.²¹⁰ The term ‘headdress’ also would be appropriate as a description of the type of headgear seen on the funeral monuments being researched. The OED’s definition is ‘Any dress or covering for the head; *esp.* an ornamental attire for the head worn by women’. The first use of this is cited as the early 18th century, so this is not a contemporary medieval term.²¹¹

Categories of headgear or headdress need to be specified in order to analyse the types and incidence of particular items clearly. As with all the garments and accessories in this study, categories are informed by the data. There are a number of obvious types of headdress on the funeral monuments which can be grouped into a category and also individual styles which can be classed as ‘other’. However, as the headdresses depicted do not follow a standardised form in each category, the use of attributes is a systematic way of grouping them together under an overarching label. The structure of the headdress or the way it appears to be structured has been used as the basis for a description.

Veil

The term veil is used now and was also used in the medieval period. The OED definition is: ‘**1a.** A piece of linen or other material forming part of the distinctive head-dress of a nun, and worn so as to fall over the head and shoulders and down each side of the face,’ or ‘**2a.** An article of attire consisting of a piece of thin cloth, silk, or

²¹⁰ <http://oed.com/view/Entry/84919#eid1851215>, accessed 4.7.12.

²¹¹ <http://oed.com/view/Entry/84911?redirectedFrom=headdress#eid> accessed 4.7.12.

other light fabric, worn, especially by women, over the head or face either as a part of the ordinary head-dress, or in order to conceal or protect the face.²¹²

The Middle English Dictionary defines 'veil' as 'A fabric headdress, usually covering the forehead and the sides and back of the head and hanging down to the shoulders or below; -- worn chiefly by women; also, a cloth worn to conceal the face or head.'²¹³

The ICOM definition of a veil is 'Covering head and/or face and extending to shoulders and beyond.'²¹⁴ Dress historians have also used similar classification and a veil has been classed as a simple²¹⁵ head covering made from a piece of cloth which can be rectangular or circular. Janet Arnold also says it generally conceals the hair, has a straight edge across the forehead and covers the head with material also around the face and neck.²¹⁶ The main definitions of a veil generally agree that it covers the head and the sides of the face and reaches as far as the shoulder, but there is some difference in the definitions as to whether it covers any other part of the head including the neck and chin. The Middle English Dictionary gives a definition of 'a woman's headdress covering the top, back, and sides of the head, including the cheeks and chin, and wrapped so as to cover the neck', to the term 'wimple'.²¹⁷ A 'wimple' defined by the OED is 'a garment of linen or silk formerly worn by women, so folded as to envelop the head, chin, sides of the face, and neck: now retained in the dress of nuns.'²¹⁸ A specific type of wimple is the barbe which the MED defines as 'A piece of pleated cloth, forming part of the headdress of widows or nuns, and worn over or

²¹² <http://oed.com/view/Entry/221919?rskey=qjYEeU&result=1#eid> accessed 4.7.12.

²¹³ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED50798> accessed 4.7.12.

²¹⁴ Vocabulary of Basic Terms for Cataloguing Costume, http://www.collectionslink.org.uk/assets/thesaurus_icombts/vbt00e.htm?phpMyAdmin=OYNyINPdn3sQmoXugKH1gcCLSW0 accessed 4.7.12

²¹⁵ Gardner, 'Hair and Head-Dress 1050-1600.' 10.

²¹⁶ *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, 27; 'Hair and Head-Dress 1050-1600.', 10; *A Visual History of Costume*, 16.

²¹⁷ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED52839> accessed 4.7.12.

²¹⁸ <http://oed.com/view/Entry/229144?rskey=ZzdKv2&result=1#eid> accessed 4.7.12.

under the chin so as to cover the neck and bosom.’²¹⁹ These definitions coupled with the visual evidence give rise to two distinct categories which are veil and wimple. If just the head is covered with a simple unstructured cloth the headdress will be deemed to be a veil, and if the neck and part of the face is also covered then this will be classed as a veil with wimple. Within the categories of veil, there are also sub-categories which show variations in the structure or how and with what it is worn. Simple veils can also be worn with fillets, circlets or coronets. This type of veil can be bound by a band across the forehead, which is generally known among costume historians as a fillet.²²⁰ The term ‘filet’ in Middle English is defined as ‘a ribbon or band of cloth worn around the head as an ornament or to keep the hair in place; a headband, chaplet; also, a frontal band worn as a badge of maidenhood.’²²¹ The OED defines fillet as ‘a head-band’ and ‘A ribbon, string, or narrow band of any material used for binding the hair, or worn round the head to keep the headdress in position, or simply for ornament.’²²² An example of the term in contemporary use appears in Chaucer’s *The Millers Tale* when a young woman’s headwear is described with ‘hir filet brood of silk, and set ful hye’.²²³

Veils can also be bound by a circlet or coronal, which is usually fixed on top of the head to hold the veil in place. The term ‘coronal’ is defined in the OED as ‘A circlet for the head; *esp.* one of gold or gems, connoting rank or dignity; a coronet.’²²⁴ This term was also contemporary to the Middle Ages with the MED definition as ‘A precious circlet, often of gold and gems, worn about the head for ornament or to show rank; a coronal, coronet, diadem.’ However, the first instance of the term being used

²¹⁹ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED3635> accessed 6.7.12.

²²⁰ Druitt, *A Manual of Costume as Illustrated on Monumental Brasses*, 239; Arnold, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, 50; Gardner, ‘Hair and Headdress 1050-1600’, 10.

²²¹ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED15959> accessed 6.7.12.

²²² <http://oed.com/view/Entry/70228?rskey=EposZy&result=1#eid> accessed 6.7.12.

²²³ Larry D. Benson, ed. *The Riverside Chaucer*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, 69, l. 3243.

²²⁴ <http://oed.com/view/Entry/41777?rskey=mSa2yD&result=1#eid> accessed 6.7.12.

is in 1393.²²⁵ The term chapelet is also sometimes used for this type of headwear and is contemporary to the Middle Ages with the word being defined in the MED as ‘A fillet, head-band, diadem; also, a head-band worn as a badge of office; (b) a coronet or circlet.’²²⁶ The OED defines this as ‘a wreath for the head, usually a garland of flowers or leaves, also of gold, precious stones, etc.; a circlet, coronal’.²²⁷ Janet Arnold describes a ‘circlet’ as being a metal fillet,²²⁸ which concurs with the various definitions which seem to suggest that a fillet is made of textile and a circlet, coronal, or chaplet more likely to be metal, possibly gold, and maybe including gems of some variety. However, the material used for these types of headwear cannot be ascertained from a piece of visual evidence such as funeral monument and as there are a variety of interchangeable terms, the evidence has been categorised by the position of the item, into veils with head bands going across the forehead and those with headbands on top of the head, which are more likely to be of a crown-type.

Bands, which are sometimes called ‘barbettes’ by some dress historians are also seen under the chin.²²⁹ They are pinned on top of the head and, together with a fillet across the forehead; this type of headwear frames the face.²³⁰ The term barbette cannot be found in the OED and the MED defines *barbet* as ‘The **barbe** [q.v.] of a woman's headdress.’²³¹ Therefore, as there is a disjunction between the contemporary definition and the modern usage, the term ‘barbette’ has not been used. Headwear which has a

²²⁵ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED9788> accessed 6.7.12.

²²⁶ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=25437874&egdisplay=open&egs=25444739> accessed 6.7.12.

²²⁷ <http://oed.com/view/Entry/30590?rskey=Fh1oIV&result=1&isAdvanced=true#eid9824247>, accessed 6.7.12.

²²⁸ Arnold, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, Glossary, 170.

²²⁹ Arnold, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, 50; Thursfield, *The Medieval Tailor's Assistant*, 207.

²³⁰ Arnold, *Handbook of Medieval English Costume*, 50; Gardner, ‘Hair and Head-Dress 1050-1600’, 10.

²³¹ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED3641> accessed 6.7.12

band round the head and one over the head under the chin has been classed as ‘fillet with chin band’.

The next category is a more structured type of veil which covers the head and the sides of the face down to temple, chin or shoulder level, but which appears to be made up of more than one simple piece of fabric. Dress historians have called this type of veil, which is draped over the head, and is likely to be made up of a number of layers of material, ‘nebule’ or ‘frilled’ or ‘reticulated’.²³² The layers display frills, fluting, crimping²³³ or goffering²³⁴ in an arch, which may or may not be box-shaped,²³⁵ around the face which can end at the temples or the chin.²³⁶ Stella Mary Newton and Mary M. Giza have researched the production of this type of veil and use the term ‘frilled edges’, which refers to the structure of the headwear.²³⁷ The definition of ‘frill’ from the OED is ‘an ornamental edging made of a strip of any woven material, of which one edge is gathered and the other left loose so as to give it a wavy or fluted appearance.’²³⁸ This term will be used for the categorisation of this type of headdress as distinct from a simple unstructured veil.

Headdresses start to become more complicated in structure towards the end of the fourteenth century and a type which has been called the crespine-style headdress is an umbrella term for various headdresses which exhibit the same general attributes.²³⁹ To be included in this category a headdress must appear to show hair enclosed in a net or

²³² Arnold, *Handbook of Medieval English Costume*, 95; *A Visual History of Costume*, 17.

²³³ Gardner, ‘Hair and Head-Dress 1050-1600’, 11.

²³⁴ Arnold, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, 95.

²³⁵ Scott, *A Visual History of Costume*, 17; Arnold, *Handbook of Medieval Costume*, 95.

²³⁶ Arnold, *Handbook of English Medieval Costume*, 95.

²³⁷ Stella Mary Newton and Mary M. Giza, ‘Frilled Edges’, *Textile History*, 1983, Vol. 14 (2), 141-152.

²³⁸ <http://oed.com/view/Entry/74725?rskey=2GU1s5&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> accessed 4.7.12.

²³⁹ Brian Kemp, *English Church Monuments*, London: Batsford, 1980, 50.

caul,²⁴⁰ usually at the side of the face around the temples.²⁴¹ A caul is defined by the OED as ‘a kind of close-fitting cap, worn by women: a net for the hair; a netted cap or head-dress, often richly ornamented.’²⁴² The term *calle* was contemporary to the medieval period and is defined in the Middle English Dictionary as ‘a net for the hair, a kind of headdress.’²⁴³ The term *crepin* was also used in the Middle Ages for ‘a net or caul for the hair.’²⁴⁴ As the term caul is in modern usage and also had the same meaning in the medieval period, this type of headdress, which shows hair in some sort of structure at the side of the head, will be categorised as ‘cauled’. There are a variety of headdresses depicted on funeral monuments which could be classed as ‘cauled’ and these have been divided into sub-categories. Sarah Thursfield, in *The Medieval Tailor’s Assistant*, in which she attempts to recreate medieval clothing, describes a simple cauled headdress as more like a cap which covers the top of the head and covers the hair at the sides.²⁴⁵ There are examples of this in the data so this sub-category which includes close fitting headdresses will be called ‘cap’.

Headdresses grouped under the cauled category can have small or elaborate cauls and some have the appearance of horns or baskets at the side of the head.²⁴⁶ Thursfield calls elaborate cauls at the side of the head ‘templars’ and describes these as ‘cup structures’ which were worn on temples. These appear to be more structured than simple cauls which, according to the definitions above, are more likely to be soft-structures made from nets. However, as stated above, it is impossible to tell what type of material the headdresses depicted on monuments would have been made from, and

²⁴⁰ Gardner, ‘Hair and Head-Dress 1050-1600’, 11.

²⁴¹ Arnold, *Handbook of Medieval English Costume*, 127.

²⁴² <http://oed.com/view/Entry/29083?rskey=kmgZv&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>, accessed 4.7.12.

²⁴³ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED6552> accessed 4.7.12.

²⁴⁴ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED10273> accessed 4.7.12.

²⁴⁵ Thursfield, *The Medieval Tailor’s Assistant*, 208.

²⁴⁶ Scott, *A Visual History of Costume*, 17; Gardner, ‘Hair and Head-Dress 1050-1600’, 11.

as a visual representation rather than reality, the actual material is a type of stone or brass, therefore it is the style and structure which is most important for categorisation. The term *templer* was used in the Middle Ages and is defined in the MED as ‘*Pl. A pair of ornamental bosses, often bejeweled, used to enclose hair coiled at the temple.*’²⁴⁷ However, this is not a modern term and is not found in the OED with this definition. The evidence shows a number of this type of headdress which can be classed as cauled but have been categorized under the term structured caul. Some of these headdresses are more elaborate in that they have a hanging veil behind the headdress,²⁴⁸ which can be of a great length, resembling a curtain but these will still be classed as ‘cauled’.²⁴⁹

A further type of cauled headdress, which is also structured, is what is conventionally known as ‘horned’, These headdresses are a progression of the cauled style in that the side cauls are drawn up to form two points or ‘horns’ above the headband.²⁵⁰ These are distinct from the structured caul headdresses where the cauls are at the side of the head so form a sub-category of their own.

The majority of the headdresses depicted on the sculpted monuments and the monumental brasses fit into these categories, but there are some which have been classed as ‘other’ if they are unusual or unique in this research.

The categories used for analysis of headwear on funeral monuments are as follows:

- Veil
- Veil with wimple (including barbe)
- Veil with fillet

²⁴⁷ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED6716> accessed 6.7.12.

²⁴⁸ Gardner, ‘Hair and Head-Dress 1050-1600’, 11; Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, 50.

²⁴⁹ Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, 50; Gardner, *Handbook of Medieval Costume*, 128.

²⁵⁰ Arnold, *Handbook of Medieval Costume*, 128; Gardner, ‘Hair and Headdress 1050-1600’, 11.

- Veil with circlet
- Coronal/circlet with no veil
- Fillet with chin band
- Frilled veil
- Cauled/cap
- Structured cauls
- Horned

Examples of these can be seen in Figs. 3.7-3.14.

3.5 Jewellery

The OED definition of jewellery is 'Jewellers' work; gems or ornaments made or sold by jewellers; esp. precious stones in mountings; jewels collectively, or as a form of adornment,' and is cited as first being used in c.1400.²⁵¹ 'Jewels' seems to be the term which was more commonly used in the fourteenth century from the literary evidence.²⁵² However, a search through available medieval wills online shows that this term was not common in documents of this type and the usages are in the sixteenth century rather than earlier.²⁵³

Under the ICOM terminology, jewellery is classed as 'accessories added to body or clothing for ornament'. The full entry covers various items of accessory, some of

²⁵¹ OED Online. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/101219?redirectedFrom=jewellery#eid> Accessed 14.5.12

²⁵² See the Middle English Dictionary Online, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=89681204&egdisplay=open&egs=89693995> Accessed 14.5.12

²⁵³ Wills searched were Surtees http://www.uiowa.edu/~c030149a/northern/surtees_116text.pdf , Testamenta Eboracensia <http://archive.org/stream/selectionwillsyo05surtuoft#page/32/mode/2up> , and *Fifty earliest English wills in the Court of Probate, London : A. D. 1387-1439*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;idno=EEWills> All accessed 14.5.12

which will be discussed in this section, some in a later section, and others which are not relevant for this research as they are not present in the evidence being used.²⁵⁴

Women's Garments	
Accessories Added to Body or Clothing for Ornament	
9.1	<i>Worn as a group on different parts of the body</i> Set Set Purse
9.2	<i>Worn on head or face</i>
9.21	Wreath
9.22	Tiara
9.23	Comb
9.24	Hairpin
9.25	Earrings
9.3	<i>Worn on body</i>
9.31	Brooch Brooch Pin Tie-pin Brooch Clip

²⁵⁴ ICOM Vocabulary of Basic Terms for Cataloguing Costume. Accessories Added to Body or Clothing for Ornament. http://www.collectionslink.org.uk/assets/thesaurus_icombts/vbt09e.htm Accessed 14.5.12

9.32	Necklace
9.33	Pendant
9.34	Insignia
9.4	<i>Worn on arms and legs</i>
9.41	Bracelet
9.42	Ring
9.43	Anklet
9.5	<i>Worn on unspecified parts of the body</i>
9.51	Button Button Stud
9.52	Buckle
9.53	Flowers
9.54	Feathers
<i>Note: 9.34 Orders if worn as addition to normal civilian dress</i>	

The items which have been identified on the evidence being used are:

- Brooch
- Necklace
- Pendant

- Insignia
- Ring

Brooch

The OED defines a brooch as: ‘An ornamental fastening, consisting of a safety pin, with the clasping part fashioned into a ring, boss, shield, or other device of precious metal or other material, artistically wrought, set with jewels, etc. Now used mainly as a (female) ornament, but always for the ostensible purpose of fastening some part of the dress’, and cites usage in c. 1225, c. 1385 and 1413.²⁵⁵

The Middle English Dictionary includes the word *broche* which is defined as ‘An ornament (orig., one used as, or mounted on, a safety pin): (a) a clasp, brooch, pin; (b) any such ornament as a pendant, amulet, bracelet, necklace; a piece of jewelry’.

It cites usage of the first definition in c. 1230 and then c. 1385. However, the second definition, which encompasses a variety of jewellery items, is cited in a much larger number of references throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁵⁶ Again, this term seems to appear more in literary documents than wills of the period under study. As the medieval term *broche* could be used for various adornments, the terminology used for this research will be the Modern English word *brooch*. An effigy or brass was deemed to be wearing a brooch if a clear, discrete, ornamental fastening could be identified on the main garment or cloak being worn. This did not include cloak fastenings which appeared in pairs and will be discussed later under other accessories.

²⁵⁵ OED Online. <http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/23737> Accessed 14.5.12

²⁵⁶ Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=21638289&egdisplay=open&egs=21655026> Accessed 14.5.12

If the brooch could be identified as a certain type, this information was also recorded, for example circular brooches, decorated brooches or figurative brooches. Due to the nature of the medium, detailed analysis of the type of brooch was not possible.²⁵⁷

Necklace

The OED defines the term necklace as ‘An ornamental chain or string of jewels, precious metal, beads, etc., worn round the neck.’ The earliest use is cited as 1577, therefore this is not a contemporary term for the period under study here.²⁵⁸ The term *chaine* was used in this period from about 1330 to refer to an ornamental chain around the neck.²⁵⁹ *Bedes* is also a term used from the mid-fourteenth century to refer to strings of beads, sometimes rosary beads but also ornamental.²⁶⁰ The types of neck accessories identified on funeral monuments correspond to linked chains and strings of beads, therefore the terminology used for these is the Modern English chain and beads. Some of the chains or beads on the monuments also have a pendant attached. Pendants can cover a wide range of objects.²⁶¹ The OED defines a pendant as ‘a jewel, bead, tassel, or the like, attached loosely to clothing etc., so as to hang down as an ornament; (now) *esp.* a loosely hanging piece of jewellery worn on a chain around the neck; a necklace with such a piece of jewellery attached.’²⁶² The term *pendaunt* can be found in the Middle English Dictionary defined as ‘the hanging end of a belt, girdle, or garter, often richly ornamented; also, the ornament itself; (b) a pendent

²⁵⁷ See Geoff Egan, Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories c. 1150-c. 1450*, 2002, p247-271 for detailed information on types of brooches.

²⁵⁸ OED Online, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/125675?rskey=SoIw72&result=1#eid> Accessed 14.5.12

²⁵⁹ Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=25249642&egdisplay=open&egs=25264801> accessed 28.5.12.

²⁶⁰ Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=12069519&egdisplay=open&egs=12094605>, accessed 28.5.12.

²⁶¹ Geoff Egan, Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories c. 1150-c. 1450*, 2002, 321.

²⁶² OED Online, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/140034?rskey=WUEfg9&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> accessed 28.5.12.

ornament hanging from a poitrel or from a knight's accouterments'.²⁶³ This term, however, does not seem to be used commonly for an ornament hanging from a chain or string of beads. It is a more generic term for ornaments. As stated above, the Middle English term *broche* could also refer to a pendant. As there is no consensus on a contemporary term, the Modern English term pendant which is generally used by scholars to discuss ornaments hanging from chains or beads round the neck, will be used.²⁶⁴ Specific pendants identified on the funeral monuments include hearts, crosses and roundels. An effigy or brass was deemed to be wearing a necklace if a clear chain or string of beads was visible around the neck. This was described as either a chain or beads and, if there was a pendant hanging from these, it was described as seen by shape.

Rings

The term *ring* was used commonly in medieval literature and documentary sources such as wills to refer to finger-rings and the Middle English Dictionary defines it as 'a finger ring; often made of a precious metal; a signet ring'.²⁶⁵ Archaeological evidence shows that there are various types of ring with the main categories being decorative rings set with gemstones and functional signet rings.²⁶⁶

A problem when trying to identify finger-rings on monuments was that many of the sculptures had had their arms or hands destroyed. Older monuments were also very

²⁶³ Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=140015582&egdisplay=open&egs=140025023> accessed 28.5.12.

²⁶⁴ Diana Scarisbrook, *Jewellery in Britain, 1066-1837, A Documentary, Social, Literary and Artistic Survey*, Norwich: Michael Russel, 1994, p. 28-36; Geoff Egan, Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories c. 1150-c. 1450*, 2002, 321.

²⁶⁵ Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?size=First+100&type=headword&q1=ring&rgxp=constrained>, accessed 28.5.12.

²⁶⁶ Diana Scarisbrook, *Jewellery in Britain, 1066-1837, A Documentary, Social, Literary and Artistic Survey*, Norwich: Michael Russell, 1994, p. 57; Geoff Egan, Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories c. 1150-c. 1450*, 2002.

worn and it was difficult to distinguish any specific markings on fingers. Finger-rings were more visible when present on monumental brasses. A monument was therefore deemed to be displaying a finger-ring or rings when a distinct band could be seen round one or more fingers. Where possible the finger-ring has been described in more detail as being a plain band or hoop, a band or hoop with decoration or an inscription, and a decorative ring set with a gemstone.

3: Images



Fig. 3. 1:Example of layering to show two garments. Lady Cobham, Lingfield, Surrey, c. 1446.



Fig 3.2: Example of layering. Elizabeth Cobham, Lingfield, Surrey, c. 1403.



Fig 3.3: Example of Loose Dress. Lora de Quintin, Brandesburton, Yorkshire, c. 1397.



Fig 3.4: Example of Fitted Dress. Lady Stawell, Cothelstone, Somerset, c. 1379.



Fig 3.5: Example of sideless fitted dress, Lady, Tarrington, Herefordshire, c. 1360



Fig 3.6: Example of a pleated gown, Elizabeth Slyfield, Great Bookham, Surrey, c. 1443.



Fig 3.8: Example of a veil with barbe, Phelippe de Beauchamp, Norfolk, c. 1385.



Fig 3.7: Example of veil and wimple. Joan Disney, Lincs, c. 1300



Fig 3.9: Example of a veil and coronet, Lady Poulet, Somerset, c. 1436



Fig 3. 10: Example of veil, fillet and chinband, Harwisia de Muchegros, Gloucestershire, c. 1350



Fig 3.11: Example of frilled veil, Lady Despenser, Tewkesbury, c. 1349.



Fig 3.12: Example of structured cauled headdress, Margaret Camoys, Sussex, c. 1419



Fig 3.13: Example of a horned headdress, Philippa Pollard, Devon, c.1430



Fig 3.14: Example of a cap or cauled headdress, Lady, Yorkshire, c. 1400

4. Cleavages and Horns: The Paradox of Immoral Dress on Funeral Monuments

Fashion and religion had a close connection in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from the preachers who ‘denounced unsparingly the wanton fashions, the wigs, the paint, the “horns”, the long-flowing trains, the rich furs and the wasteful sleeve-lengths, as well as the womanly pride and passion,’²⁶⁷ to the often extravagant dress shown on tombs and monumental brasses which were displayed prominently in parish churches.²⁶⁸ But these two aspects of medieval fashion seem to be contradictory. Why would a noblewoman want to be depicted on her tomb, which existed as a *memento mori* for her peers and others as a reminder for them to pray for her soul in purgatory,²⁶⁹ wearing clothing which she and the congregation may have heard damned for inciting lust in men or conjuring up devils.²⁷⁰

The types of clothing that these poets, moralists and preachers were writing about ranged from the overtly ‘immoral’, such as low necklines and ‘sideless surcotes’, which emphasised the tightness of the garment underneath,²⁷¹ to displays of ‘vanity’

²⁶⁷ G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926, 123.

²⁶⁸ See, for example Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972; Scott, *A Visual History of Costume*; Muriel Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs*, London: V&A Museum, 1929.

²⁶⁹ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, London: British Museum Press, 1996, 71-2.

²⁷⁰ For incitement of lust, see Henry Edouard Auguste, Marquise de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, *Oeuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, Société des anciens textes français, Paris: Firmin Didot & cie., 1878, Vol. VIII, 169-70. For conjuring up devils see Valerie Edden, ‘Devils, Sermon Stories, and the Problem of Popular Belief in the Middle Ages’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 22, Medieval Narrative Special Number, 1992, 213-225, with particular reference to the definition of ‘devils’, 217.

²⁷¹ Italian sumptuary laws made special provision for the immodesty of low necklines, which were clearly defined, with specific measurements. For a full discussion, see Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200-1500*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002, 62-63. English sumptuary laws were not so prescriptive in this area, therefore the definition of low necklines for this chapter has been

and ‘pride’, with extravagant headdresses and wide sleeves, to luxurious fabrics such as fur. The term ‘moral’ was contemporary to the Middle Ages with a definition given by the Middle English Dictionary as ‘associated with or characterized by right behavior, virtuous, moral; also, associated with or concerning conduct or moral principles’.²⁷² Bishop Reginald Pecock, wrote the *Rule of the Christian People* in c. 1443 with the aim of giving the ordinary Christian the knowledge to live a good and moral life, which would lead to salvation.²⁷³ Although this is towards the end of the period under research of 1250-1450, the message he was giving about morals would have been pertinent previous to the publication of his work. Pecock stated:

‘Pilk good is callid moral good which longip to goode maners or for which a man is preiseable. Ensaumple..is..Almes deede, abstinence, pacience, mekenes, preier. Ensaumple of moral yuel is pride, coueitise, glotonye, wrappe, and opere.’²⁷⁴

The example of ‘moral evil’ clearly states the offending actions include pride, covetousness, gluttony, and wrath, four of the seven deadly sins.²⁷⁵ The ‘immoral’ behavior concerning clothing thus relates to the transgression of these deadly sins, in particular pride, but also lust, and the repercussions of doing so. This criticism was

defined more loosely to cover clothing which shows the shoulders and/or the cleavage, which itself can be defined as ‘The cleft between a woman's breasts as revealed by a low-cut décolletage’, see *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50041195?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=cleavage&first=1&max_to_show=10, 2.b., accessed 13/02/09.

²⁷² Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED28606>, accessed 23.7.12.

²⁷³ Everett H. Emmerson, ‘Reginald Pecock: Christian Rationalist’, *Speculum*, 1956, Vol. 31, No. 2, 235-242, 236.

²⁷⁴ Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=118179078&egdisplay=open&egs=118187723> accessed 23.7.12.

²⁷⁵ For a discussion of the Seven Deadly Sins see Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1952.

aimed at real clothing, the style of which has then been transferred to become image clothing on funeral monuments. The content analysis done for this research gives an indication of how widespread was the representation of this condemned clothing.

Necklines

Italian sumptuary laws made special provision for the immodesty of low necklines, which were clearly defined, with specific measurements.²⁷⁶ English sumptuary laws were not so prescriptive in this area, therefore the definition of low necklines on funeral monuments has been defined more loosely to cover clothing which shows the shoulders and/or the cleavage, which itself can be defined as ‘the cleft between a woman's breasts as revealed by a low-cut décolletage’. Décolletage is defined as ‘exposure of the neck and shoulders by the low cut of the bodice’.²⁷⁷ Fig 4.6 shows an example of visible cleavage showing a cleft between the breasts.

²⁷⁶ For a full discussion, see Catherine Kovesi Killerby, *Sumptuary Law in Italy, 1200-1500*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002, 62-63. *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50041195?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=cleavage&first=1&max_to_show=10, 2.b., accessed 13/02/09.

²⁷⁷ *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50041195?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=cleavage&first=1&max_to_show=10, 2.b., accessed 13/02/09; <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/48330?redirectedFrom=d%C3%A9colletage#eid>, accessed 23.7.12.

Neckline styles on funeral monuments

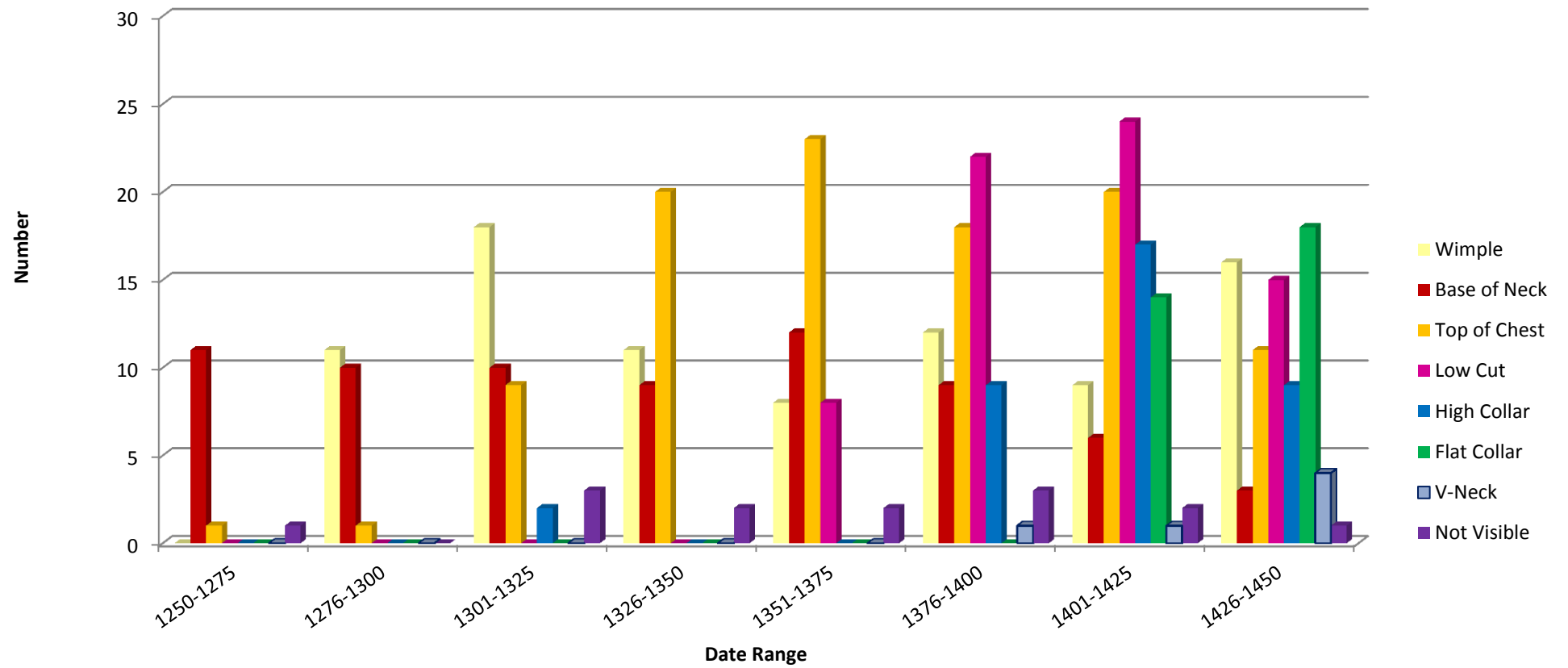


Chart 4.1

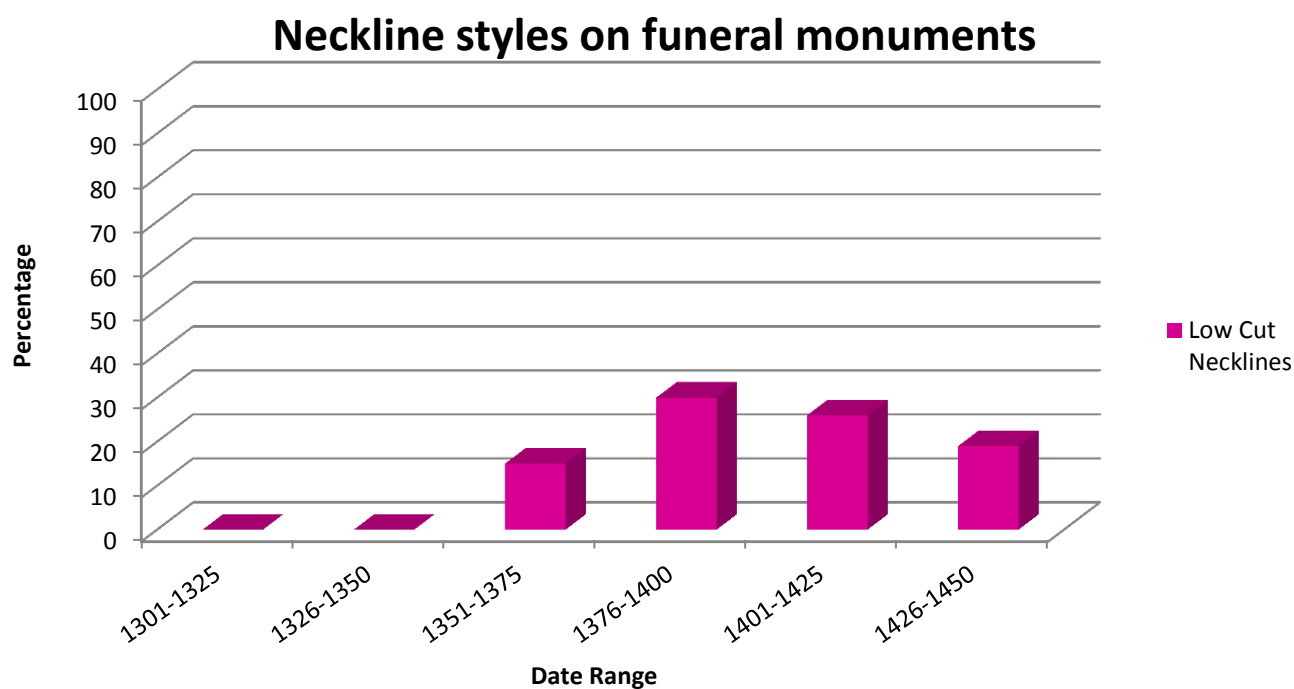


Chart 4.2

Chart 4.1 Shows the types of necklines on garments depicted on funeral monuments with low cut necklines being represented from the mid-fourteenth century onwards.

Chart 4.2 Shows low cut necklines as a percentage of all monuments, discounting the thirteenth century which does not have any low necklines depicted on the data for this research. From the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, the proportion of monuments portrayed with low necklines ranges from 15 to 30 per cent, with an average of 23 per cent for the first half of the fifteenth century.

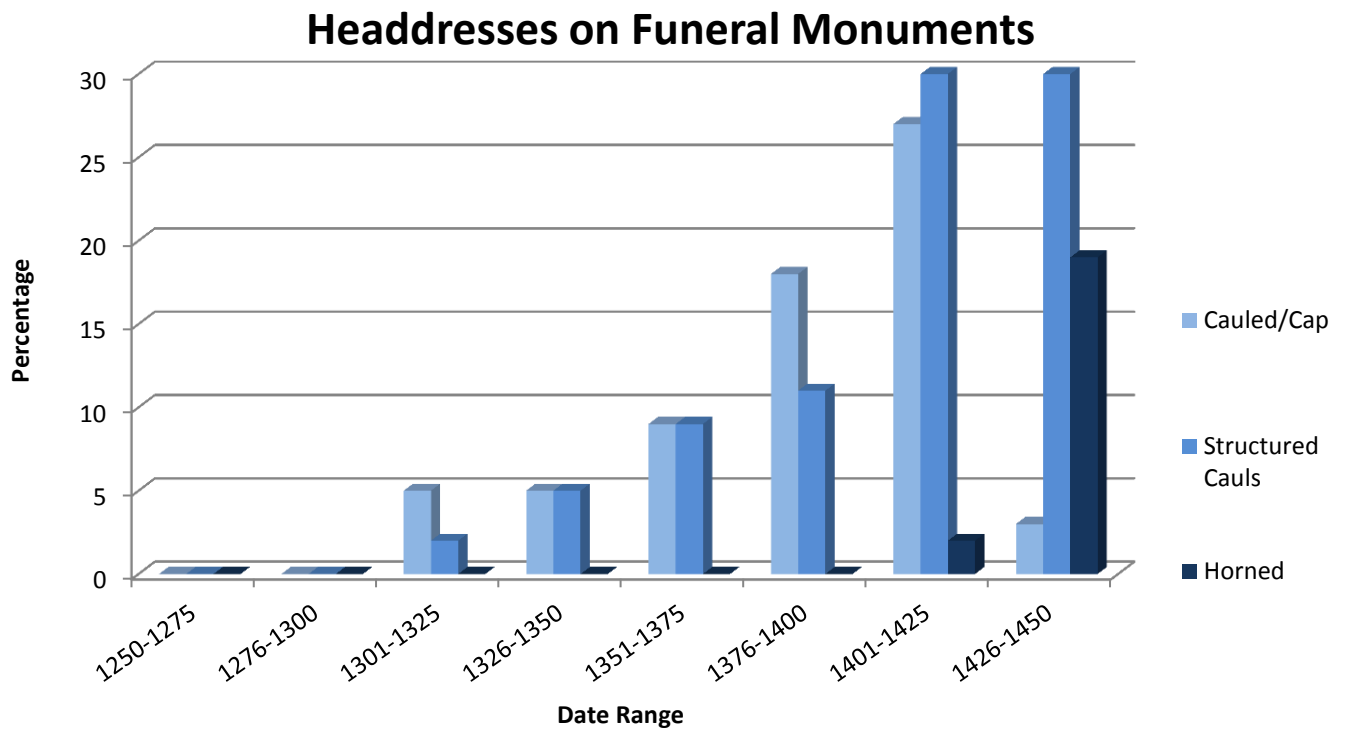


Chart 4.3

Extravagant Headdresses

Extravagant is defined in the OED as ‘exceeding the bounds of reason or propriety; excessive, irregular, fantastically absurd’.²⁷⁸ Headdresses were criticised for having large cauls,²⁷⁹ and for their resemblance to horns.²⁸⁰ Chart 4.3 shows the incidence of structured cauled headdresses and horned headdresses across the period under study. Extravagant, structured cauled headdress and those classes as ‘horned’ make up 45 per cent of all headdresses depicted in the first half of the fifteenth century.

²⁷⁸ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/67142?rskey=wbLY4z&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>, accessed 23.7.12.

²⁷⁹ Poem 63, ‘Lord who grants us life and looks upon us all’ in *Medieval English Verse*, trans. B. Stone, London, 1964, 109.

²⁸⁰ *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*, ed. and intr. T. Wright, London, 1868, 62.

Sideless garments revealing fitted under-garments.

Chart 4.4 shows the frequency on funeral monuments of single fitted garments, and both loose and fitted sideless garments, which show a fitted under-garment. The figures indicate that fitted sideless garments became popular in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and remained so on funeral monuments into the fifteenth century. Fitted main garments were also common from the middle of the fourteenth century into the fifteenth century, at their peak in the first quarter of this century. In total in the second half of the fourteenth century, fitted and fitted sideless garments accounted for 43 per cent of all garments depicted. In the first half of the fifteenth century, they accounted for the same amount. So, from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth centuries, almost half of the monuments surveyed depicted women in fitted garments, with a half of these portraying fitted sideless garments.

Garment style on funeral monuments

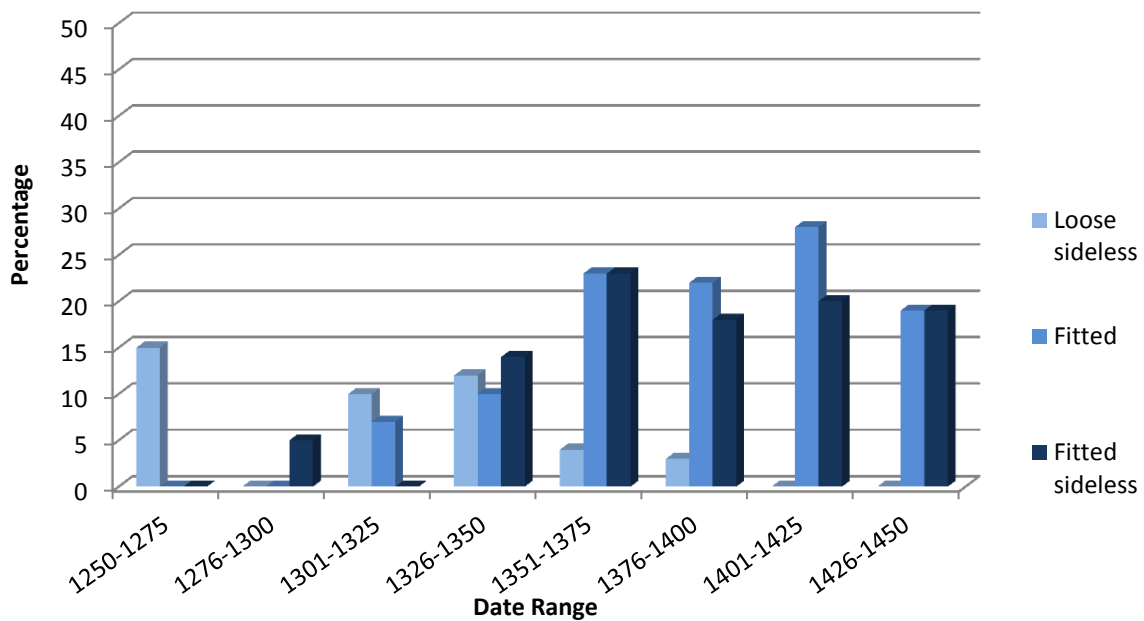


Chart 4.4

The analysis, therefore, shows that it was not just a few women who were being shown on the funeral monuments wearing elaborate or horned headdresses, low cut necklines, and fitted sideless garments revealing further fitted clothing underneath. This type of immoral clothing in the medieval period has been studied specifically by scholars in the past twenty-five years such as Aileen Ribeiro and John Scattergood.²⁸¹ They use literary evidence as a reflection of ‘real’ fashions at the time, with Scattergood stating, ‘It appears that these views were representative’²⁸² More importantly for this research, as with other scholars discussed throughout this analysis, they use visual evidence as a reflection of fashions, merely to illustrate rather than to be analysed in its own right.. In this chapter, I suggest that the choice of clothing on funeral monuments may be an indication of the fashions being worn in the

²⁸¹ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, London: Batsford, 1986; John Scattergood, ‘Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages’, ed. D. T. Williams, *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 1987, 255-272.

²⁸² Scattergood, ‘Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages’, 259.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the paradox between the styles being depicted and the criticisms of these warrants further investigation. Julian Franklyn, a heraldry scholar, writing on brasses in the late 1960s, questions the depiction of horned headdresses on brasses and says ‘whether the more pious ladies were moved by the church’s disapproval, or whether the horned head-dress was an extreme of fashion to which the more modest lady would not conform, is a matter for conjecture’. He does not, however, go on to speculate any more on this.²⁸³ Dress historian Aileen Ribeiro points out that there is a time lag between the first literary criticisms of short, tight tunics worn by men, and their depiction in art, giving a weeper on the tomb of Edward III as an example.²⁸⁴ She, however, does not question this time delay or further analyse the representation of disapproved costume in visual evidence. I suggest that many dress and art historians are highly cautious when it comes to analysing visual sources, instead, preferring to rely on them as mere illustrations.

The only scholar who appears to be looking specifically at the representation of immoral clothing as not just a reflection of the prevailing fashions but also in terms of the notions of modesty and shame is Thomas Lüttenberg, who has investigated the paradox between the literary condemnation of the codpiece as lewd in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the depiction of this item in contemporary portraits.²⁸⁵ Generally though, the underlying issue of immoral clothing and its relation to gender, sexuality, modesty and shame seems to be the domain of fashion theorists and not dress historians, least of all those of medieval dress.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ Franklyn, *Brasses*, 88.

²⁸⁴ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 45.

²⁸⁵ Thomas Lüttenberg, ‘The Cod-piece – A Renaissance Fashion between Sign and Artefact’, *The Medieval History Journal*, 2005, Vol. 8, 49-81.

²⁸⁶ For theoretical works on morality in fashion generally see Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity*, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, 79-100; J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of*

The disparity between the visual images and the contemporary literary evidence is explored in this chapter in relation to the issue of immorality in clothing. Scholars have used this literary evidence to show the reaction to what was believed to have been worn but this research goes further by focusing on the reaction to, or the disregarding of, the literature and moral messages, and how this might have informed the representation of clothing on funeral monuments. Firstly I will survey the literary evidence which condemns the specified styles of clothing discussed above and this is followed by a short discussion on the idea of what constitutes 'fashion' in order to put the styles of clothing being discussed into context. I will then explore the role of the parish church and preachers in the condemnation of 'fashionable' clothes and the conflicting messages presented to the congregation. This then leads on to further consideration of contradictory messages being given to women and how they responded to these, in particular with choices of how they were represented on their funeral monuments. Finally I will consider the concept of time delay and the theory of shifting erogenous zones as an explanation for the paradox of immoral clothing on funeral monuments.

4.1 Literary Evidence

References to costume and fashion appear regularly in western European literature of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and moralists often declared that vanity in dress was one of the actions of man which displeased God, resulting in plagues, famine or other hardships which affected society. Women were also warned that

Clothes, London: The Hogarth Press, 1930, 53-67, 160-66; Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, London: University of California Press, 1978; Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, London: Virago Press, 1985, 91-116.

certain items of clothing would lead them or the men who looked at them into temptation.²⁸⁷ The author of the *Knight of La Tour Landry*, (c. 1371-2), for instance, used moral tales, and attacks on women's clothing as advice for his daughters on how to live a good life.²⁸⁸ Moral messages about clothing were often couched in poetic terms and references can be found in much of the well-known medieval literature such as the late-fourteenth century *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,²⁸⁹ Piers Plowman, (c. 1367-1385),²⁹⁰ the work of Chaucer, (c. 1372 to c. 1400),²⁹¹ and the poetry of John Lydgate, (c. 1370-c. 1449).²⁹² As well as literary references to morality, preachers were more direct in their condemnation and their predictions of hell and damnation for women who wore certain styles of clothing. These included Robert Manning of Brunne, who wrote *Handlyng Synne* c.1303, and targeted pride in women, especially with regard to dress.²⁹³ The purpose of the work was 'to provide edification for the common man'.²⁹⁴ John de Bromyard, preaching towards the end of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth, also criticised pride and vanity over clothing, particularly when worn to church.²⁹⁵ This shows that condemnation of

²⁸⁷ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 42, 43.

²⁸⁸ Geoffrey de la Tour Landry, *The book of the knight of the Tower*, trans. William Caxton; ed. M. Y. Offord, London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

²⁸⁹ *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. J. J. Anderson, London: Everyman, 1996, Introduction, ix. See pages 207: ll. 952-65, 242: ll. 1735-42, 246: ll. 1830-33, for clothing references.

²⁹⁰ William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt, London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1978, xvi. See page 17: ll. 8-16, for clothing references.

²⁹¹ Larry Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, xxii-xxv. Clothing is referred to in tales such as *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, 109, ll. 337-345, and *The Merchant's Prologue*, 152, ll. 1114-1120.

²⁹² Oxford Dictionary of National Biography <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17238>, accessed on 16/01/09. See also Henry Noble MacCracken, ed. *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, London: EETS, 1911-34, Vol. II, p662-665

²⁹³ Idelle Sullens, ed. *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: Handlyng Synne*, Binghampton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Text Studies, 1983, Introduction, xii, 77-94.

²⁹⁴ Sullens, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: Handlyng Synne*, xiii.

²⁹⁵ Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 69, n. 2, 218.

clothing was not a short-term phenomenon with the beginning and the ending of centuries giving rise to heightened views and raised criticism.²⁹⁶

The low cut neckline could be seen as having a link with immorality in the tale of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, although it does not overtly condemn this type of clothing, and could be used to arouse the reader. The description of Bercilak's wife, who sexually tempts Sir Gawain, is as follows:

In a mery mantyle, mete to the erthe,
That was furred ful fine with felles wel pured.
No hews goud on hir hede, bot the higher stones
Trased aboute hir tressour be twenty in clusteres,
Hir thyven face and hir throte throwen al naked,
Hir brest bare before, and behinde eke.²⁹⁷

This implies that long clothes, fur, jewels, low necks and backs exposing flesh will tempt men into lustful behaviour. French poet Eustache Deschamps, in 1406 wrote that married women wore dresses with wide necklines so that other men would desire them.²⁹⁸ In another poem, he also went so far as to say that low necklines drove men to think of rape,

Puis que tettine se moustra
En tous lieux si generalement,
Couvoitise en plusiers entra

²⁹⁶ See R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215-c. 1515*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 203.

²⁹⁷ Anderson, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 242.

²⁹⁸ Diana Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic' Tradition and its Alternatives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 133.

Pour le ravir couvertelement.²⁹⁹

Social historian Barbara Hanawalt suggests that preaching friars actually seemed to encourage the rape of women who went out in ‘lewd’ clothing as a punishment for their behaviour.³⁰⁰ An early fourteenth century poem attributed to Jehan de Meun, author of the *Roman de la Rose*, recounts a diatribe on clothing by the Bishop of Paris. The Bishop likens low necklines to open privies, and says that men can see women’s breasts, and put their hands or even a small loaf down the front of the gowns, again inferring that the way women dress could be used as an excuse for men’s actions.³⁰¹

Long, flowing clothes came in for criticism with Gilbertine canon Robert of Brunne writing in *Handlyng Synne* that sleeves ‘trayleth lowe under the fote’ with William de Wadington’s additions to the manuscript saying that devils could sit on skirts they were so long.³⁰² Many of the stories told in sermons and chronicles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not new and were adapted from other sources such as Old English homilies, Aesop’s fables or other earlier medieval tales.³⁰³ These tales, or exempla, would be used to appeal to contemporary audiences, and the fashion of long trains, often with devils sitting on them, was the subject of many cautionary tales.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹ Henry Edouard Auguste, Marquise de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, *Oeuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, Societé des anciens texts français, Paris: Firmin Didot & cie., 1878, Vol. VIII, 169-70.

³⁰⁰ Barbara Hanawalt, *‘Of Good and Ill Repute’: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, 84.

³⁰¹ F. W. Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume: From the thirteenth to the 19th century*, London: Percy Society, 1849, 29, 36, 33.

³⁰² Sullens, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: Handlyng Synne*, 88.

³⁰³ Joseph Albert Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*, New York: The University of Columbia Press, 1911, 2-6.

³⁰⁴ Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997, 97.

This trope can be traced to a number of other works,³⁰⁵ including the classical story of Zeno, a philosopher born in c.488 B.C.³⁰⁶ When Zeno was seen laughing, he explained he had seen a little devil riding on the train of a vain woman, which was thrown into a puddle of dirty water when the woman lifted up her dress.³⁰⁷ The analogues suggested for the tale in *Handlyng Synne* are Jacques de Vitry's early thirteenth century *Sermones Vulgares*; Peraldus's thirteenth century *Summae Virtutum ac Vitiorum*; and the later thirteenth century manuscript British Library MS. Royal 7. D. i,³⁰⁸ which contains 315 exempla in Latin.³⁰⁹

The linking of the devil to all types of women's clothing was also common and Philip Repingdon, Bishop of Lincoln, writing in the late fourteenth century denounced bag-sleeves or 'pokys' as 'devils' receptacles'.³¹⁰ The idea of devils sitting on or in clothing perhaps needed some imagination but the connection between horned headdresses and the devil was much easier to make for the moralists. These types of headdresses were discussed in literary works from the early fourteenth century and moralists had plenty to say on the extravagant styles which began to emerge.³¹¹

³⁰⁵ Stith Thompson, *Motif-index of folk-literature: a classification of narrative elements in folktales, ballads, myths, fables, mediaeval romances, exempla, fabliaux, jest-books, and local legends*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955-8, G303.89.

³⁰⁶ The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://www.iep.utm.edu/z/zenoelea.htm>, accessed 17/01/09.

³⁰⁷ C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend*, Massachusetts: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948, 76.

³⁰⁸ For a full description of this manuscript see <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/38461.htm&Search=Royal.+7+D.+I&Highlight=F>, accessed 17/01/09.

³⁰⁹ Sullens, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: Handlyng Synne*, Appendix, 381.

³¹⁰ Manchester, JRUL, MS. Lat.367, fol. 256, quoted in Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 410.

³¹¹ For a description of the development of headdresses see Arthur Gardner, 'Hair and Headdress 1050-1600', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1950, Vol. 13, 4-13.

One anonymous poet warns against ‘giddy girls’ and states that

In hell

With devils they shall dwell

Because of cauls that clog and cleave to cheeks that swell.³¹²

The Knight of La Tour Landry warns his daughters away from horned headdresses by telling them: ‘the devil so likes as evidence of a woman’s vanity, that he can often be seen sitting between the horns.’³¹³ Horns were seen as sinful and the author of the fourteenth-century French poem *Le Miroir aux Dames* pointed out that the devil wore horns when he was chased from paradise.³¹⁴ A poem given the title of *Against the Pride of the Ladies*, from British Library Harley MS. No. 2253, which was produced in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), compares women’s headdresses to a ‘slit swine with its ears hanging down,’ and states that the devil will sit on their heads and hold his Sabbaths.³¹⁵ In the *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meun’s Bishop of Paris chastises women for pride in their headdresses, referring to the cauls on their heads giving them the appearance of rams’ horns, thus inciting the public to shout out at them:

And commands in scorn,

Of them that each person cry out: ‘push ram’.

We are too slow about it;

‘Push, ram,’ for the pardon.³¹⁶

³¹² Poem 63, ‘Lord who grants us life and looks upon us all’ in *Medieval English Verse*, trans, B. Stone, London, 1964, 109.

³¹³ *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*, ed. and intr. T. Wright, London, 1868, 62.

³¹⁴ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 46.

³¹⁵ Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, 40-42.

³¹⁶ Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume* 30, 31.

Many of these criticisms of horned headdresses appear at the beginning of the fourteenth century before the upwards horned headdresses were depicted on funeral monuments. From the descriptions, authors seem to be referring to the types of headdress which had cauls at the side of the face with the appearance of animal horns such as those of a ram as described above.³¹⁷ However, John Lydgate, who was the chief poet of Henry V between 1413 and 1422, wrote a ballad about forked headdresses, which he titled *Here Gynneth a Dyté of Womenhis Hornys*. In it he compares women to beasts, and says horns were given to them for defence, which is a thing ‘contrarye to femynyte’.³¹⁸ The later date of this poem may indicate that Lydgate was referring to the headdresses where the horns were raised up to form a horseshoe shape on the top of the head.³¹⁹ The general theme from all these literary references is that horns belonged on animals so were not ladylike hence women must be wearing them in order to injure men, metaphorically rather than literally.

Some of the reactions to these exaggerated headdresses are understandable when for centuries the covering of women’s heads with veils had been linked with virtue. This association went back to St Paul, who asserted men’s heads should be uncovered when praying but women must cover their heads,³²⁰ although veils are not mentioned. John Lydgate says ‘hornes were cast away’ at the time of the Virgin Mary, who was happy to wear just a ‘kovercheef’, hence his criticism of the contemporary display of the horned headdresses.³²¹ Veils were associated with virgins from at least the third

³¹⁷ For a description see Gardner, ‘Hair and Headdress’, 11.

³¹⁸ Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, 52-53.

³¹⁹ See Gardner, ‘Hair and Headdress’, 11.

³²⁰ 1 Corinthians, Ch 10, V.11.

³²¹ MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Vol. II, 662-665.

century,³²² and many scholars since then have put forward their views on St Paul's words and the gender relationships between men and women, with relation to headwear and hairstyles.³²³ In the early fourteenth century Robert of Brunne criticised women who dyed their veils with saffron,³²⁴ which perhaps shows that nothing short of plain, undyed 'virgin' cloth would please these moralists. Heinrich von Langenstein's late fourteenth century tract on sin, *Erkantnus der Sund*, also asserted that 'the colour yellow in veils or in the adornments of all kinds that make up the female headdress, must be avoided and punished.'³²⁵ This aversion to yellow could be because of the expense of saffron needed to dye cloth and the time taken to dye the veils, all fuelling the sin of pride.³²⁶ There is a possible religious reason in that yellow was associated with the robes of Judas. Giotto's (c.1266/7-1337)³²⁷ *Betrayal of Christ*, for instance, depicts Judas kissing Christ and enfolding him with his yellow cloak.³²⁸ Yellow clothing was not popular in the fourteenth century as evidence from wills shows.³²⁹ Certain colours and types of materials were criticised by the moralists but these are much more difficult to observe on funeral monuments. However, many tombs and effigies would have been painted or gilded when they were originally made,³³⁰ and fragments of paint which are still present on some effigies show that colours such as red, green blue, ochre and gold were used.³³¹

³²² Gabriela Signori, 'Veil, hat or hair?' Reflections on an Asymmetrical Relationship', *The Medieval History Journal*, Vol. 8, 1, 2005, 28.

³²³ For a discussion of the historical development of ideas on women and veils up to the medieval period see Gabriela Signori, n. 29 above.

³²⁴ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 43.

³²⁵ Signori, 'Veil, Hat or Hair', 30.

³²⁶ Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, 64.

³²⁷ Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, 13.

³²⁸ Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 66. See Scrovegni Chapel, Padua, <http://www.cappelladegliscrovegni.it/galleria.htm>

³²⁹ Kristen M. Burkholder, 'Dress and Textiles in English Wills', *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, Vol. 1, 2005:133-153, 140.

³³⁰ Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, 3; Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, 37-41.

³³¹ Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, 37.

Robert of Rypon suggests luxury fabrics would feed ‘carnal delight’,³³² although much of the criticism regarding sumptuous textiles was more status-related than about moral condemnation, and was directed at the population through sumptuary laws. Sumptuary laws were introduced across Europe in the fourteenth century, with independent states issuing rules in Italy and Spain, to control the wearing of items such as false hairpieces, different types of fur and materials such as silk and cloth of gold.³³³ The first sumptuary law in England was probably introduced in 1337,³³⁴ and limited the import of foreign cloth by ordering Englishmen to wear native cloth – a protective measure of local industry during unstable political times.³³⁵ The wearing of fur was restricted to certain classes, a distinction which became more apparent around the time of the Black Death.³³⁶ While Lucchese regulations applied only to women’s clothes, and Spanish laws in Castile attempted to regulate both men and women’s clothes,³³⁷ the English laws, which were national, dealt with women’s clothes in two separate ways. Firstly, the laws were aimed at specific social groups, mainly merchants, and women were included as wives of those targeted; and, secondly, prostitutes were included as a group in their own right, having to wear distinctive clothing to set them apart from ‘respectable women’.³³⁸

³³² Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 46.

³³³ Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince, A Study of the Years 1340-65*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1980, 131-132.

³³⁴ Frederique Lachaud, ‘Dress and Social Status in England’, in ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen, *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002, 106.

³³⁵ Frances Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1926, 32.

³³⁶ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, 33.

³³⁷ Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, 131-32.

³³⁸ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, 49, 34.

While not a criticism of wearing fur in itself as an expensive luxury, John of Reading, a monk from Westminster, who wrote a chronicle from 1346,³³⁹ disapproved of women who emphasized their buttocks by wearing fox-tails under their tight gowns.³⁴⁰ Emphasis of the female form appears to be the reason why the sideless surcote was also criticised. By the fourteenth century, the armholes of the surcote began to widen and it became a sideless garment which showed the tight gown underneath. A criticism of this style of clothing was that it was a dress with ‘windows into hell’.³⁴¹

Flügel suggests that it was not the garment itself that was under censure but the ‘scarcely veiled exhibition of the body itself’.³⁴²

4.2 What was fashionable?

The moralists must have been criticising tangible trends which could be described in the modern sense as fashions, but the idea of fashion in the Middle Ages needs further discussion to clarify the concept in this context. There are two areas worth focusing on, the use of the word ‘fashion’ and whether fashion in the modern sense could be said to exist in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Heller suggests that an important sign of a concept’s existence is the incidence of words to describe it.³⁴³ The word ‘fashion’, referring to clothing or personal adornment, was first recorded in the sixteenth century according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.³⁴⁴ However, the Middle

³³⁹ James Tait, ed. *Chronica Johannis de Reading: et anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346-1367*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914, Introduction, 1-2.

³⁴⁰ Tait, ed. *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, 167.

³⁴¹ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 43.

³⁴² J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, London: Hogarth Press, 1930, 59.

³⁴³ Sarah-Grace Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007, 95.

³⁴⁴ See the *Online Oxford English Dictionary*, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50082535?query_type=word&queryword=fashion&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=ks5N-rNa6Ko-3859&hilite=50082535, 3b, 8c, 9, accessed 17/01/09.

English word ‘faccion’ is used in a satire on manners and costume in British Library, Harley MS. No. 536, from the latter part of the fourteenth century.³⁴⁵ The poet states ‘Thei bere a new faccion’, and goes on to discuss wide collars, long spurs and men with ‘womanly breasts’, referring to padded clothing for men.³⁴⁶ Other words appear to be used to signify the idea of something new or fanciful in clothing. In Jean de Meun’s satire on clothing, he says ‘Tel cointise maint homme a mort/Et deceu.’³⁴⁷ Fairholt suggests the French *cointise*³⁴⁸ or Middle English *queintise*³⁴⁹ mean anything quaint or fanciful in dress.³⁵⁰ Examples of this word can be found in Chaucer’s ‘The Parson’s Tale’:

They sholde setten hire entente to plesen hir housbondes,
but nat by hire queyntise of array.³⁵¹

Robert Manning of Brunne, who wrote *Handlyng Synne* c.1303, states:

Gretly pey synne yn þer queyntyse
Pat nouelrye al day areyse,
For to be preysed and of grete syght.³⁵²

The Middle English *guise* or *gise*³⁵³ also suggests fashionable clothing and examples of its usage include Chaucer’s ‘Romaunt of the Rose’, which also uses *quentyse*,

³⁴⁵ See the *Electronic Middle English Dictionary* <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED15096>, accessed 17/01/09.

³⁴⁶ Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, 46.

³⁴⁷ Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, 34.

³⁴⁸ For a discussion of the words used for fashion in French texts see Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 95-119.

³⁴⁹ See the *Electronic Middle English Dictionary* <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=153493038&egdisplay=compact&egs=153522845>, 3. Accessed, 17/01/09.

³⁵⁰ Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, 34

³⁵¹ Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer: The Parsons Tale*, 321, l. 932.

³⁵² Sullens, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: Handlyng Synne*, 85, l. 3343.

³⁵³ See the *Electronic Middle English Dictionary* <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=66423930&egdisplay=compact&egs=66447494>, 3.

Wrought was his robe in strange guise

And al to-slyttered for quentyse.³⁵⁴

The word is also used in the first English translation of the *Knight of the Tour Landry*, from British Library Harley MS. No. 1764, made during the reign of Henry VI (1422-1461 and 1470-1471).

Be not the furst to take new shappes and gises of

array of women of straunge contrey³⁵⁵

Using Heller's proposal regarding the existence of words to describe fashion, fashion could be said to exist in the fourteenth century, at least as a concept. How this concept relates to the evidence can also strengthen the argument for the presence of fashion. Scholars have defined fashion in different ways; for example, Wilson says that 'fashion is change',³⁵⁶ while Hollander suggests that fashion involves 'significant distortion and creative tailoring',³⁵⁷ and Veblen states that fashionable dress must be 'conspicuously expensive and inconvenient'.³⁵⁸ Jones and Stallybrass discuss the idea of fashion as 'habit' and as something engrained deep in culture, a sense of belonging or a persistence of cultural patterns.³⁵⁹ This latter view is echoed by Lauer and Lauer, who define fashion as 'simply the modal style of a particular group at a particular time...the style which is considered appropriate or desirable'.³⁶⁰ Heller has brought all these ideas together and sets out ten criteria which she suggests need to be present for

³⁵⁴ Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer: Romaunt of the Rose*, 695, ll. 839-40.

³⁵⁵ Wright, *The Knight of the Tour Landry*, 39.

³⁵⁶ Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, London: Virago, 1985, 3.

³⁵⁷ Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, London: University of California Press, 1993, 17.

³⁵⁸ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York: Macmillan, 1912.

³⁵⁹ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 6.

³⁶⁰ Robert Lauer and Jeanette Lauer, *Fashion Power*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981, 23.

a fashion system to exist. As well as incorporating some of the above ideas, Heller includes criteria such as the requirement of an audience, social imitation, the constant arousal of criticism, and the sensuality of appearance and the power of seduction.³⁶¹ If these definitions and criteria are applied to the fourteenth century and evidence being used for this research, a fashion system does seem to be in place at this period of time. For example, women emphasising their behinds with fox-tails under their gowns,³⁶² and wearing tight surcotes which pushed up their breasts,³⁶³ satisfy the criteria of distortion and tailoring. Change and constancy can both indicate fashion and the literary evidence points to people adopting new fashions even in the twelfth century when Orderic Vitalis wrote, “Men of knightly rank abandoned the customs of their fathers in style of dress and cut of hair; in a little while townsmen and peasants and all the lower ranks followed their example.”³⁶⁴ This also satisfies the criteria of social imitation and, in the fourteenth century, sumptuary laws in England forbade prostitutes to copy the clothing of respectable women by forbidding them to wear fur, and making them wear distinctive colours or stripes.³⁶⁵

When looking at the visual evidence for the medieval period, although there is a gradual change in styles of dress on effigies and brasses from loose gowns, to tighter garments and houppelandes-style gowns, which satisfies the criteria of fashion indicating the style considered appropriate or desirable at that time, there is also a more rapid change in the style of headdresses.³⁶⁶ The requirement of an audience can be seen as necessary for women who dress in their best clothes for church, and also as

³⁶¹ Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 15-45.

³⁶² Tait, ed. *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, 167.

³⁶³ Scott, *The History of Dress Series, Late Gothic Europe*, 1400-1500, 43-44.

³⁶⁴ Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1980, 268.

³⁶⁵ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation in England*, 34.

³⁶⁶ See Gardner, ‘Hair and Headdress 1050-1600’, 4-13.

a factor in the choice of clothing for tombs. The constant arousal of criticism can clearly be shown from the many moralists quoted in this chapter, whether it be through the pulpit or the written word. Heller's criteria of sensuality and seduction are present at this time, as again is indicated from the moralistic literature. The conclusion is that fashion was very much present in the fourteenth century.

4.3 The Role of the Parish Church and Preaching from the Pulpit

Medieval authors and poets were part of a long tradition of those who criticised women's clothing but what is more interesting and pertinent to this aspect of clothing representation is the attitude towards fashion and females' dressing habits as laid down by the priests and preachers of the day in church sermons. The church was a forum in which denunciation of fashions was more direct than literary commentary. Some preachers such as Robert of Brunne and Philip Repingdon, the Bishop of Lincoln, have already been mentioned in respect of specific criticisms.³⁶⁷ But medieval preachers used the pulpit to condemn fashionable dress of the day on a much wider scale when they had an attentive audience. The style and content of the fourteenth-century sermons can be traced back to the early thirteenth century when the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), in trying to address the decline of the quality of preaching, encouraged its revitalisation, with particular focus on the seven deadly sins.³⁶⁸ Newly emerging social groups gave preachers the opportunity to highlight the sins that their congregations might be most susceptible to, which included attacks on vanity in dress.³⁶⁹ Dominican and Franciscan friars revolutionised preaching in England, when they arrived in 1221 and 1224 respectively. *Exempla* played a defining role in this new wave of preaching, and their purpose was to 'furnish a concrete

³⁶⁷ See above, 95, 97, 98.

³⁶⁸ Gregg, *Devils, Women and Jews*, 3; Norman P. Tanner, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: Volume One, Nicaea to Lateran V*, London: Sheed & Ward, 1990,

³⁶⁹ Gregg, *Devils, Women and Jews*, 9.

illustration of the result of obeying or disobeying some religious or moral law', or to 'arouse fear in the sinful or to stimulate the zeal of the godly'.³⁷⁰ From the early thirteenth century *exempla* became a popular way of getting the message across for preachers and the constant repetition allowed them to be instantly recognisable and understandable to the audiences, so much so that the demand for these stories led to books of exempla which priests could use in their own churches.³⁷¹ One of these books was Gilbertine monk, Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, which was probably aimed at parishioners of churches preached in by Gilbertine canons at this time.³⁷² However, it is known that Sir William Clopton and his wife Dame Joan of Worcestershire owned a manuscript containing *Handlyng Synne*, suggesting that nobility also had access to this type of work for their own use.³⁷³

In order to assess how women might engage with both the literary and oral criticisms of their clothing, I will now discuss women as audience. There are two areas which are important to consider: firstly, women as readers and secondly, women as churchgoers. Medieval women owned books, either commissioning them themselves,³⁷⁴ or being given them, often as a bequest.³⁷⁵ For example, Alice, Lady West, in her will of 1395, bequeathed 'all my books of Latin, English and French'.³⁷⁶ Women also spent considerable time reading books, and evidence shows that the number of women owning books increased in the fourteenth century, and even more

³⁷⁰ Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*, 84. 8.

³⁷¹ Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*, 15.

³⁷² Sullens, *Robert Mannyng of Brunne: Handlyng Synne*, xiii.

³⁷³ Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England, 1000-1500*, Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998, 48.

³⁷⁴ 'Elizabeth de Burgh's private expenditure on religious purposes, 1351-52', ed. Jennifer C. Ward, *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 220.

³⁷⁵ Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500*, London: Phoenix Press, 1996, 247; 'Excerpt from the will of Eleanor de Bohun', Ward, *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry*, 51, 'Extract from the will of Mary Lady Roos, 1394', Ward, *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry*, 223.

³⁷⁶ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 137.

so in the fifteenth century.³⁷⁷ The type of books owned included religious works,³⁷⁸ romances,³⁷⁹ and courtesy literature.³⁸⁰ Therefore it is likely that women were reading works by authors who criticised clothing. *Handlyng Synne*, as mentioned above was one of these, and another popular book, which was circulating from the mid-fourteenth century was *What the Goodwife Taught her Daughter*, in which girls were warned against luxurious clothes and garlands.³⁸¹ This book was one of the first conduct books in Europe aimed at women below the ranks of aristocracy, indicating that it was not merely the nobility who were being warned about ‘inappropriate’ clothing.³⁸² However, the daughters in question are counselled to beware of imitating noble women with their rich clothing:

Loke thou were no ryche robys,
Ne counterfyte thou no ladys;
For myche schame do them betyde,
That lese ther worschipe thorow ther pride.³⁸³

By the late Middle Ages these lay conduct books written in both French and English became exceedingly popular with women.³⁸⁴

Attending Mass, saying prayers and attending sermons were activities expected of a medieval noblewoman.³⁸⁵ *Exempla*, as already seen, became popular from the

³⁷⁷ Susan Groag Bell ‘Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture’, *Signs*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Summer 1982, 742-768, 744.

³⁷⁸ Carol Meale, ‘Laywomen and their books in late medieval England’, ed. Carol Meale, *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 130-31.

³⁷⁹ Leyser, *Medieval Women*, 247.

³⁸⁰ Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, 54.

³⁸¹ Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, 54.

³⁸² TEAMS Middle English Text Service, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/sgas4int.htm>, accessed 24.7.12.

³⁸³ TEAMS, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/teams/sgas4frm.htm>, accessed 24.7.12.

³⁸⁴ Elizabeth Allen, *False Fables and Exemplary Truth in Later Middle English Literature*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 25.

thirteenth century onwards, and preaching Gilbertine friars may have used *Handlyng Synne* for their sermons. Dominican, Franciscan and Augustinian friars were also preaching and it is not improbable that they were using the same types of stories. Women churchgoers would have been able to hear sermons from peripatetic friars, as evidence from Elizabeth de Burgh's private expenditure shows. She paid 6s 8d to a Carmelite friar, and Augustinian friar and 10s to a Dominican friar, who all preached at Bardfield Church.³⁸⁶ If it was the case that these visiting friars sometimes criticised women's clothing in their sermons, then the significance of the response of women becomes much more worthy of investigation as it appears that they were openly flouting what was being preached to them and flagrantly displaying all that was classed as sinful in the very building where they were being told this. This seems to be the case both in their actual apparel and also in how they chose to be represented on funeral monuments. In order to better understand what immoral clothes were and the reasons for condemning them, I will now explore the content of some relevant sermons.

Linking fashionable clothing with the seven deadly sins would have given the preachers more justification for their diatribes. Pride was the worst as it was seen as rebellion against God so denunciation of costume could easily be tagged on to this.³⁸⁷ The story was told of a woman from Eynsham, Oxfordshire, who took so long doing her hair that she arrived late at church 'barely before the end of mass'. But the story goes that the devil, in the form of a spider, landed on her head and terrified her nearly

³⁸⁵ Ward, *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry*, 143.

³⁸⁶ 'Elizabeth de Burgh's private expenditure on religious purposes, 1351-52', Ward, *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry*, 220.

³⁸⁷ Dorothy Wertz, 'The Deadly Sins in a Changing Social Order: An Analysis of the Portrayal of Sin in the Medieval English Theater', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 11, 1970, 240-245, 240.

to death, and could only be removed when the holy sacrament was displayed before it.³⁸⁸ This story is another example of medieval exempla and various versions of it can be found in the literature under discussion here, for example the Knight of the Tour Landry tells the story of a woman taking so long to get ready for church that she annoyed the rest of the congregation so much that they asked God to send her a warning. When she looked in her mirror she ‘saw therein the fende whiche shewed to her his hinder parte so fowle and horryble’. She then went mad but when she recovered was never late for church again.³⁸⁹ Taking too much time and effort over their appearance was condemned as tampering with God’s work.³⁹⁰ Vituperative attacks on women included those by Augustinian friar John of Mirfield, preaching c.1370,³⁹¹ who stated that ‘when women set about adorning their own persons, by constricting themselves in tight clothing they wish to appear slender, and with artificial colours they desire to seem beautiful, thereby expressly insulting their Creator.’³⁹² Another Augustinian friar, John Waldeby, who died after 1372,³⁹³ damns the headdresses worn by many women and states ‘They ornament their head like the chimney-top with garlands, crowns and gems set therein: nevertheless nothing comes forth thence but foul smoke and temptation to lechery.’³⁹⁴ Bishop Repingdon does not just limit his attacks to one item of clothing and condemns women for their wantonness, preaching, ‘In the woman wantonly adorned to capture souls, the garland upon her head is a single coal or firebrand of Hell to kindle men with that fire; so too

³⁸⁸ Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 170.

³⁸⁹ Geoffroy de la Tour Landry, *The book of the knight of the Tower*, trans. William Caxton; ed. M. Y. Offord, London: Oxford University Press, 1971, 52-53.

³⁹⁰ G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933, 392.

³⁹¹ Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 306.

³⁹² John of Mirfield, *Florarium Bartholemai*, quoted in *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 392.

³⁹³ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101053112/> accessed 21/01/09.

³⁹⁴ Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 392.

the horns of another, so the bare neck, so the brooch upon the breast, so with all the curious finery of the whole of their body.’³⁹⁵

It was not just the higher classes but also the middle classes and their servants who were warned about their clothing and reminded that St Paul said ‘that thei nogth atyre her hedes neither with silver, gold, ne purle, ne other riche stones; but that thei cover her hedes with clene veyles, and nameliche at the chirche, when thei beth to fore God, and schewe hem there as good women schulde doo.’³⁹⁶ It is likely that women in the congregation would be told that fashionable clothing was sinful in some of the sermons that preachers gave and men would be warned about the wanton women who would drive them to lechery. It is all the more surprising then that people actually came to church in all their finery if the preachers are to be believed. John de Bromyard, points out that ‘As against one who comes and goes to church or procession chastely, humbly and in orderly fashion, there are many, foul within, and proud without, displaying in their garments and all things more of pride than of humility’.³⁹⁷

As well as the preaching from the pulpit, there would have also been a moralizing element visually displayed in the church. Wall paintings often depicted the seven deadly sins, which served as a reminder to the congregation not to indulge in these. St Peter’s Church in Raunds, Northamptonshire, contains a wonderful selection of wall paintings of c.1420, the seven deadly sins included. Pride is depicted as a ‘richly well-

³⁹⁵ Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 395.

³⁹⁶ BL, MS. Harley 45, fol 113, quoted in *Preaching in Medieval England*, 172.

³⁹⁷ *Summa Predicantium*, quoted in Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 218.

dressed woman'.³⁹⁸ She appears to have a low neckline, a defined sideless dress showing a green garment underneath and a bright red cloak.³⁹⁹ (Fig. 4.1) It may have been repainted but the message is clear that wearing these types of clothes and colours are linked to pride and are therefore disapproved of. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 forbade the clergy from wearing red and green after they were criticised for their luxurious clothing so these colours may still have been associated with sumptuousness.⁴⁰⁰ In particular, a rich scarlet red was produced from the kermes insect and was expensive so could have been associated with vanity and pride.⁴⁰¹ A similar female figure exists in Alveley Shropshire, although of an earlier date.⁴⁰² Representing Pride, she wears a tight gown with tight under sleeves and long flowing tippets.⁴⁰³ Her neckline is cut very low revealing neck and shoulders.

For women in the congregation at Holy Trinity Church, Coventry, the wall painting known as The Doom, painted in the fifteenth century, gave a clear message regarding the wearing of extravagant headwear. Naked, apart from a bright red 'horned' headdress, is an alewife, tempting a devil with a tankard of beer. (Fig 4.7) Her female companion is also wearing a similar headdress, and this possibly refers to women watering down beer. They are sinners destined for hell and dressed immorally to show this.⁴⁰⁴ Roof bosses, sculptures and misericords also often gave messages about the wearing of inappropriate clothing. In particular a roof boss at All Saints Church, East

³⁹⁸ Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008, 86.

³⁹⁹ *Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church*, <http://www.paintedchurch.org/raundsds.htm>, accessed 21/01/09.

⁴⁰⁰ Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 362.

⁴⁰¹ Elizabeth Crowfoot, Frances Pritchard, Kay Staniland, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 4, Textiles and Clothing, c. 1150-c. 1450*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006, 200.

⁴⁰² <http://www.paintedchurch.org/alveley.htm>, accessed 21/01/09.

⁴⁰³ For a definition and discussion of tippets see Robin Netherton, 'The Tippet: Accessory After the Fact?', *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, Vol. 1, 2005, 115-132.

⁴⁰⁴ *Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church*, <http://www.paintedchurch.org/coveht.htm>, accessed 24.7.12.

Budleigh, Devon, shows a woman wearing a horned headdress with the devil sitting between the horns, (Fig. 4.2)⁴⁰⁵ A misericord at St Mary's Church, Minster-in-Thanel, Kent, also shows a woman's head with the devil sitting between the horns on her headdress.⁴⁰⁶ The congregation would be able to see all these types of warnings regularly in church and these would tie in with what was being preached from the pulpit. Noblewomen would be warned of the dangers of wearing horned headdresses, low necklines, tight clothing, yet a glance to a chantry, tomb chest, wall recess or the floor underneath where they stood, would show these very items of clothing carved in stone, marble or alabaster, or engraved in brass.

There are a number of effigies where women are wearing horned headdresses and particularly good examples of these are Philippa Pollard, c. 1430, St Michael's Church, Horwood, Devon (Fig. 4.3); Lady Grey, c. 1443, St Peter's Church, Chillingham, Northumberland (Fig. 4.4); and an early fourteenth-century female at All Saints Church, Ryther, Yorkshire. Brasses depicting horned headdresses include Lady Joan Greyndour, c. 1443, All Saints Church, Newland, Gloucester, and Isabel de la Pole, c. 1435, St Andrews Church, Hingham, Norfolk. (Fig. 4.5)

Low necklines can be seen on effigies of Lady Neville, c.1425, St Mary's Church, Staindrop, Durham; a female at All Saints Church, Darfield, Yorkshire, c.1400⁴⁰⁷ Lady Marmion, c. 1387, St Nicholas Church, West Tanfield, Yorkshire (Fig 4.6)⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁵ Personal correspondence. E-mail from Sue Andrew, PhD student, Plymouth University, 21/06/08.

⁴⁰⁶ Christa Grössinger, *The World Upside Down: English Misericords*, London: Harvey Miller, 1996, Plate 126, 89.

⁴⁰⁷ See Pauline E. Routh, *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire*, Ipswich: The Boydell Press, 1976, 31-33. Clothing referred to on p. 33.

⁴⁰⁸ See Routh, *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire*, 134-137, clothing discussed on p. 135; Brian and Moira Gittos, 'Motivation and Choice: The Selection of Medieval Secular Effigies', ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen, *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002, 143-167.

and Lady Hiltons, c. 1372, St Mary the Virgin, Swine-in-Holderness, Yorkshire.⁴⁰⁹

Brasses which show low necklines or cleavage include Lady Russell, c. 1416, St Peter's Church, Dyrham, Gloucestershire; Philippa de Strabolgi, c. 1395, St George's Church, West Grinstead, Sussex; and Eleanor Cobham, c. 1420, St Peter and St Paul's Church, Lingfield, Surrey.⁴¹⁰ Long trains can be seen on two effigies in Herefordshire,⁴¹¹ that of Blanche Mortimer, Lady Grandisson, c. 1347, at St Bartholomew's Church, Much Marcle; and that of the sister of Grymbald Pauncefoot, c. 1360, at St Michael's Church, Ledbury.⁴¹²

Despite the strong damnation of certain types of clothing in literature, from the pulpit, and visual images in the church, people still chose these styles in which to be depicted on their funerary monuments.

4.4 Mixed Messages, Reactions and Religious Justification

So far, the literary evidence shows that women were being given negative messages about clothing but these are contradictory to what appears to have been happening in society and on tombs. Two questions arise from the previous discussion: firstly, what was the attitude of women to what they were hearing or reading and secondly were there sources giving positive messages about clothing? Women's attitudes have briefly been implied in that they appeared to have been dressing extravagantly for

⁴⁰⁹ See the Medieval Combat Society, <http://www.themcs.org/costume/Female/2006%20MCS%20Swine%20in%20Holderness%20St%20Mary%20the%20Virgin%20Robert%20Hiltons%20and%20wife%201372%2025.jpg> accessed 14/02/09.

⁴¹⁰ See Nigel Saul, *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and Their Monuments*, 1300-1500, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 173-6, with brief description of clothing.

⁴¹¹ See Loveday Gee, 'Fourteenth-Century Tombs for Women in Herefordshire', ed. David Whitehead, *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, (Great Britain): The British Archaeological Association, 1995, 132-137.

⁴¹² All these images are available on the USB Memory Stick containing images for the research.

church and they were also depicted on funeral monuments in this way. Further investigation reveals that women often would have paid lip-service to the preachers. William de Swynderby, a former hermit and priest, from Leicester, preaching c. 1380, spoke of ‘de mulierum defectibus et superbia’ - the sins and pride of women and how the adornment of women, their pride and wantonness were all despised.⁴¹³ However it appears that he had more than met his match with one group of female parishioners, with Owst claiming that ‘So heavily did these rebukes from the pulpit weigh upon the minds of the townswomen, good, bad and indifferent, that they actually proposed to stone him out of the place.’⁴¹⁴ A similar example from continental Europe must surely have been echoed in England. The French chronicler Monstrelet recorded for the year 1428 that Friar Thomas Conecte travelled around Flanders, and the counties of Amiens and Ponthieu preaching against the extravagant dress of women, particularly their enormous headdresses. He was so fervent in his condemnation that women did not dare wear headdresses in front of him and he even encouraged boys to run after them shouting abuse at them. The women were apparently so ashamed that they took to wearing caps ‘somewhat like those worn by peasants and people of low degree’. But this was false piety, as Monstrelet states that as soon as the friar left the area the women ‘began to resume their former colossal headdresses and wore them even higher than before’.⁴¹⁵

The evidence also points to women putting status over piety and ignoring what the preachers were saying in order to show off their clothes and importance. Stories of women spending so much time getting ready for church that the devil appeared in

⁴¹³ Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 122.

⁴¹⁴ Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 123. Owst does not however indicate the source of this evidence.

⁴¹⁵ Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, trans. Thomas Johnes, London: H. G. Bohn, 1853, Vol. 1, Chapter LIII, 546-547.

their mirrors, or like the woman from Eynsham discussed above, who had the devil land on her head in the form of a spider, were common. Although these exempla were repeated by different preachers, they were ‘characteristically grounded in a contemporary reality’ and would often show believable people in everyday situations.⁴¹⁶ Nonetheless, these cautionary tales seemed to be ignored by many women and the satisfaction of being the best-dressed in church was more important than the state of her soul. Arriving late added all the more prestige as it was flattering that ‘God’s service has been delayed out of respect to your rank and person.’⁴¹⁷ It was also the case during mass that people would not attend the service until the moment of the elevation of the host,⁴¹⁸ and the Bishop of Mendes, William Durand, 1230-1296,⁴¹⁹ is reported to have complained that people ran into church at the sound of the elevation bell.⁴²⁰ This would have been another opportunity for fashionably dressed women to make their presence known. Preachers were obviously aware of this and tried to make their point with one unnamed priest castigating the nobility, ‘Ther is most pryde in entrynge of holy churche with pompe, vayne glorie, with noble atyre, for to be miche yset by amonges the peple, more than for eny devocion to god. And most in his festys.’⁴²¹ However, all eyes would have been on the woman who was late, especially as the gentry often removed themselves from parish life and

⁴¹⁶ Gregg, *Devils, Women and Jews*, 3.

⁴¹⁷ Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 170.

⁴¹⁸ For an explanation of the raising of the host see Claire Cross and P. S. Barnwell, ‘The Mass in its Urban Setting’, ed. P. S. Barnwell, Claire Cross, and Ann Rycraft, *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York*, Reading: Spire Books, 2005, 13-15.

⁴¹⁹ Timothy M. Thibodea, trans. *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende (A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One)*, Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2007, 3.

⁴²⁰ Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 249-51.

⁴²¹ BL MS. Harley 2398, fol. 9b, quoted in *Preaching in Medieval England*, 170.

worshipped in private chapels, only attending church on particular feast days.⁴²² This would doubly reinforce their status when they were present in their fine clothes.

People dressed up for church but preachers took this as pride and vanity while the nobility clearly saw it in a different way and as Owst points out, 'Against the general worldliness and self-interest of the times the pulpit was at a disadvantage, even with Scripture and with satire as its privileged weapons.'⁴²³ If the nobility dressed for church then it is not surprising that they also wanted to be seen in the same fashionable clothing on their tombs, with the same purpose in death as in life to impress their peers and neighbours, as befitted their status in the hierarchy of medieval society, which was thought to have been ordained by God.⁴²⁴

Further messages were being given to medieval women about how they should dress, and sometimes it was not from male preachers but influential women such as Christine de Pizan (1365-c.1430),⁴²⁵ who defended their attire. Although French, what Christine had to say about noblewomen also applied to those in England and she stressed the role they had to play in society.⁴²⁶ Peter Coss suggests that women were 'encouraged to see themselves as potentially foolish and fickle, loquacious and lascivious' and that many women would accept uncritically this 'patriarchal ideology'.⁴²⁷ The messages were coming through from the literature and sermons, but some women, again as shown above, may have chosen outright resistance. Christine de Pizan's *La Cité des Dames* would have helped shape women's attitudes as she questioned the misogynist opinions of men and why these did not fit in with women's

⁴²² Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, 92-93.

⁴²³ Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 410.

⁴²⁴ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation in England*, 23.

⁴²⁵ Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500*, 139.

⁴²⁶ Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, 10.

⁴²⁷ Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England, 1000-1500*, Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998, 175.

views of themselves.⁴²⁸ In relation to clothing she said it was natural for women ‘to delight in coquettishness or in beautiful and rich clothes’ and as even more justification in light of the negative messages from the pulpit ‘it would be difficult for them to avoid it despite their virtues’.⁴²⁹ This work was not translated into English until 1521,⁴³⁰ but there is some evidence that English women would have had access to Christine’s writings in French during the fifteenth century. Christine’s works were very popular among her immediate contemporaries,⁴³¹ but she had connections with England, as she was befriended by the Earl of Salisbury in 1397, who took her son Jean to bring up in his own household. Henry IV knew of her poems and by the end of the fourteenth century she was well-known in the English court.⁴³² Christine herself was keen for women to read her works, saying at the end of the *Book of the Three Virtues*, ‘I thought that I would multiply this work in various copies throughout the world...so that it can be presented in various places to queens, princesses and noble ladies....that through their efforts it may be circulated among other women.’⁴³³ It is known that Alice Chaucer had a copy of the *Livre de la Cite des Dames* in 1466, when it was part of a number of manuscripts being taken from one of her homes to another.⁴³⁴ It is therefore likely that this work was owned and read by some medieval women in the first half of the fifteenth century. Much of the literature appears to be direct attacks on women, but if Christine de Pizan questioned misogynistic attitudes, would well-educated English women do the same and be able to see through these

⁴²⁸ Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, 175.

⁴²⁹ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. Rosalind Brown-Grant, London: Penguin, 1999, 188.

⁴³⁰ Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, xviii.

⁴³¹ Rosalind Brown-Grant, *Reading Beyond Gender: Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 128.

⁴³² Enid McLeod, *The Order of the Rose: The Life and Ideas of Christine de Pizan*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1976, 162.

⁴³³ Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works*, New York: Persea Books, 1984, 211.

⁴³⁴ Meale, ‘Laywomen and their books in late medieval England’, 134.

attacks? Christine was well aware of the misogyny displayed in literature such as the *Roman de Rose* and was prepared to argue against this, however she received criticism for her outspoken views.⁴³⁵ Misogynistic literature could be argued to be a justification of men's vices rather than a criticism of women's. Gregg suggests that by constructing this sexually provocative female identity, the 'troubled clerical masculinity' could be concealed by the projection of male sexual guilt on to an unempowered other, women. The references to women inciting rape if they wore low-cut dresses unashamedly cast women as the villains and men as the victims.⁴³⁶ The suggestion of women being responsible for the actions of men because of their clothing could also be read into an image of the rape of Dinah depicted in the British Library MS Egerton 1894, the Egerton Genesis Picture Book, produced in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.⁴³⁷ The story from Genesis, Chapter 34, tells how Dinah, the daughter of patriarch, Jacob, was raped by a young prince, Shechem. In medieval tradition Dinah was held up as an example of what happens when a woman commits the sins of pride, foolishness or curiosity, by straying from the family home.⁴³⁸ The image in the manuscript shows Dinah visiting the women of Shechem in a market place. The women are depicted in fourteenth-century costume with fitted dresses, and wide necklines, although they do not show any cleavage. They have their hair cauled at the sides of their head. As well as their clothing which although not

⁴³⁵ Jennifer Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500*, London: Longman, 2002, 150.

⁴³⁶ Gregg, *Devils, Women and Jews*, 86, 93.

⁴³⁷ The British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=10811> accessed 24.7.12.

⁴³⁸ Joy A. Schroeder, 'The Rape of Dinah: Luther's Interpretation of a Biblical Narrative', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 1997, 775-791, 775.

overtly 'immoral' could be classed as 'fashionable', the women are looking at a market stall which is selling girdles, purses and a cased mirror.⁴³⁹

Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444) was well-known for his sermons criticising women for their vanity over clothes,⁴⁴⁰ and blames 'shameless wives, who seek to corrupt men's hearts with their bewitching gowns, painted faces and other wiles', again making the wives responsible for their husband's wrongdoings.⁴⁴¹ The implication here is that by leaving home, wearing fashionable clothing, and congregating with other women who are displaying vanity in their clothing and their purchases, Dinah is responsible for her own rape.

Sermons were often couched in terms of saving women's souls which was admirable if true, but it was more than likely that men were more concerned with their own souls when facing these 'temptresses'.⁴⁴² Women may not have actively spoken out against the misogyny like Christine de Pizan but their actions in ignoring preachers once they had left, attending church in their best clothes, and choosing morally suspect clothing for their tombs shows, that they might not have been as unempowered as men might have liked to have thought.

Mixed messages abounded and some works which criticised clothing in one passage would justify dressing up in another. The Knight of La Tour Landry, while warning his daughters against vanity, tells of a woman who had 'good gounes and ryche' but would not wear them for church or on feast days unless there would be men of estate

⁴³⁹ Egan and Prirchard, *Dress Accessories*, 19.

⁴⁴⁰ Thomas S. Izbicki, 'Pyres of Vanities: Mendicant Preaching on the Vanity of Women and Its Lay Audience', ed. Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green, and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages*, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989, 211-212.

⁴⁴¹ Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching From Its Origins to St Bernadino da Siena*, trans. Carole Preston and Lisa Chien, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

⁴⁴² Scott, *The History of Dress Series: Late Gothic Europe*, 60.

there who she could impress. Her excuse was that God, the priest and the congregation saw her all the time so there was no need to dress up for them. This woman was paralysed by a gust of wind until she repented and the moral of this tale was that dressing up in your most stylish clothes for church showed respect for God and the Virgin.⁴⁴³ Therefore, women who chose to be depicted in this type of clothing on their tombs could justify this with reference to this particular tale

The assumption that what was being written about or preached on the extravagances of clothing was directed at others and did not apply to them was probably an attitude taken by the nobility, a demonstration of vanity, perhaps, in its own way. For example the sumptuary laws forbade the wearing of luxury fabrics, particular types of fur and certain precious metals and jewels, by lower classes.⁴⁴⁴ If the nobility knew they were exempt from these laws which were set down by the government, then they could also think they were exempt from the moralistic preaching in their church each week. This is a case of secular authority versus divine authority and which one the nobility was ready to accept. There was a specific hierarchy in medieval society, which was seen as being determined by God and it was heresy for anyone who tried to rise above his class in his lifestyle or dress. The sumptuary laws were aimed at just this type of person, and not the high-ranking nobility, therefore, in church they may have also felt the diatribes were not aimed at them but the lower classes who were trying to dress above their station.⁴⁴⁵ The gentry would have had an obligation to dress appropriately for their class and they would have seen this as being part of upholding God's law and this view of status may have overridden the idea of this type of clothing being immoral. This links in to gender relationships in determining the clothes worn by

⁴⁴³ Offord, *The book of the knight of the Tower*, 45-46.

⁴⁴⁴ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, 47-49.

⁴⁴⁵ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, 23-24.

medieval women. St Paul's views on the covering of a woman's head while she was praying were discussed above but this particular section of the bible had far reaching effects on the perception of women and their hierarchical role in society, which also points to why some of them were depicted in 'immoral' clothing on their tombs.

Accusations of tampering with God's work were one way of trying to stop women spending too much time on their appearance and for a pious woman it would be expected that she would respect divine authority. However, in the medieval period it was not as straightforward as this and again there were conflicting messages for women about whose authority was chief. St Paul makes it clear that there is a strict hierarchy of authority, with man being subservient to God and woman being subservient to man.⁴⁴⁶ It is also stated by St Peter that a woman must be obedient to her husband, but he goes on to talk about adornment and how it is the inner person who is important. He does not forbid adornment and says 'For after this manner in the old times the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands.'⁴⁴⁷

As well as hearing from preachers in their religious setting that giving too much attention to clothing was sinful, women were also given religious justification for taking care over their appearance in order to please their husbands. As well as Biblical references, the writings of St Augustine (354-430)⁴⁴⁸ also sanctioned this with him allowing for a husband to make his wife wear fine clothing in order to show her subjection to him. But as with St Peter, he indicated that the wife could 'still have

⁴⁴⁶ 1 Cor. 11: 3-12.

⁴⁴⁷ 1 Peter 3: 1-5.

⁴⁴⁸ Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

retained a humble heart under proud attire'.⁴⁴⁹ *Le Miroir aux Dames* 'states sternly that while it is necessary for a woman to be obedient to her husband, it is equally important for her not to lose her soul, for extremes in dress result in eternal damnation.'⁴⁵⁰ Women, therefore again had conflicting messages when choosing their clothing or having it chosen for them, and this is likely to extend to the choices of costume on tombs and brasses. What choices did women have depending on their roles at the time of tomb commission? Chastity was the desired situation for noble women in medieval times and this could be achieved by three main states – virginity, marriage or widowhood.⁴⁵¹ St Paul's influence can again be seen here with him saying that these three grades were not equal, with marriage being inferior to widowhood and virginity.⁴⁵² With these grades came choices of clothing and these choices would transfer to funeral monuments. Monumental brasses and effigies depict a variety of women in a variety of garments. Theoretically, the choices of clothing to be depicted on the monument are lay costume for a married woman, or the mantle and ring if she had become a vowess. For widows, there was the choice of lay costume, widows' garb or vowesses clothing if she had chosen that path. Living a chaste life was not necessarily restricted to widows, although the majority of women who chose this option were widowed.⁴⁵³ To become a vowess the woman had to take a vow of chastity in the presence of a bishop and the ring and mantle she had to wear were blessed in the ceremony.⁴⁵⁴ The noblewoman could choose to live a religious life but

⁴⁴⁹ Epistle 262, quoted in Dyan Elliott, 'Dress as Mediator Between Inner and Outer Self: The Pious Matron of the High and Later Middle Ages', *Mediaeval Studies*, Vol. 53, 1991, 279-308, 284.

⁴⁵⁰ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 52.

⁴⁵¹ Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500*, 93.

⁴⁵² Conor McCarthy, *Marriage in Medieval England: Law Literature and Practice*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004.

⁴⁵³ Mary C. Erler 'English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages', *Mediaeval Studies*, Vol. 57, 1995, 155-203, 156.

⁴⁵⁴ Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500*, 173.

not enter a convent, and still live in secular society.⁴⁵⁵ Many women had links with particular religious orders throughout their lives, for example it is known that Elizabeth Aldburgh, of Harewood, Leeds and her family supported Blackfriars in York.⁴⁵⁶ But loyalty was not necessarily to one order, as evidence from Elizabeth de Burgh's private expenditure on religious purposes shows her employing Augustinian, Carmelite and Franciscan friars for various duties.⁴⁵⁷

However, some married women took a vow of chastity but this had to be mutually agreed with her husband.⁴⁵⁸ It appears to be quite rare as in a list of more than 100 women who took the vow from 1231-1435, two are described as former wives as opposed to widows,⁴⁵⁹ and only one husband is listed as joining his wife in her choice.⁴⁶⁰ Becoming a vowess meant taking the ring and mantle and also wearing a veil. This costume was very similar to the widow's so on many brasses, unless the identity and role of the woman is known, it can be difficult to distinguish between vowesses and widows.⁴⁶¹ Thus, for a widow and a widowed vowess, there was the choice of respectable clothing according to their status. However, it would have been more complicated for a married woman who had become a vowess and wanted to live a chaste life. She also had to think of her husband's reputation and unless she had his permission and the chastity vow was mutual, she is likely not to have been allowed to dress as such. The story of Ecdicia in St Augustine's Epistle 262 would have been a

⁴⁵⁵ Jennifer Ward, *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry, 1066-1500*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995, 191.

⁴⁵⁶ Page, William, Ed. *The Victoria History of the County of York, Vol. 3*. London: Constable, 1913, 286.

⁴⁵⁷ Ward, *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry*, 220.

⁴⁵⁸ Erler, 'English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages', 156.

⁴⁵⁹ Erler, 'English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages', Appendix, 189, Nos 43 and 45.

⁴⁶⁰ Erler, 'English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages', Appendix, 187, No. 6.

⁴⁶¹ Erler, 'English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages', 162-3.

reminder of this and St Augustine's works were popular for medieval preachers.⁴⁶²

Ecdicia took the vow of chastity without waiting for her husband's consent, she gave away her clothes and dressed in widow's garb but was admonished by St Augustine, who told her if her husband wanted her to adorn herself she should obey his will.⁴⁶³ So as St Augustine and St Peter suggested, for her husband's honour a chaste wife should still dress to reflect her status as a wife. She could be pious underneath her outward appearance. Unfortunately, so far it is difficult to ascertain whether this was the situation for any of the married women depicted on funeral monuments.

Married women who were not vowesses, then had the least choice in their outfits, but some obviously chose to be depicted in the latest fashions, even those which were denounced as immoral by preachers. Widows, as has been suggested had the choice of the widows' garb but also could be depicted in civilian clothing, which many did,⁴⁶⁴ again wearing clothing that had been denounced by preachers and authors. But this clothing could be justified by reference to religious teachings and the fact that the woman was following her husband's wishes. As Peter Coss suggests, 'Ladies may be depicted on funeral monuments, then, either in a pious manner or socially at ease, although that is not to say that the two are mutually exclusive.'⁴⁶⁵ If the widow commissioned the tomb she could chose the widow's garb and this could be seen as out of respect and mourning for her husband. But if she chose civilian clothing this could indicate deference to his wishes and showing his status in his memory.

⁴⁶² Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 261.

⁴⁶³ Elizabeth A. Clark, 'Theory and Practice in Late Ancient Asceticism: Jerome, Chrysostom, and Augustine', *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Vol. 5, 2, 1989, 25-46, 45.

⁴⁶⁴ For example, Katherine Greene, widow of Sir Ralph Greene, Lowick, Northants.

⁴⁶⁵ Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, 78.

Clothing, therefore was an indicator of both the wife's subordination to her husband and also a visual indication of his own social status.⁴⁶⁶

4.5 Time delay and shifting erogenous zones

Much of the literature condemning women's clothing was written in the fourteenth century, although it was drawing on a long tradition of literary attacks on luxurious dress.⁴⁶⁷ Works would be copied and translated so would have been in circulation after this but the fourteenth-century authors must have been writing about clothing that was being worn at the time. However, closer analysis of the depiction of these types of clothes on tombs and brasses brings up some interesting anomalies. Firstly, it is necessary to show clearly when the condemnatory texts were written, as far as is known. Low necklines are criticised in texts by Deschamps, Philip Repingdon, Bishop of Lincoln and the tale of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. The Deschamps reference comes from the later fourteenth century, Repingdon died in 1424 but his sermons were probably written c. 1382-93,⁴⁶⁸ and *Sir Gawain* is believed to have been written in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁴⁶⁹ Examples of low cut necklines showing a woman's cleavage appear on a sample⁴⁷⁰ of effigies and brasses from c.1372-c.1441, but the majority of incidences of this type of neckline are later than 1410.

⁴⁶⁶ Dyan Elliott, 'Dress as Mediator Between Inner and Outer Self: The Pious Matron of the High and Later Middle Ages', 279.

⁴⁶⁷ Izbicki, 'Mendicant Preaching on the Vanity of Women', 217.

⁴⁶⁸ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23385>, accessed 21/01/09.

⁴⁶⁹ Anderson, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Introduction, ix

⁴⁷⁰ See Appendix 1, Data.

The horned and fancy headdresses are criticised by the Knight of La Tour Landry c.1371-2;⁴⁷¹ Friar John of Mirfield c.1370; John Waldeby, who died in 1372;⁴⁷² and Philip Repingdon. John Lydgate also criticised them in the early fifteenth century. However horned headdresses cannot be seen on brasses and effigies until at least 1430, with cauled headdresses appearing mainly at the beginning of the fifteenth century. A pattern seems to be emerging that generally the literary criticism is apparent much earlier than the depiction on funeral monuments. In the case of horned headdresses, there could be a minimum of a thirty year gap and often up to fifty or sixty years between condemnation and depiction on tombs. A similar pattern can be shown with men's tight tunics and Ribeiro points out that there is a considerable time lag between the scandalised references and the appearance of these tunics in art.⁴⁷³ This time lag may explain why 'immoral' clothing was chosen by women or their husbands for their tombs or brass commemoration. By the time the monuments were commissioned, the criticism of this type of clothing may have lost its potency, and there was a gradual decline in the use of exempla by 1400.⁴⁷⁴ The choice of previously criticised clothing on tombs could also be explained by the Theory of the Shifting Erogenous Zone. This theory states that certain parts of a woman's body will be accentuated by a style of clothing at certain times, but this will change over time so that a new area or erogenous zone will eventually take its place.⁴⁷⁵ Low necklines may have been seen as immoral and worthy of criticism in the latter part of the fourteenth century when the fashion was new and shocking but by the early to mid fifteenth

⁴⁷¹ Wright, *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry*, 62.

⁴⁷² *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101053112/>, accessed 21/01/09.

⁴⁷³ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 45.

⁴⁷⁴ Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature*, 114.

⁴⁷⁵ Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, 82. The idea of the Shifting Erogenous Zone has been attributed to Flügel by Davis, although Flügel did not create the term. See J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, London: Hogarth Press, 1930, 56, 160.

century, showing cleavage may have no longer been seen in this way, likewise with the horned headdresses. However, there is the question of whether these types of clothing were still actually fashionable or whether the women were depicted in dated clothing, perhaps harking back to when they were younger. Women were often shown on their funeral monuments as younger than their age of death, and from a theological perspective, this imagined age was likely to be 33, the age of Christ when he was crucified.⁴⁷⁶ Is it likely that a woman shown as ten, twenty or even thirty years younger, would choose clothing to reflect this? It is also worth asking whether a woman in her fifties or sixties would be wearing the most up-to-date fashions of the time, or whether her clothing would be archaic in real life. This may depend on how often she bought or had made a new dress, and how many dresses she owned. The Knight of the Tour Landry tells a story of a woman who was tortured in hell because she owned ten dresses in life, which was deemed far too many; five would have been sufficient, and this should only include one long gown, two kirtles and two cote hardies.⁴⁷⁷ Evidence from wills shows that gowns were often bequeathed to members of the deceased's family.⁴⁷⁸ Second-hand clothing must have played a part in the wardrobes of many women, and therefore, it is possible that they wore items which had been fashionable at an earlier date.

4.6 Conclusion

Initially there appeared to be a number of funeral monuments which depicted women in clothing which was condemned by medieval moralists. The women were wearing

⁴⁷⁶ Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, 73; An example of this is Blanche Mortimer, Lady Grandisson, at St Bartholomew's Church, Much Marcle, Herefordshire, see Fig. 12.

⁴⁷⁷ Offord, *Book of the Knight of the Tower*, 74.

⁴⁷⁸ See, for example, the will of Margery de Aldburgh who left a red gown trimmed with fur in her will of 1391, quoted in Carol Kennedy, *Harewood: The Life and Times of an English Country House*; London: Hutchinson, 1982, 24; or the will of Mary Lady Roos, 1394, who also left a fur-lined scarlet gown, quoted in Ward, *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry*, 224.

low cut necklines, tight waisted gowns, long sleeves, and horned or extravagant headdresses, despite all of these styles being denounced as sinful and the product of pride and vanity. Some clothes were considered to be so lewd that they would incite lust and even drive men to rape. However, with closer research into what the poets, authors and preachers were saying about these clothes, and the attitudes of women to these criticisms, the paradox between the depiction of supposedly immoral clothing in a moral religious setting, can be in part explained. A number of reasons could indicate why the representation of this type of clothing might have been deemed acceptable. A woman who wanted to look her best on her funeral monument, or a husband who wanted his wife to dress appropriately for her role and his status, could justify their choices of clothing by reference to conflicting literature. Although there were those moralising against the immoral, sinful clothing, there was also enough evidence, and some of that strongly religious, such as the writings of St Paul, St Peter, and St Augustine, which even the preachers would find hard to disagree with, which justified a wife dressing well to show subordination to her husband and to indicate his status. This justification would be valid both in real life and also in the representation of a wife on a funeral monument. There is also the issue of the time lag between the condemnation of the clothing in literature and sermon, and the actual depiction on a funeral monument, with this being up to sixty years in some cases. The representation of the clothing, therefore, may not have incited such criticism at the time it was seen on these religious monuments as it did when being worn by women much earlier. The monuments were not showing immoral clothing of the time, but immoral clothing of the past, which would not invoke condemnatory reactions.

Chapter 4 Images



Fig 4.1 Pride shown with low neckline and red cloak at Raunds, Northants. *Medieval Wall Painting in the English Parish Church*, <http://www.paintedchurch.org/raunds.htm>, accessed 21/01/09.



Fig 4.2: Roofboss at East Budleigh Church, Devon.



Fig 4.3: Horned Headdress, Philippa Pollard, Devon, c. 1430



Fig 4.4: Horned Headdress, Lady Grey, Northumberland, c. 1443



Fig 4.5: Horned Headdress, Isabel de La Pole, Norfolk, c. 1435



Fig 4.6: Low cut neckline, Lady Marmion, Yorkshire, c. 1387.



Fig 4.7: Ale wives wearing horned headdresses in The Coventry Doom wall painting.

5. The Influence of the Black Death on the Representation of Late Fourteenth-Century Clothing.

The perceived change in the style of clothing around the mid-fourteenth century has been deliberated on by dress historians with reasons being given including technical advancement, mercantile capitalism, or even ‘boredom’.⁴⁷⁹ Some have also called this the birth of modern fashion.⁴⁸⁰ However, there are a number of contradictions and omissions which have been brought to light while undertaking this research, which have led on to a reassessment of the evidence for this change. Many of the types of clothing cited as part of this new ‘fashion’ in the mid-fourteenth century can be shown to have existed much earlier in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, and the discussion of the meaning and criteria for fashion in the previous chapter, makes for an argument that fashion existed before this supposed ‘revolution’ in dress. Analysis of the funeral monuments in this research does not show a marked change of styles until later in the fourteenth century, with many of the indications of the new fashions not being shown until the last quarter of this century and into the fifteenth century. But, when these changes do appear, they are quite significant. These contradictions lead me to suggest that the change in style was not as distinct as implied by dress historians, and that the chronological changes on funeral monuments were not merely reflecting this so-called transformation, but were a reaction to something less ‘frivolous’ than fashion – The Black Death.

⁴⁷⁹ See Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, London: Virago, 1985, 3; Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince, A Study of the Years 1340-1365*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1980, 1-5; and Margaret Scott, *A Visual History of Costume: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, London: B. T. Batsford, 1986, 17.

⁴⁸⁰ Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995, 8; Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 3.

The professed ‘birth of fashion’ in the mid-fourteenth century, discussed by dress historians needs further consideration to show that there is a difficulty in linking this with a corresponding change in style on funeral monuments. Costume historian James Laver writing in the 1960s bases his assertion of the emergence of ‘fashion’ on visual evidence, focusing on monumental brasses. In line with the research undertaken here, he cites the second half of the fourteenth century as heralding the change in forms of fashion⁴⁸¹. However, it is clear that he has not done systematic analysis of a large number of brasses, referring instead to specific examples. He also does, as has been criticised in this research, the same as many other dress historians, by using monuments as mere reflection of ‘real’ fashion, without considering them as an object in context. An example of one of the new fashions given by Laver was the tight fitted sideless garment, which he suggests was fashionable from the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴⁸² The evidence from the content analysis shows that fitted clothing and the fitted sideless garment in particular was depicted on monuments from the end of the thirteenth century so was not a new style, although it appeared more commonly later in the fourteenth century. Tight lacing of garments is stated as another sign of the new fashion,⁴⁸³ although, again, there is evidence of this style of dress from as early as the twelfth century, with literary references and manuscript illustrations.⁴⁸⁴ There are some, but not many, examples of lacing on clothing on monuments in this research, suggesting that this was not a common style of clothing at this period, at least represented on monuments. Fashion historian Christopher Breward, who is one of the scholars who is attempting to redefine the study of dress

⁴⁸¹ Laver, *A Concise History of Costume*, 62.

⁴⁸² Laver, *A Concise History of Costume*, 64.

⁴⁸³ Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, 18, Laver, *A Concise History of Costume*, 64

⁴⁸⁴ Jennifer Harris, ‘Estroit vestu et menu cosu’: evidence for the construction of twelfth-century dress’, Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham, eds. *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 89-103, 94.

history, looks at the cultural significance of fashion but still accepts the idea of its emergence in the fourteenth century. However, he is not a specialist on medieval fashion, and talks of ‘costume historians’ in the third person, thus distancing himself from particular views.⁴⁸⁵ He is cautious in his discussion of the change of style in the mid-fourteenth century, using terms such as ‘clothing appears to constrict’ but then goes on to discuss lacing, the addition of buttons to the tight clothing and widening cuffs with trailing pendants.⁴⁸⁶ All these styles were present much earlier and Jennifer Harris, who has questioned the idea of fashion not existing until the fourteenth century, points out that long cuffs could be identified as one of the most ‘striking feature[s] of twelfth-century dress’.⁴⁸⁷ She also points out that there is evidence that buttons were first introduced in the thirteenth century.⁴⁸⁸ Pendant cuffs do not feature prominently on the monuments in this research with just one per cent depicting this style of sleeve.⁴⁸⁹ Buttons are depicted on fitted sleeves on monuments from the late thirteenth century.⁴⁹⁰ As well as evidence from funeral monuments, which has been shown in this research to be contradictory, the other main source given by scholars who suggest fashion started in the mid-fourteenth century is documentary evidence. Criticism of new and flamboyant styles of dress has been taken to indicate this revolution in dress, and the monk, John of Reading is often quoted by dress historians as one of the main critics of fashion in the mid-fourteenth century.⁴⁹¹ John of Reading disapproved of women who emphasized their buttocks by wearing fox-tails under

⁴⁸⁵ Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, 4-8.

⁴⁸⁶ Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, 13-16.

⁴⁸⁷ Jennifer Harris, ‘Thieves, Harlots and Stinking Goats’: Fashionable Dress and Aesthetic Attitudes in Romanesque Art’, *Costume*, Vol. 12, 1987, 4-15, 11.

⁴⁸⁸ Harris, ‘Estroit vestu et menu cosu’, 90.

⁴⁸⁹ See for example Appendix: Margaret Torrington, c. 1356; Margaret and Letitia Braunche, c. 1364; Joan Ingham, c. 1365; Ismayne de Winston, c. 1375; Pembridge Lady, c. 1376-1400; Joan de la Pole, c.1380

⁴⁹⁰ See Images: thirteenth Century/Sussex/Chichester Cathedral/Joan de Vere, dated 1293.

⁴⁹¹ Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, 8; Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 45.

their tight gowns and men's tight clothes and long flowing sleeves.⁴⁹² The evidence in itself is valid, but to use it as evidence of the first emergence of 'fashion' is flawed. Concurring with the views of Jennifer Harris, dress historian Aileen Ribeiro also points out that clothing criticised in the fourteenth century existed earlier.⁴⁹³ There is also documentary evidence criticising new and outlandish fashions for these earlier periods. One of the most quoted is the twelfth-century work, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, which chronicles and criticises new fashions at the beginning of the century.⁴⁹⁴ Consequently, I suggest that the evidence for a change of style in clothing in the mid-fourteenth century has been relied upon too much by some scholars to show the emergence of fashion, many aspects of which, were already present in earlier evidence. Some of the styles described as part of this fashion revolution were not prominently depicted on funeral monuments of the time, so under this premise, they cannot be said to reflect this so-called fashion innovation, and conversely using monuments as evidence for this change is unsound. However, the analysis of funeral monuments for this research has shown that there is a change in the depiction of clothing around the last quarter of the fourteenth century. A major argument for this research is that monuments must not be used merely as a mirror of fashion or to illustrate discussions leading on from other evidence. The monument must be analysed in its own context as an object of memorial. Therefore, I suggest that changes in styles of clothing after the emergence of the Black Death are inextricably linked to the attitudes and beliefs of the people who commissioned the monuments.

⁴⁹² Tait, ed. *Chronica Johannis de Reading*, 167.

⁴⁹³ Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 42.

⁴⁹⁴ Harris, 'Estroit vestu et menu cosu', 89; Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 34.

Firstly, I will consider the evidence on funeral monuments for this change of style, I will then focus on the emergence of the Black Death in England and examine the changes in attitude to death that this brought about. This will lead into a discussion of the doctrine of Purgatory and ideas surrounding the resurrection of the body at the last judgement. Moving on to the relevance of funeral monuments, I will consider the idea of memorials and memory in relation to these ideas, and argue that clothing styles are exaggerated in order to strengthen the impact of the monument.

5.1 Changing styles

The basis for my argument is provided by the funeral monuments analysed in this thesis, which show that there is a clear change in the costume depicted on effigies and brasses in the fourteenth century. Chart 5.1 gives an indication of the changing styles in the main garments shown on funeral monuments. There is generally a move away from loose, unfitted clothing, to more fitted fashions and the incorporation of pleats or gathered material towards the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Scholars discussed above would suggest that this is a reflection of a change in fashion due to new techniques which enabled more fitted clothing.⁴⁹⁵

However, if other aspects of clothing are taken into account together with this change in the garment shape and fit, it can be seen that more accessories and details are being incorporated into the clothing displayed on monuments. The previous chapter showed that the literary references to horned and cauled headdresses superseded the depiction of these types of headwear on funeral monuments, and discussed possible reasons behind the choices made by tomb commissioners. The same delay in depictions can

⁴⁹⁵ Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, London: The British Library, 2007.

be used as an argument for the change in clothing representation linked to attitudes towards death following the plagues of the later

Chart 5.1: Garment styles on Funeral Monuments

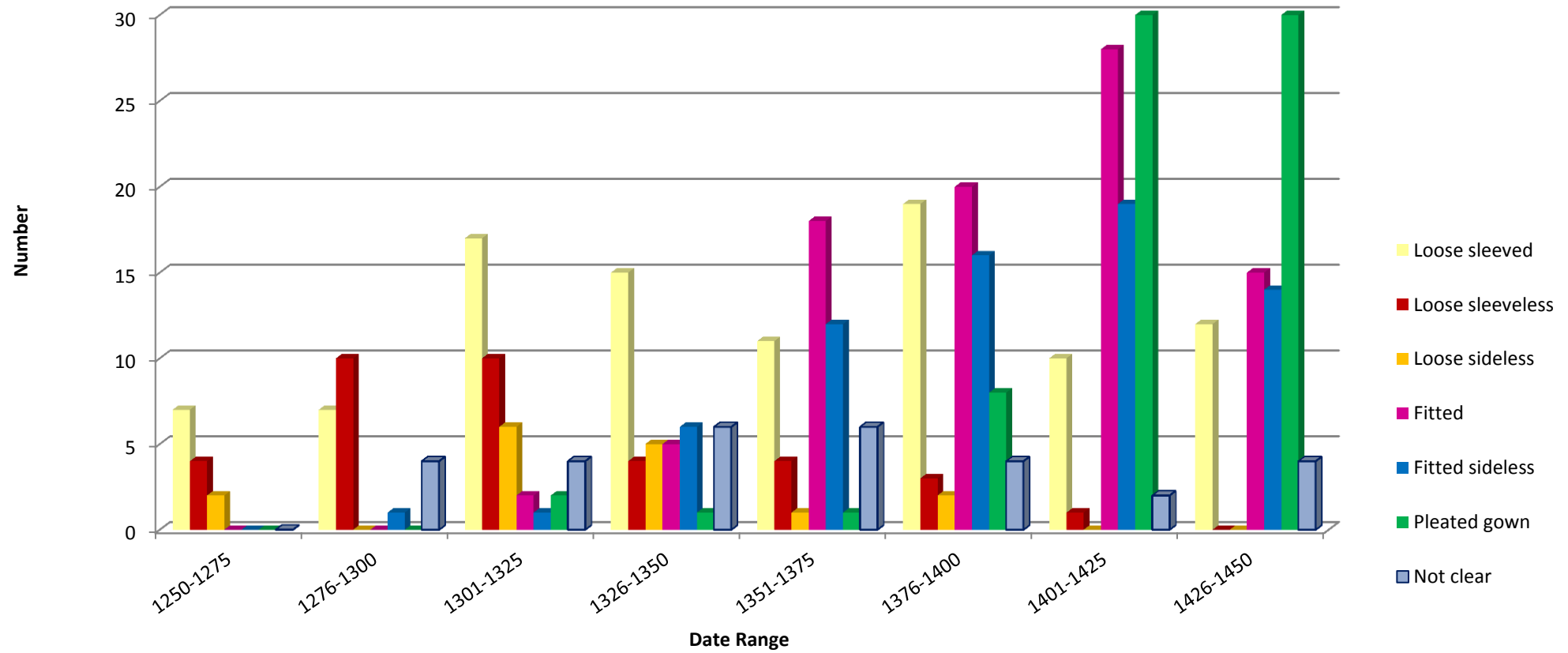
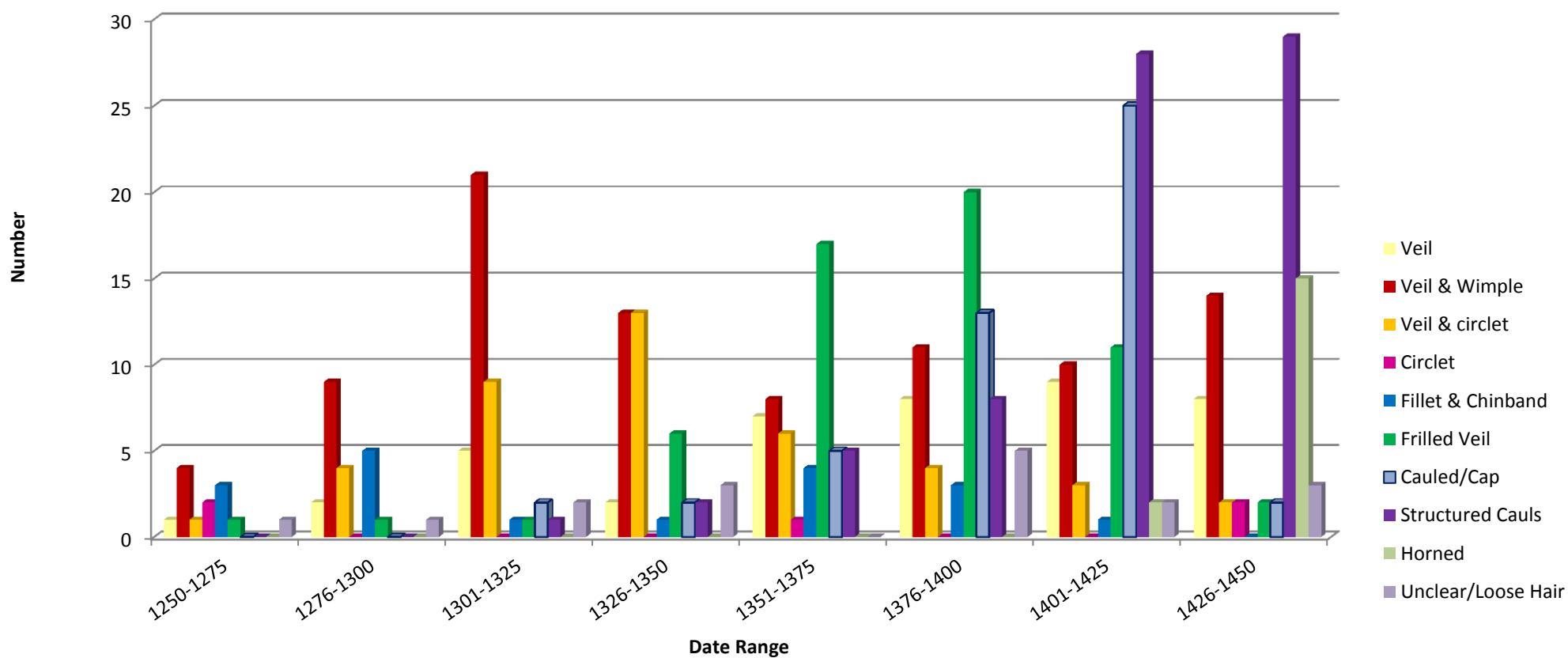


Chart 5.2 Headdresses on Funeral Monuments



fourteenth century. If cauled headdresses appear in literary references as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century,⁴⁹⁶ it seems likely that they were being worn by some women and by enough to provoke comments about. However, the tomb evidence up to the mid-fourteenth century shows preferences for loose, non-fitted garments and for veils and wimples as headgear. Chart 5.2 shows the change in styles of headgear. Tummers suggests that earlier monuments were more simple in design and clothing reflected a society which did not have as 'worldly' an outlook on life as later centuries.⁴⁹⁷ Monuments may have been more stylised, depicting women in traditional, simple clothing, as worn by religious women or widows. Prior says that the veil and wimple were shown on effigies up to 1350 but after this women shown in this style of headwear were more likely to be widows.⁴⁹⁸ However, as with the discussion above about styles feted as new fashions in the fourteenth century being depicted earlier in literary and art sources, simple headdresses on monuments may not have represented the reality. Types of clothing depicted in manuscript illustrations are likely to have existed in real life for the artist to base his depictions on, even if they were not exact copies of real items. Stella Mary Newton would agree with this statement but Plato might not, and for this research, I accept that clothing in art is probably based on examples of real clothing but this does not detract from my argument that what is depicted is the result of a conscious choice and is not just a reflection of contemporary wear.⁴⁹⁹ As with the literary references, it appears that some styles of clothing existed in art which were not displayed on monuments of the time but appeared much later. For example, a woman is depicted with an elaborate, possibly cauled, headdress and no wimple, or band under the chin in the *Alphonso*

⁴⁹⁶ See the previous chapter for a discussion of cauled headdresses in literature.

⁴⁹⁷ Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies*, 53.

⁴⁹⁸ Prior, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture*, 565.

⁴⁹⁹ See Introduction.

Psalter, which was produced in England at the end of the thirteenth century.⁵⁰⁰ The majority of headdresses up to the mid-fourteenth century on monuments are simple veils with the majority depicted with wimples. The structured cauled style without wimple is not seen on funeral monuments until the middle of the fourteenth century. While the standard headwear for women on monuments up to the mid-fourteenth century is the veil and wimple, manuscript illustrations show a much wider range of representations of headgear and hairstyles.

Taking buttons as an example, analysis shows that the period from 1376-1400 has representations of more buttons than other periods suggesting that buttons generally as an accessory or fastening on clothing were at their most popular in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Buttons were not a new phenomenon and are visible on monuments, mainly on sleeves from the mid-thirteenth century when effigies and brasses began to appear, so the increase cannot be seen as a new fashion. The distinction of where the buttons are placed is the significant element which is important for this discussion. Buttons begin to be shown on the garment itself rather than only on the sleeves, from the second quarter of the fourteenth century with this peaking in the last quarter of this century. The analysis shows that during the last quarter of the fourteenth century more monuments are depicted with buttons down the front of the garment and these are much larger than previously, with both large round and large square buttons visible. I argue that these changes in clothing at this period of time are significant and reflect changes in attitudes to religion which can be linked to the Black Death and subsequent plagues.

⁵⁰⁰ British Library, Add. Ms. 24686, f. 13v, reproduced in Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, London: British Library, 2006, 70-71.

Before focusing on religious attitudes and how these may have affected choices on tombs, a discussion of funeral monuments in the fourteenth century can show how people chose to be commemorated and what changes may have occurred which could be linked to the Black Death. Crossley suggests that before the Black Death the work on tombs was done by masons who controlled the arts but that afterwards specialists in workshops took over specific tasks such as tomb making and although the work was of a higher standard, it was not fuelled by 'genius' but was more stylised. These monuments were produced by alabaster men who produced tombs and effigies with little variation.⁵⁰¹ The monumental brass industry was hit badly by the Black Death with most of the smaller regional workshops closing and much-reduced output from London.⁵⁰² Brasses, therefore were even more stylised following the Black Death as there were fewer workshops producing them.⁵⁰³ The significance of this for monuments in the later fourteenth century is that variations, particularly on stylised brasses, are likely to indicate specific choices being made by those commissioning them. These choices can be linked to attitudes to death at this time.

5.2 The Black Death and Religious Attitudes

The literature on the Black Death is extensive and scholars have focused on its causes and effects - social, demographic, economic, medical, and geographical.⁵⁰⁴ My argument is related to the effect the Black Death had on the religious attitudes of the people who commissioned funeral monuments, related to death rates of the nobility,

⁵⁰¹ Fred H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150-1550*, London: Batsford, 1933, 4.

⁵⁰² Nigel Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 76-78. For a discussion of the effects of the Black Death on brass production see Sally Badham, 'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death – A Reappraisal', *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 80, 2000, 207-47.

⁵⁰³ Badham. 'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death', 208.

⁵⁰⁴ Recent relevant works on the Black Death include Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley, ed. *The Black Death in England*, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003; Colin Platt, *King Death: The Black Death and its aftermath in late-medieval England*, London: UCL Press, 1996; Rosemary Horrox, trans. and ed. *The Black Death*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.

Generally, population change is one of the main areas addressed by scholars writing on the Black Death,⁵⁰⁵ and how this affected the nobility is relevant. The first outbreak of the Black Death in England was in 1348⁵⁰⁶ but as we have seen, the change in clothing on monuments does not happen generally until the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Although initially this might negate the argument that the plague influenced tomb embellishment, there are a number of reasons which could explain this delay. Firstly, as has been discussed previously, tombs could be commissioned well before the death of the person or sometime after.⁵⁰⁷ More importantly, it appears that the nobility were not as affected by the first outbreak of plague and may have suffered more from the subsequent outbreaks, particularly in 1368. Henry Knighton writes in his chronicle for 1361: ‘In the same year the people were afflicted by a great mortality, which was called the Second Plague. Both greater and lesser folk died.’⁵⁰⁸ The death rate for lords and higher clergy was only thirteen per cent in 1349, which was less than half the recorded loss of other classes. In 1361 it was 23.9 per cent and by the late 1370s and early 1380s the nobility’s demographic crisis was at its worst.⁵⁰⁹ Finally, there is an argument that the Black Death did not immediately affect people’s attitudes and views quite as much as was originally thought and there was a delay in people’s reactions.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁵ See for example – J. M. W. Bean, “Plague, Population and Economic Decline in England in the Later Middle Ages”, *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1963, 423-437.

⁵⁰⁶ Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death*, 10.

⁵⁰⁷ See Chapter 2: Methodology.

⁵⁰⁸ Henry Knighton, *Knighton’s Chronicle*, ed. and trans. G. H. Martin, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, 185.

⁵⁰⁹ Platt, King Death, 49; S. J. Payling, “Social Mobility, Demographic Change, and Landed Society in Late Medieval England”, *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 1992, 51-73, 54.

⁵¹⁰ Rosemary Horrox, “Purgatory, Prayer and Plague”, in Peter Jupp, and Clare Gittings, ed. *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999, 114-115.

Disease, war, famine and death in childbirth affected the medieval population regularly so the fear of a premature death was already embedded in society.⁵¹¹ A famine due to bad weather hit England from 1315-22, causing many deaths so even before the Black Death arrived on the shores people felt particularly vulnerable.⁵¹² Many contemporary works were written on death, in particular manuals on how to have a good death, called *Ars Moriendi* or the art of dying.⁵¹³ The Church regularly reminded people about sin, death and the afterlife through art, literature and sermons; living with death was a common experience for all,⁵¹⁴ although the speed and impact of the plague brought a new meaning to mortality.⁵¹⁵ Attitudes may not necessarily have changed but may have become heightened and it is this which may have influenced the representation of clothing on tombs. There is debate about how much influence the Black Death had on people's fears of death with suggestions that people became obsessed by death from the mid-fourteenth century, and that the impact of plague in its arbitrary nature took away some of the control people might previously have had in preparing for a good death. This then increased the urgency placed on the next stage of death – the passing through Purgatory in order to reach your final destination, preferably Heaven.⁵¹⁶ Archaeologist Colin Platt also states that people became intensely concerned about the care of souls after death and were 'driven by

⁵¹¹ R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215-c. 1515*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 199.

⁵¹² David A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 231.

⁵¹³ Binski, *Medieval Death*, 29-69; Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550*, Routledge, London, 1998, 37.

⁵¹⁴ Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550*, Routledge, London, 1998, 2.

⁵¹⁵ Christopher Harper-Bill, "The English Church and English Religion after the Black Death", in Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley, ed. *The Black Death in England*, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003, 79-124, 110.

⁵¹⁶ R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215-c. 1515*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 192, 199.

fears of hideous torment beyond the grave'.⁵¹⁷ In contrast, historian Rosemary Horrox suggests that although the Black Death was traumatic it is difficult to show changes in attitude as a direct consequence of it. She suggests a time lag between changes in attitude and the plague and continues: 'It looks very much as if the survivors of the 1348-49 plague, far from being radicalised by their experience, wanted to turn the clock back and take refuge in traditional assumptions, and it was left to the inheritors of the post plague world to begin seeing things in new ways.'⁵¹⁸ Goldberg also advises caution in assuming that the survivors were traumatised and says that attitudes about death could have changed with subsequent generations.⁵¹⁹ The clothes depicted on tombs and brasses in the period immediately after the Black Death could perhaps be described as traditional, as they have more in common with clothing depicted before the Black Death than the types and styles of clothing shown on later fourteenth century funeral monuments. There is further evidence that things did not immediately change after the Black Death in 1348, with the shortage of labour bringing an increase in wages - but this did not appear to affect spending power until the 1370s. This meant that wealth increased for the lower classes making them more upwardly mobile and able to copy the dress styles of the nobility.⁵²⁰ The 1363 sumptuary law, which aimed to restrict the wearing of certain clothes to the aristocracy, is also thought to have been a reaction to the changes brought about following the population change.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁷ Platt, *King Death*, viii.

⁵¹⁸ Rosemary Horrox, "Purgatory, Prayer and Plague", in Peter Jupp, and Clare Gittings, ed. *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999, 114-115.

⁵¹⁹ P. J. P. Goldberg, in ed. Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley, *The Black Death in England*, 1-15, 1.

⁵²⁰ Horrox, *The Black Death*, 243-4.

⁵²¹ David A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 231. Horrox, 243-4

This delay in thinking in new ways, posited by Horrox, can be seen clearly in the change of clothing on funeral monuments and there are two areas which I argue could have influenced this: firstly Purgatory and the need to provide distinctive memorials to encourage intercession by the living; and secondly the preparation for the resurrection of the body at the Last Judgement. Neither of these ideas were new as such but the increase in mortality brought about by the plagues is likely to have made people think about death in different ways. Perhaps, while ideas about Purgatory and resurrection did not change fundamentally, people were more active in their responses to the changes taking place.⁵²²

5.3 Purgatory, Resurrection and Memorials

While the idea of Purgatory⁵²³ – a holding place before heaven or hell – was being formalised in the twelfth century, it was not until well into the fourteenth century that it became a widespread concept, entering the popular consciousness following the outbreak of the Black Death.⁵²⁴ It was first defined formally as a distinct location by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.⁵²⁵ Although the idea of Purgatory developed from the early thirteenth century it was the idea that prayers could be said for the dead to help the passage of the soul which ‘provided the basis for the whole movement of post mortem commemoration in the later medieval period’.⁵²⁶ The belief was that the amount of time spent in Purgatory was not only dependent on a person’s own actions in life but also on the actions of others on their behalf after death. Tombs would have

⁵²² Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550*, 194-95.

⁵²³ For a discussion of Purgatory see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1984.

⁵²⁴ Christopher Harper-Bill, “The English Church and English Religion after the Black Death”, in Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley, ed. *The Black Death in England*, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003, 79-124, 110.

⁵²⁵ R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215-c. 1515*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 36.

⁵²⁶ R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215-c. 1515*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 37.

provided a focus for the living to pray for their relatives or friends, and the more elaborate a tomb, the more effectively it reminded the living of their responsibilities to their deceased loved ones.

The Plague was seen by some as ushering in the end of the world,⁵²⁷ an event which would be followed by the reign of the Antichrist, and was one of the disasters which preceded the Second Coming.⁵²⁸ There were also rumours that the Antichrist was already living on earth and the end of the world would not be far away because of this.⁵²⁹ In G. R. Owst's work, *Preaching in Medieval England*, he also points out that as far as preaching was concerned for friars and monks 'The world was staggering on the brink of Domesday and final destruction'⁵³⁰ With all the other events occurring in the fourteenth century around the time of the plague (events such as war, famine and pestilence) it is perhaps unsurprising that the population at that time believed that the end of the world was near, although this was not a universal belief.⁵³¹ I suggest that reactions of the people and the influence this belief had on tombs and funeral monuments is linked to the doctrine of bodily resurrection – 'the notion that all people will receive again at the Last Judgement the specific material bodies they possessed in life'.⁵³²

⁵²⁷ Robert E. Lerner, "The Black Death and Western European Eschatological Mentalities", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. *6, No. 3, 1981, 533-552, 534.

⁵²⁸ See Matthew 24:7 – "For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be pestilences, and famines, and earthquakes in places", Douay-Rheims Bible, <http://www.drbo.org/chapter/47024.htm>, accessed 13/08/09.

⁵²⁹ Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death*, 154.

⁵³⁰ G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926, 88.

⁵³¹ Lerner, "The Black Death and Western European Eschatological Mentalities", 534.

⁵³² Caroline Walker Bynum, "Death and Resurrection in the Middle Ages: Some Modern Implications", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 142, No. 4, 1998, 590.

These two areas of religious thought can be linked to funeral monuments in different ways. As far as resurrection is concerned, the focus is as substitute bodies, an idea which will be discussed below in more detail. In relation to Purgatory, the main function of both brasses and effigies and thus the clothing depicted on them would be that of memorials to attract the attention of the living. having as their main function, that of memorials.

Commemoration was practised in many ways by parishioners; people for instance would leave items to the church such as money or a liturgical object, which would help to keep their memory alive.⁵³³ They might donate, repair or add to church vestments or give other objects such as books, with the dual function of satisfying penitential obligations and also providing a tangible reminder to encourage intercessory prayer.⁵³⁴ These benefactions were intended as long-term investments for the salvation of the soul of the benefactor and their ancestors. Such strategies were efficacious: Alice Hailes, who left a local inn to the parish of All Saints, Bristol, was still remembered two hundred years after her death.⁵³⁵ However, regular income could dry up; vestments or objects might not last, so a more enduring memorial was needed. This was particularly important in relation to Purgatory as the notion of time spent in Purgatory was not equivalent to time on earth. It was even suggested that a thousand years on earth corresponded to just three days in the purgatorial fire.⁵³⁶

Memorials had to last and had to remain prominent. The earliest effigies can be seen

⁵³³ Jupp and Gittings, *Medieval Death: An Illustrated History*, 109.

⁵³⁴ Clive Burgess, 'Death and Commemoration in an English Parish', in Bruce Gordon, and Peter Marshall, ed. *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 53.

⁵³⁵ Clive Burgess, 'Death and Commemoration in an English Parish', in Bruce Gordon, and Peter Marshall, ed. *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 58.

⁵³⁶ Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, Trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998, 172.

from the beginning of the twelfth century⁵³⁷ and the first brasses appeared in the last quarter of the thirteenth century,⁵³⁸ so by mid to late fourteenth century, funeral memorials were common in parish churches. There were various memorials and visual items in churches at this time and they would be busy places.⁵³⁹ Tombs were often moved to make way for new memorials so there was always the worry that a prominent tomb may become less noticeable as time went by in real terms, although this could be a short period of time in Purgatory.⁵⁴⁰ One way in which memorials were made to stand out from the rest of the contents in churches was through the building of chantries. Another significant consequence of the Black Death regarding funeral monuments was the increase in chantry chapels in order to say masses for the dead and to worship saints. They could be found in almost every parish church in England.⁵⁴¹ Thousands of chantries were built, particularly between 1280 and 1380,⁵⁴² with an increase following the outbreak of plague.⁵⁴³ Binski questions whether the increase in chantry chapels was related to the Black Death and late-medieval anxiety⁵⁴⁴ but the suggestion in this research is that the increase in chantries, memorials and the nature of the clothing on the monuments can be attributed to anxiety about death and the afterlife. Chantries were important as they almost always contained a memorial which had the function of being the focus of intercessory prayer.⁵⁴⁵ Intercessory prayer was a vital element of the doctrine of Purgatory and

⁵³⁷ Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, 217.

⁵³⁸ John Coales, ed. *The Earliest English Brasses: Patronage, Style and Workshops 1270-1350*, London: Monumental Brass Society, 1987, 2.

⁵³⁹ Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, 92-93.

⁵⁴⁰ R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215-c. 1515*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 232.

⁵⁴¹ Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, 5.

⁵⁴² Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 122.

⁵⁴³ Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England*, 194-5.

⁵⁴⁴ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, London: British Museum Press, 1996.

⁵⁴⁵ Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages*, 122.

one which is likely to have influenced the choice of clothing on tombs following the Black Death.

5.4 Memory, location and clothing choices

In the medieval period, memory was valued over imagination and those who could retain information and recite from memory were seen as having superior moral character and intellect.⁵⁴⁶ However, the memory had to be trained and mathematician Thomas Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1348 until his death from the plague, wrote a treatise on artificial memory - *De Memoria Artificiali* - in c. 1335.⁵⁴⁷ Although Bradwardine was suggesting ways in which to recollect things such as the signs of the zodiac, I suggest that the principles of what is memorable can also be applied to physical objects, in this case tombs. He discusses ideas in relation to memory which can be applied to the commemoration of the dead. The nature of a tomb or funeral monument dictates that it is most likely to be located in a church. However, Bradwardine warns against choosing a crowded place such as a church for a memory-aid because 'the crowding into one place of content-images, which frequently occur in memory will crowd out other content images'.⁵⁴⁸ He is writing about the use of images to aid memory but the idea of good ways to store information in the mind can also be applied to good places and ways to make funeral monuments memorable. Memorials would be competing not just for space in church but for people's attention, therefore memorials in the later fourteenth century would have needed something extra in order for them to stand out and catch the eye of the

⁵⁴⁶ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 1.

⁵⁴⁷ St Andrews University, <http://www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Biographies/Bradwardine.html>, accessed 30.7.12. *The Book of Memory*, 113.

⁵⁴⁸ All references to Bradwardine's ideas are taken from Carruthers' translation of *De Memoria Artificiali*, from Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. McClean 169, in *The Book of Memory*, Appendix C, 281-288, 281.

onlooker.⁵⁴⁹ Bradwardine suggests that memory aides should be formed in “regions deserted by men and empty”.⁵⁵⁰

A church in the fourteenth century would have been a crowded, busy place so tombs would have a regular audience; if the location itself was not ideal, the tomb had to be even more memorable. Monuments ‘utilize many devices to trigger memory, which include location, textual and visual clues.’⁵⁵¹ These triggers became more important after the Black Death when people wanted or needed to heighten the link between the living and the dead in order to ensure an easier passage through Purgatory. Although location and inscriptions have been discussed in relation to memorials, no research appears to have been done on the use of clothing on a monument as a device to trigger memory.⁵⁵² In fact, Valdez del Alamo and Pendergast suggest that medieval memory theory has rarely been applied to memorials for the dead.⁵⁵³ I would like to argue here that clothing had a specific function on a memorial and this chapter builds on medieval memory theory bringing in the role of fashion as an aide memoire for memorials. The notion of tombs as memorials encouraging intercession for the deceased goes back to Roman mausolea along the Via Appia in antiquity, whose inscriptions addressed those passing with the words *Siste viator* – Halt, traveller.⁵⁵⁴ I take this idea further in that the language of the clothing on medieval monuments could also be seen as calling out *Siste viator*.

⁵⁴⁹ Binski, *Medieval Death*, 74.

⁵⁵⁰ Carruthers, *De Memoria Artificiali*, 281.

⁵⁵¹ Elizabeth Valdes del Alamo, Carol Stamatis Pendergast, ed. *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, 1.

⁵⁵² See, for example, Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, 70-122; Nicholas Rogers, “*Hic Iacet...* The Location of Monuments in Late Medieval Parish Churches”, in Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy, *The Parish in Late Medieval England*, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2006, 261-281.

⁵⁵³ *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, 2.

⁵⁵⁴ Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, 13.

The idea of trained memory was given great value by medieval people and it played a vital role in their intellectual and cultural lives.⁵⁵⁵ Whether conscious decisions using Bradwardine's ideas were made by those commissioning tombs and memorials can only be speculated on but Valdes del Alamo and Pendergast suggest that 'The designers of monuments were certainly aware of the power of images and how, in time, their story would gain authority, even if altering the historical record.'⁵⁵⁶ This view coincides with the supposition that the clothing depicted on monuments was not just a reflection of what was being worn at the time but had other functions above and beyond representing the clothing of the deceased. This can give some explanation for the choices made for the appearance of tombs and in particular the clothing depicted on them. Bradwardine states that two things are required to aid memory: firm locations and images. He suggests that 'locations are like the tablets on which we write', and the 'images like the letters written on them'.⁵⁵⁷ If we think of the church as the location, as discussed above, and the tomb as the image his ideas can be used to explain the extravagant or change in clothing depicted in order to aid memory. Bradwardine says, 'Indeed memory is most powerfully affected by sensory impression, most strongly by vision: wherefore something occurs in memory as it customarily occurs in seeing.'⁵⁵⁸ If a noblewoman wanted to make her tomb stand out she could apply ideas put forward by Bradwardine who states of images that 'Their quality truly should be wondrous and intense, because such things are impressed in memory more deeply and are better retained.' He says averages are no good but memory aides must be extremes and should be 'most beautiful or ugly, worthy of

⁵⁵⁵ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 1.

⁵⁵⁶ del Alamo and Pendergast, *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, 6.

⁵⁵⁷ Carruthers, *De Memoria Artificiali*, 281.

⁵⁵⁸ Carruthers, *De Memoria Artificiali*, 281.

respect or ridiculous for mocking, a thing of great dignity or vileness, strange of clothing and all bizarre of equipment.’⁵⁵⁹

Strange clothing, bizarre and ridiculous will all stand out and so will over-sized and it is this that I believe commissioners of tombs had in mind when trying to make their memorials more memorable in order to attract intercessory prayer. There are many examples of the use of exaggerated clothing and accessories which must have been based on real items but were distorted for effect. Using buttons as an example, there are a number of monuments which could be said to follow Bradwardine’s rules for memory. The effigy of Lady Emmeline Courtney, c. 1379, St Mary’s Church, Sheviok, Cornwall, is depicted with large square buttons. (Figs.5.1 and 5.2).⁵⁶⁰ It is a single effigy which has nine square buttons or mounts down the centre front of the garment. Each button consists of three squares of decreasing size and they appear to be placed individually on the garment – a tight-fitting, sideless dress – to just below hip level. The buttons are on the tight fitting top part of this and when they end the skirt flares out slightly. The sides of the overgarment have thick edges which almost meet in the middle at waist level, just leaving enough room for the row of buttons down the middle. The undergarment has small round buttons all along the sleeves as far as can be seen under the cloak. The carving on the effigy, particularly the face, is fairly unsophisticated. This draws attention to the detailed areas of the effigy, which are the buttons, and the elaborate square-structured headdress. There are also remains of what appears to be red paint on the effigy. There are aspects of this effigy then that do fit in with Bradwardine’s rules of memory. The buttons are bigger than the average size displayed on the majority of effigies in this research. But are they “strange of

⁵⁵⁹ Carruthers, *De Memoria Artificiali*, 281

⁵⁶⁰ See also Images/fourteenth Century/Cornwall/Sheviok/ for more images of Emmeline Courtney.

clothing and all bizarre of equipment””? Out of all the research data there are only 15 effigies depicted with square buttons, with 12 of these showing very large square buttons down the front of the garment. The majority of these monuments are dated the third quarter of the fourteenth century,

So the square, and particularly large square buttons are not common on funeral monuments. To reinforce the unusualness of these accessories, it is worth looking at the archaeological evidence to see if they represent something real or whether they appear to be representing something for a specific purpose, i.e. a memory aid.

The majority of buttons found appear to be round and small, ranging from 8.5mm to 14mm.⁵⁶¹ This suggests they were used for sleeves, as these measurements correspond generally to the size of buttons depicted on sleeves on effigies, which are usually more life-size than the brasses. Some of the buttons found are larger and can measure up to 4cm.⁵⁶² These may correspond to buttons which appear larger than sleeve buttons and are depicted down the front of garments, particularly collars. These buttons are still not large in comparison to some of those shown on the front of garments. Archaeological evidence from London, Oxford, and St Neots does not show any large square buttons such as those depicted on the effigy of Lady Emmeline Courtney.

⁵⁶¹ See for example, Geoff Egan, Frances Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3, Dress Accessories c. 1150-c. 1450*, The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2002, 274-277; A.R. Goodall and I. H. Goodall 'Copper-Alloy Objects,' in B. Durham, 'Archaeological Investigations in St Aldates, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, Vol. 42, 1977, 148-52; N. Palmer, 'A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in the Hamel, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, Vol. 45, 1980, 124-225, 184.

⁵⁶² See C. F. Tebbut, 'St Neots Priory', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquaries Society*, Vol. 59, 1966, 33-74, 53; N. Palmer, 'A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in the Hamel, Oxford', 184.

Square mounts, which were designed to be attached to leather or textile, were discovered in London excavations.⁵⁶³ Square buttons/mounts could conceivably be attached to a piece of leather or textile or directly on to the clothing. However, the mounts which look similar to these squares, are much smaller, one of the largest being 19x21mm, which appear to be at least half the size of those on the monument.⁵⁶⁴

Large round buttons such as those worn by the wives of John Hawley on their brass at St Saviour's Church, Dartmouth, Devon, (Fig 5.3) do not appear to be replicated by archaeological evidence either.⁵⁶⁵ It may be the case that they do represent something that existed and was worn but there is also the possibility they may have been exaggerated for effect. Buttons also appear on brasses and effigies from the data from Norwich but archaeological evidence from the area has not shown any buttons until the late fifteenth century,⁵⁶⁶ which shows that care must be taken when assessing the evidence; if something is not present it does not necessarily mean it did not exist.

The data analysis on buttons therefore asks the question of why certain styles of buttons are visible at specific periods of time, in this case the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. I suggest that these changes in fashions on funeral monuments were a conscious decision by those who commissioned them in response to prevailing circumstances. There was a move away from the traditional dress commonly used for a funeral monument to something more elaborate which served a different purpose in

⁵⁶³ Geoff Egan, Frances Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3, Dress Accessories*, 162-246, 162.

⁵⁶⁴ Geoff Egan, Frances Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3, Dress Accessories*, 195-199.

⁵⁶⁵ See for example, The Portable Antiquities Scheme database; Egan and Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3, Dress Accessories c. 1150-c. 1450*, Goodall and Goodall, 'Copper-Alloy Objects,' Palmer, 'A Beaker Burial and Medieval Tenements in the Hamel, Oxford'.

⁵⁶⁶ David A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 228.

response to changing attitudes. Headdresses of the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century could easily fit into the categories of ridiculous or bizarre. Two particularly good examples of this can be seen on the effigies of Beatrix Fitzalan in the Fitzalan Chapel, Arundel Castle, Sussex; and that of Joan de Thorpe, All Saints Church, Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk. (Figs. 5.4 and 5.5)

The use of colour was also important to aid memory and those used should be “very brilliant and intense, such as intense, fiery red, and the whole colour strongly altering the appearance”. Evidence shows that effigies and tombs would have been brightly coloured when they were originally made, with red and gold being popular colours. They would have stood out clearly in the church setting.⁵⁶⁷ Brasses could also be coloured with the use of enamels, wax, resin or plaster, often for heraldic details.⁵⁶⁸ Preoccupied with the need to save their souls after death, those commissioning tombs would have made the utmost effort to ensure that their memorial was as memorable as possible. Large extravagant headdresses, over-sized buttons, and garish colours would have helped to keep their funeral monuments prominent amongst the array of memorials and other items around the parish church, thus reminding their peers, family and general parishioners for years to come to pray for their souls in Purgatory.

5.5 Last Judgment and Resurrection

If the dead body was to be raised again on Domesday, it is understandable that people would be concerned about the state of their body when it was buried; whether it was intact, diseased, and even down to what clothes were being worn and this could have an influence on how they chose the display on their tombs. There is not a great deal of

⁵⁶⁷ Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, 38-41.

⁵⁶⁸ Herbert Macklin, *Monumental Brasses*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1953, 18.

literature or research looking at the clothing worn by the deceased and archaeological evidence seems sparse for this period of time. However, medieval liturgical author, Bishop Guillaume Durandus of Mende, writing before 1286 in his *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, suggests that Christians should be buried in the clothes of their rank and all should be buried with boots or shoes on their feet in preparation for appearing before God for the final judgment. There is also a discussion of whether men will be naked or wear clothes at the Last Day.⁵⁶⁹

The importance of the clothes worn on the dead body in preparation for resurrection links to the clothes depicted on effigies if we enter into a debate on whether the effigy would have been seen as or manufactured as a substitute body. Would it be so far-fetched to believe that the effigy could be re-animated as the actual body was supposed to have been by God at the Day of Judgement? Referring to Aquinas's view on the dead bodies and souls of saints, Bynum suggests that the body in the tomb is 'not merely a mnemonic device' but "the body that will be joined to the saint in heaven".⁵⁷⁰ This idea could be extended to the body *on* the tomb. Discussions were common in the medieval period of whether the resurrected body would or could be the real body and whether the fingernails and hair would be too long, or whether it could be resurrected if it was not complete at burial, even going so far as to question what would happen to those eaten by cannibals.⁵⁷¹ The body which rose again may not necessarily have to be the body that was in the grave but the important point was

⁵⁶⁹ Geoffrey Rothwell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial*, London: Alcuin Club, 1977, 66. In *Durandus, Rationale VII*, xxv.43.

⁵⁷⁰ Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Material Continuity, Personal Survival, and the Resurrection of the Body: A Scholastic Discussion in its Medieval and Modern Contexts', *History of Religions*, Vol. 30, 1990, 51-85, 74.

⁵⁷¹ For a detailed discussion of the medieval body see Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1995; or "Material Continuity, Personal Survival, and the Resurrection of the Body: A Scholastic Discussion in its Medieval and Modern Contexts", *History of Religions*, Vol. 30, 1990, 51-85; or Caroline Bynum, "Why all the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective", *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 22, 1995, 1-33.

that the soul which had survived earthly death was incomplete without a body. The separated soul had to be ‘body-capable’... ‘waiting to be expressed in matter’.⁵⁷² The person commissioning a tomb monument could imagine the marble, alabaster or wood, as this ‘matter’, the soulless vessel waiting to be filled at the Day of Judgement. Perhaps they were seen as a ‘Plan B’ in case the body in the tomb was too corrupt and could not be re-animated. Scott has put forward the idea that effigies would be idealised ready for resurrection and their clothing would be proof of their earthly status.⁵⁷³ Schmitt also argues for the effigy as having the appearance of the living dead with their hands in prayer, a sign of awaiting resurrection.⁵⁷⁴ If effigies were designed as a body simulacrum the clothing depicted on them would have even more importance. The resurrected needed to take their place in the social hierarchy at death as they would have done in life, so fashionable, elaborate clothing would have been chosen for the effigy. The effigy to Agnes Ridleigh in Chester Cathedral (Fig 5.6) depicts her half in her tomb with the top half showing, an unusual style for an effigy in England, which alludes to the tomb body being the same as the actual body. It is more common for tombs in France to show the resurrected dead emerging from their coffins, and this was a popular style of tomb in the fifteenth century. Fig 5.7 shows the tomb of Henry Rousseau in Paris depicting him climbing out on judgement day.

⁵⁷² Caroline Walker Bynum, “Death and Resurrection in the Middle Ages: Some Modern Implications”, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 142, No. 4, 1998, 589-596, 591.

⁵⁷³ Margaret Scott, *Dressing for Eternity: problems with Dating and Interpreting the Visual Signs*, Conference paper, MEDATS, Feb 2007, Tower of London, Civil Dress on Tomb Effigies and Brasses 1300-1550.

⁵⁷⁴ Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*, 217-219.

Chapter 5: Images



Fig 5.1: Emmeline Courtney, c. 1379,
Shevioc, Cornwall



Fig 5.2 Emmeline Courtney, c. 1379,
Shevioc, Cornwall



Fig 5.3: Wife of John Hawley, c. 1408,
Dartmouth, Devon.



Fig 5.4: Beatrix Fitzalan, c. 1412-20,
Arundel, Sussex.



Fig 5.5: Joan de Thorpe, c. 1417,
Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk



Fig 5.6: Agnes
Ridlegh,
c.1347, Chester
Cathedral



Fig 5.7: The tomb of Henry
Rousseau at St Julien de Pauvre,
Paris.

6. An Analysis of Jewellery on Funeral Monuments

This chapter reassesses the idea that jewellery was widely worn by medieval women, based on the results of the analysis of jewellery depicted on funeral monuments. Although documentary, literary and archaeological evidence points to jewellery including rings, brooches, beads and chains being common during this period for all ranks of society, the art evidence in England does not concur. The content analysis undertaken for this research shows that jewellery was not commonly represented on funeral monuments. I will analyse this evidence in light of the documentary, literary and archaeological evidence for jewellery and suggest reasons why this might be the case. The analysis will start with a focus on jewellery generally and the instance of depiction over the total time period under study – 1250-1450 – with this being broken down into specific time periods. Then the representation of specific items of jewellery – rings, brooches and necklaces - will be analysed in context. Areas which will be discussed in relation to the anomaly between visual and other evidence will include whether jewellery was commonly worn by women in the medieval period, how it was worn and the visibility of jewellery items, the effect of sumptuary laws on the depiction of jewellery, the cost and effort required to add accessories such as jewellery to a funeral monument, and the status of the women portrayed on funeral monuments. The chapter concludes with case studies of some of the monuments depicting jewellery focusing on specific women and putting their monuments into context.

6.1 Evidence for Jewellery on Monuments

According to the majority, if not all, of the main works looking at medieval jewellery, there is no doubt that during this period royalty, nobility, merchants and often lower

classes owned and wore jewellery. For example, jewellery historian Diana Scarisbrick, cites archaeological and documentary evidence to show that jewellery was common and owned and worn by many people in the medieval period including the nobility.⁵⁷⁵ John Cherry, former Keeper of Medieval and Later Antiquities at the British Museum and expert on medieval artefacts, particularly jewellery,⁵⁷⁶ states that jewellery such as brooches, rings and pendants were worn during the medieval period by both men and women.⁵⁷⁷ Art historian Ronald Lightbown, a former Keeper of Metalwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum, discusses the wearing of all types of jewellery across Europe and uses many examples from archaeology, and documentary and literary sources to illustrate his comprehensive work *Mediaeval European Jewellery*.⁵⁷⁸ Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, in their work on medieval dress accessories found during excavations in the City of London in the 1970s and early 1980s, list and describe hundreds of items of jewellery found including brooches, finger-rings, pendants, beads and chains. The majority of the items found were not precious metals and the conclusion made regarding the finds was that many would have been produced for the mass market showing that some accessories were commonly worn by all members of society. The rings in particular show what ordinary townsfolk might have worn.⁵⁷⁹

As well as images of extant jewellery these scholars all include references to funeral monuments, either in text, or illustrations or photographs, to show the presence of

⁵⁷⁵ Diana Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain 1066-1837: A Documentary, Social, Literary and Artistic Survey*, Norwich: Michael Russell, 1994, 1-4.

⁵⁷⁶ Portable Antiquities Scheme website, <http://finds.org.uk/treasure/advice/people> accessed 30.5.12.

⁵⁷⁷ John Cherry, 'Medieval Jewellery' in Hugh Tait (ed), *7000 Years of Jewellery*, London: The British Museum Press, 2006, 138-140.

⁵⁷⁸ Ronald William Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery: With a catalogue of the collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1992.

⁵⁷⁹ Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3, Dress Accessories c. 1150-c. 1450*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002, vii-ix, 325.

jewellery.⁵⁸⁰ However, the examples that they use, which are included in my research data, even though they may show a visual representation of the type of jewellery being discussed, are the exception to the rule in terms of monuments depicting jewellery. The evidence being put forward for the existence and wearing of medieval jewellery does not match with the depiction of the same on the funeral monuments as has been determined by the close analysis done as part of this research.

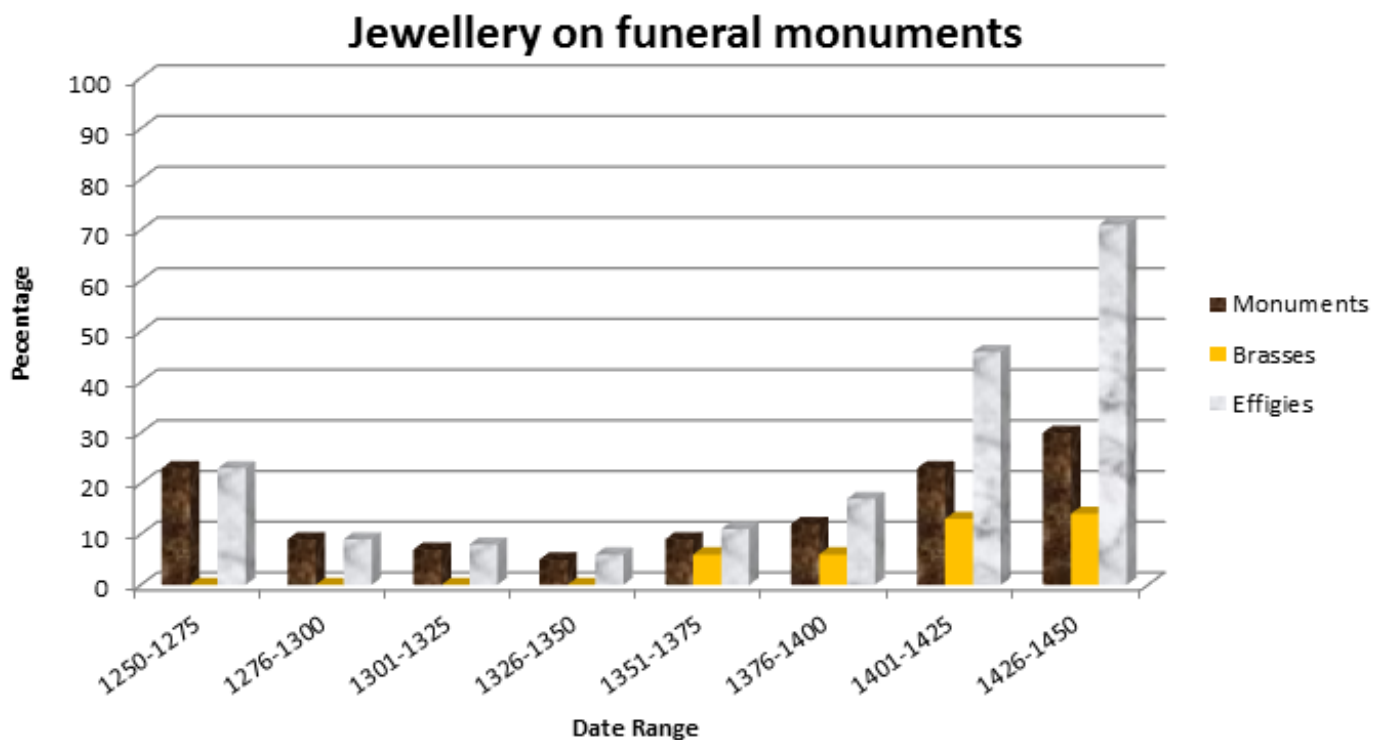


Chart 6:1

Chart 6:1 shows the instances of jewellery on funeral monuments as a percentage of the total number of monuments included in the data for that period of time. This is also broken down into percentages of brasses and effigies separately.

⁵⁸⁰ See Scarisbrook, 1994, 20, 29, 42; Cherry, in Tait, 2006, 139; Cherry, 1981, 73; Egan and Pritchard, 2002, 247.

For the early period, 1250-1275 there are no extant brasses so the figures only cover effigies. This shows that 23% of the monuments depict jewellery. However there are a total of only 13 monuments in this time period with just 3 showing jewellery. So, the sample size is very small which can be explained by the non-existence of brasses to ⁵⁸¹females at this point and also the small number of effigies extant from this period.⁵⁸² Secular funeral monuments in this period were a relatively new idea and the design and detail was simpler than later monuments, partly because of the type of stone being used not lending itself to detail.

The next period under research is 1276-1300 which also has a small number of monuments in the sample, and again no brasses. Only 2 monuments depict jewellery, which is just 9%. In total for the second half of the thirteenth century there are 5 monuments showing jewellery out of 35 in the sample, a figure of 14%. Four of these are wearing rings and one a brooch. This small figure could be explained by a number of reasons, specific to this time period. Firstly, as stated above, that funeral monuments were not as popular as in later periods so the sample overall is small. The research done through the Pevsner Database showed that there were less than 60 extant female effigies for the thirteenth century across the country.⁵⁸³ Due to the constraints of this study, not all the areas were visited, as discussed in the methodology chapter; however, apart from the 35 monuments included in the study, a number of the total believed to be extant were not in situ or were outside and so badly

⁵⁸¹ H. A. Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England: The Thirteenth Century*, Leiden: Brill, 1980, 53.

⁵⁸² See Chapter 1: Introduction.

⁵⁸³ Pevsner Database accessed through the John Rylands University Library at <http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/eresources/databases/p/dbname,12965,en.htm>. (Subsequently unavailable)

defaced that they were not suitable to include. Therefore the 35 included are a reasonable sample of monuments from the late thirteenth century.

A second reason why there is such a small number of monuments depicting jewellery from the late thirteenth century relates to the state of the monuments. The condition of monuments from this period is not always good and it is difficult to make out detail, in particular small items such as jewellery. The images of these monuments show their condition and it is clear that many of them are worn.⁵⁸⁴ Although it is difficult to tell if many of these monuments are wearing rings, one would expect other jewellery items such as necklaces or brooches to be more prominent and thus easier to locate, therefore the assumption would be that if there was no evidence visible then the majority of the monuments do not depict brooches or necklaces.

A third reason for there being such a small number of monuments showing jewellery for this time period is that jewellery was not worn often. The late Joan Evans, a scholar of medieval art, in particular jewellery,⁵⁸⁵ suggested in 1953 that jewels were not common in fashionable dress of the thirteenth century.⁵⁸⁶ This would concur with the visual evidence, but it is important to look at the other sources of evidence – literary, documentary and archaeological.

There are very few thirteenth-century wills which give any indication of jewellery bequests, although William Beauchamp leaves a ring with rubies in to his son and daughter, and rings to Sir Roger Mortimer and Sir Bartholemew de Sudley, in his

⁵⁸⁴ See Images: Sculpture/thirteenth century.

⁵⁸⁵ <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/people-pages/dame-joan-evans/> accessed 30.5.12

⁵⁸⁶ Joan Evans, *A History of Jewellery*, 25.

will of 1268.⁵⁸⁷ The constraints of this research prevent a thorough analysis of all medieval literature from this period. However, the entries for jewellery items in the online Middle English Dictionary can give some indication of the usage of terms for jewellery. The use of the word *broche* for ‘a clasp, brooch, pin’ starts in c. 1230 in the *Ancrene Rawle*, Cambridge Corpus Christi College 402 manuscript, line 115b: *Hare cop beo hehe isticchet, & bute broche*. This use is not then recorded until the late fourteenth century. The use of the word *broche* for ‘any such ornament as a pendant, amulet, bracelet, necklace; a piece of jewellery’ starts in c. 1300 and continues throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁸⁸ The use of the word *ring* is also not common in the thirteenth century in literary evidence.⁵⁸⁹

A search of the collections databases for the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Portable Antiquities Scheme show that there are jewellery items from the thirteenth century.⁵⁹⁰ The V&A has eight brooches and six rings from the second half of the thirteenth century but there appear to be no English necklaces including either pendants or chains from this period in the collection.⁵⁹¹ The British

⁵⁸⁷ Nicolas, Nicholas Harris, *Testamenta vetusta: being illustrations from wills, of manners, customs, &c; as well as of the descents and possessions of many distinguished families; From the reign of Henry the Second to the accession of Queen Elizabeth*. Vol. 1, London: Nichols & Son, 1826, 51-52.

⁵⁸⁸ Middle English Dictionary online, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=21638289&egdisplay=open&egs=21655026>, accessed 25.6.12

⁵⁸⁹ <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=164102007&egdisplay=open&egs=164121983>, accessed 25.6.12

⁵⁹⁰ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/>;
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx;
<http://finds.org.uk/database/>

⁵⁹¹ http://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/?listing_type=list&offset=0&limit=15&narrow=&extrasearch=&q=&quality=0&objectnamesearch=ring&placesearch=England&after=1250&after-adbc=AD&before=1300&before-adbc=AD&namesearch=&materialsearch=&mnsearch=&locationsearch= accessed 25.6.12;
<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/?offset=15&limit=15&narrow=0&extrasearch=&q=&quality=0&objectnamesearch=brooch&placesearch=England&after=1250&after-adbc=AD&before=1300&before-adbc=AD&namesearch=&materialsearch=&mnsearch=&locationsearch=> accessed 25.6.12;
<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/?limit=15&q=pendant&commit=Search&after-adbc=AD&before=>

Museum has approximately 13 brooches from the second half of the thirteenth century in its collection and about 3 rings.⁵⁹²

It is worth pointing out here that these online resources are very valuable and I believe that it is no less academic to use these rather than printed material. For example, the Portable Antiquities Scheme provides a massive amount of searchable archaeological evidence, which otherwise would not be available. Journal articles and books usually pick out specific items for close analysis and a lot of the objects in the database would not appear anywhere else. Museum collection databases, which although are public sources, are rigorous in their standards and scholarship. References to Medieval English sources online also show that there are many extremely academic and high quality websites bringing together literary sources, which again make research easier over a wide range of resources, which would not be possible otherwise. Having these sorts of resources online enables scholars to access a much wider range of relevant information.

The evidence above seems to concur with Joan Evans's view that jewellery was not common in the thirteenth century. However, to get a fuller picture of the wearing and use of jewellery in the medieval period and the relation to its depiction on funeral monuments it is necessary to look at the wider time period under research and to break down the analysis into specific items of jewellery

adbc=AD&category%5B0%5D=53&narrow=1&collection%5B0%5D=7&place%5B0%5D=8&offset=105&slug=0 accessed 25.6.12

⁵⁹²

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectId=43632&partId=1 , accessed 25.6.12;

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_results.aspx?orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&searchText=english+rings&fromDate=1250&fromadbc=ad&toDate=1450&toadbc=ad&x=13&y=8, accessed 25.6.12

Chart 6.1 shows that there are still very small percentages of funeral monuments depicting jewellery. In the fourteenth century overall there is a figure of just 9% of monuments showing jewellery. This figure rises for the first half of the fifteenth century to 26%. However, considering that the monuments represent the higher levels of society, the figure of just a quarter showing jewellery is still fairly low, considering the assertion from a number of scholars that jewellery was popular and worn by all members of society in the medieval period.⁵⁹³ The overall figures for monuments depicting jewellery for the whole period under research is 16% of total monuments, 11% of brasses and 21% of effigies. If brasses and effigies are separated over time, there is a large difference in the instances of jewellery being shown on each monument. As discussed above, there are no extant brasses to females from the thirteenth century and there are only 11 brasses in the data used for this research for the first half of the fourteenth century. From the middle of the fourteenth century when brasses start to become more popular, there are still only 6% showing any form of jewellery, in contrast to 14% of the effigies, which is still a fairly low number. The first half of the fifteenth century has a much larger sample of brasses in the evidence under research, with 123 examples, compared to just 47 examples of effigies. However only 14% of the brasses show jewellery with 57% of the effigies depicting jewellery.

There are two distinct questions arising from this analysis. Firstly, if jewellery was popular and worn by all members of society, why is it not represented more often on funeral monuments, and secondly why is the jewellery that is depicted more likely to

⁵⁹³ See above.

be seen on a sculpted effigy than a monumental brass? If Panofsky is correct in his assertion that brasses 'evolve' from monumental effigies and are linear or graphic abstractions of such, it would be expected that they would both show similar representations of jewellery.⁵⁹⁴

The jewellery being discussed here is finger-rings, brooches and necklaces so to answer these questions I have decided to look at each type individually as they are worn on different parts of the body and for various reasons. Each item of jewellery depicted on monuments will be analysed in relation to the literary, documentary and archaeological evidence which will be used to answer questions on the reasons why jewellery is not shown to the extent that might initially be expected. The reasons are: how common was jewellery and was there a difference between owning and wearing certain items of jewellery; the physical manifestation of engraved or carved items on monuments and the difficulties or challenges in doing this; the role of sumptuary laws in the owning and wearing of jewellery items; how jewellery was worn and the relationship with related dress items. For each category of jewellery, a number of case studies will then be examined to focus on more specific reasons why this particular monument does show jewellery items and to contextualise the representation of jewellery on funeral monuments.

⁵⁹⁴ Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992, 53.

6.2 Brooches

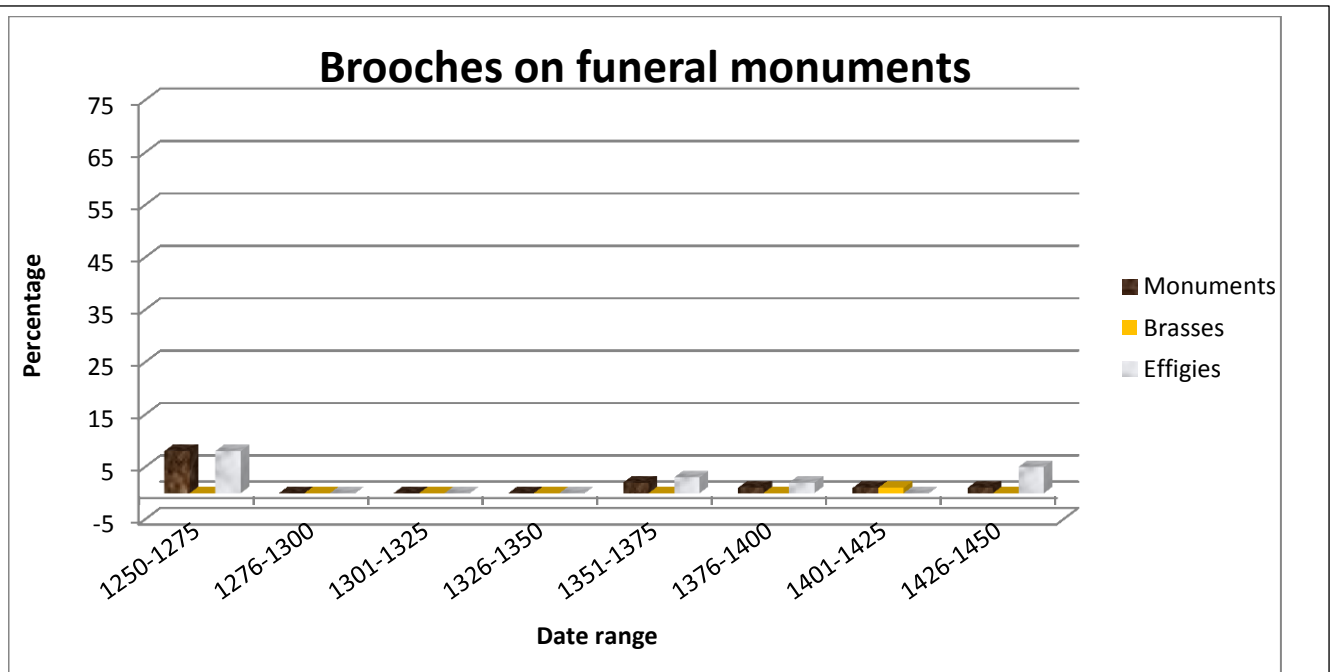


Chart 6.2

Chart 6.2 shows that there is a very low incidence of brooches being depicted on funeral monuments, with five in total, one being on a brass. John Cherry states that the ring brooch was one of the commonest types of medieval jewel.⁵⁹⁵ A ring brooch is a type which consists of a pin attached to an open circle and can be plain or have gems or inscriptions on them.⁵⁹⁶ Out of 416 funeral monuments surveyed, only five were depicted with a distinct individual brooch as opposed to a pair of cloak

⁵⁹⁵ John Cherry, 'Medieval Jewellery' in Hugh Tait (ed), *7000 Years of Jewellery*, London: The British Museum Press, 2006, 138-140.

⁵⁹⁶ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, 36.

fastenings, and just two of these were ring brooches. One brooch is of an unidentified type, one is a Tau cross, and the other a swan brooch. These can be seen in Figures 6.1-6.10. Lightbown also states that brooches used as an ornament or a fastening for a cloak or the top of a dress were ‘indispensable’ and again he says the commonest type of brooch was the ring brooch.⁵⁹⁷

The representation of brooches, therefore, on monuments does not correspond with the idea that brooches were common in the medieval period. This could indicate that in fact brooches were not popular in this period or that they were not displayed on monuments for some reason or reasons. For evidence of whether brooches did exist one can look at literary and documentary evidence. As stated above, the Middle English word *broche* could mean other types of jewellery as well as just a brooch so it cannot always be determined exactly what is being referred to in this type of evidence. Other terminology such as *nouche*, *ouche*, *firmaculum*, and *monile*, were often used for a variety of different ornaments in literary and documentary evidence.⁵⁹⁸ The Latin terms *fibula* and the French term *fermail* also mean brooch and could be used depending on the language used.⁵⁹⁹ However, instances of these words can give some indication of whether brooches or similar jewellery was mentioned in this type of evidence.

⁵⁹⁷ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 136-138.

⁵⁹⁸ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 136.

⁵⁹⁹ *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)*

http://atilf.atilf.fr/gsouvey/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEX_ENTREE_FILTRE;BALISE=LEM;BACK;;ISIS=isis_dmf2012.txt;OUVRIR_MENU=2;s=s11480c50 accessed 3.7.12; The Anglo-Norman Dictionary <http://www.anglo-norman.net/gate/> accessed 3.7.12; James Morwood, ed. *The Oxford Latin Minidictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: Oxford 1997, 106.

Wills extant from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries frequently refer to items of jewellery.⁶⁰⁰ An online search through the *Testamenta Vetusta* comes up with no entries for *fibula* or any version of this though. Similarly, the *Testamenta Eboracensia*, which has mainly wills in Latin has no mention of *fibula*. However, there are instances of French and English words for brooch or similar jewel types.

Some examples of the bequeathing of brooches include:

- Elizabeth de Bohun, Countess of Northampton, in her will of May, 1356, bequeaths a *fimaile* to her sister Marjery Roos and a *nonce* to her other sister, the Countess of Oxford.⁶⁰¹
- Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, in his will of 1361, leaves to his nephew a *nouche* of gold surrounded with large pearls, with a ruby between four pearls.⁶⁰²
- Thomas, Earl of Warwick, in 1369 bequeathed to his daughter ‘an ouche, called the eagle, which the Prince gave me’ and to his other daughters, his next best ouche, and another ouche, again called the eagle.⁶⁰³ This may refer to a brooch in the shape of an eagle.
- Edmond, Earl of March, in his will of 1380 left his son a small nonce ‘in the form of the body of a stag and the head of an eagle’, again hinting at some sort of animal badge.⁶⁰⁴
- Hugh, Earl of Stafford, in 1385, bequeathed ‘a *fermail* of knots’ to his daughter Katherine de la Pole and Joane, another daughter, ‘a gold *fermail* with a heart’.⁶⁰⁵
- Agnes Shirburn, in 1444 bequeathed a ‘brooch of gold’ to her daughter⁶⁰⁶ and Matilda, Countess of Cambridge, in 1446, leaves ‘*unum broche, quo utor cotidie*’ or a brooch that she wore daily.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁰ See Nicolas, Nicholas Harris, *Testamenta vetusta: being illustrations from wills, of manners, customs, &c; as well as of the descents and possessions of many distinguished families; From the reign of Henry the Second to the accession of Queen Elizabeth*. Vol. 1, London: Nichols & Son, 1826; The Surtees Society, *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, Vol. 1-5, Durham: Andrews and Co., 1865; *Fifty earliest English wills in the Court of Probate, London : A. D. 1387-1439 : with a priest's of 1454 / copied and edited from the original registers in Somerset House by Frederick J. Furnivall* <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;idno=EEWills> accessed 3/7/12.

⁶⁰¹ Harris, *Testamenta vetusta*, 61.

⁶⁰² Harris, *Testamenta vetusta*, 66.

⁶⁰³ Harris, *Testamenta vetusta* 79.

⁶⁰⁴ Harris, *Testamenta vetusta* 110.

⁶⁰⁵ Harris, *Testamenta vetusta*, 119.

This evidence shows that people did own brooches and bequeathed them to family members and friends.

Literary evidence also refers to the existence of brooches, for example in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, there are a number of references:

‘A brooch she baar upon hir lowe coler’ (The Millers Tale)⁶⁰⁸

‘Brooches and rynges, for Grisildis sake, (The Clerk’s Tale)⁶⁰⁹

‘Or ells silver broches, spoones, rynges.’ (The Pardoner’s Tale)⁶¹⁰

While literary evidence is referring to imagined objects and it is impossible to know exactly what the author had in mind, documentary evidence such as wills does refer to real objects. But again, it is guesswork to some extent, as to what the actual object being named would have looked like, and it has been discussed above about the issues with the terminology in relation to the object being described. Archaeological evidence, however, gives tangible proof of the type of brooches that did exist in the medieval period and also by the number extant, it can give an indication of how popular these may have been, although it cannot tell us how or where they were worn in most instances.

Museum collections and the Portable Antiquities Scheme, which records archaeological objects found by the public in England and Wales, all have entries for

⁶⁰⁶ Testamenta Eboracensia II: A selection of wills from the registry at York, Surtees Society XXX (1855) 106

⁶⁰⁷ Testamenta Eboracensia II: A selection of wills from the registry at York, Surtees Society XXX (1855) 122.

⁶⁰⁸ Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 69, l. 3265

⁶⁰⁹ Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 140, l. 255

⁶¹⁰ Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 201, l. 908

various types of brooches.⁶¹¹ The Victoria and Albert Museum's collection includes mainly ring brooches, but also has a heart-shaped brooch,⁶¹² two in the shape of clasped hands,⁶¹³ and one with a sexfoil shape.⁶¹⁴ The British Museum's collection of medieval brooches from 1250-1450 comprises more than 150 objects.⁶¹⁵ The majority are ring brooches as with the Victoria and Albert Museum, but also included are heart shapes,⁶¹⁶ heraldic brooches,⁶¹⁷ pilgrim badges,⁶¹⁸ and octagonal.⁶¹⁹ Other museums also hold medieval brooches in their collections. See for example, Bristol Museums and Art Galleries.⁶²⁰ A simple search for 'medieval brooch' in the Portable Antiquities Scheme Database comes up with in excess of 1800 entries, however, this includes brooches of all materials both precious and non-precious metals, when the majority of

⁶¹¹ The Portable Antiquities Scheme, <http://finds.org.uk/> accessed 12.7.12; see also for example The British Museum, Search the Collection Database,

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx accessed 12.7.12; The Victoria and Albert Museum, Search the Collections, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/>, accessed 12.7.12.

⁶¹² <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15248/heart-shaped-brooch-unknown/>, accessed 12.7.12;

⁶¹³ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O16613/brooch-unknown/>, accessed 12.7.12

⁶¹⁴ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15221/brooch-unknown/>, accessed 12.7.12

⁶¹⁵ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_results.aspx?orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&searchText=brooch&fromDate=1250&fromadbc=ad&toDate=1450&toadbc=ad&x=6&y=10, accessed 12.7.12

⁶¹⁶

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=43614&partid=1&searchText=brooch&fromDate=1250&fromADBC=ad&toDate=1450&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&images=on&orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1, accessed 12.7.12

⁶¹⁷

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?currentPage=3&fromdate=1250&searchtext=brooch&toadbc=ad&objectid=43516&images=on&orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&partid=1&todate=1450&fromadbc=ad&numpages=10 accessed 12.7.12

⁶¹⁸

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_image.aspx?objectId=45091&partId=1&searchText=brooch&fromDate=1250&fromADBC=ad&toDate=1450&toADBC=ad&orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&images=on&numPages=10¤tPage=4&asset_id=1171468, accessed 12.7.12

⁶¹⁹

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?currentPage=5&fromdate=1250&searchtext=brooch&toadbc=ad&objectid=43601&images=on&orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&partid=1&todate=1450&fromadbc=ad&numpages=10, accessed 12.7.12

⁶²⁰ <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/display.php?irn=90871> , accessed 12.7.12

items in museums are of precious metals. A search for gold medieval brooches brings up 23 results,⁶²¹ and for silver, 320 results.⁶²²

It is clear therefore, that brooches existed and were owned by people in the medieval period, but the evidence on monuments does not correspond with this. The evidence above indicates the existence of brooches but generally does not indicate how or where they were worn. Lightbown admits that there is little evidence to tell us how jewellery was worn in ordinary usage, although he suggests it was common on special occasions.⁶²³ Examining how brooches might have been utilised could give an indication as to why they are not represented on funeral monuments in any quantity. The will of Agnes Shirburn suggests she wore a brooch every day but does not indicate where. From the analysis and research done into brooches, two key factors have emerged which could have a bearing on the wearing of brooches, in the absence of documentary evidence to show this. These are, firstly the size of the extant brooches, and secondly, the inscriptions on them.

The six brooches which are depicted on funeral monuments are clearly visible and the three circular brooches which appear to have the function of a garment fastening are at least 5cm in diameter. (Figs, 6.1/2/5/6/9/10) The Tau cross worn by Lady Margaret de Bois also looks to be a similar size. (Figs. 6.3-4) Without access to the original monuments in these cases, the measurements are only approximate. The swan badge worn by Joan Perient (Figs 6.7-8) is also clearly visible. However, when the size of

⁶²¹

<http://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/objecttype/BROOCH/material/23/broadperiod/MEDIEVAL/>, accessed 12.7.12

⁶²²

<http://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/objecttype/BROOCH/material/22/broadperiod/MEDIEVAL/>, accessed 12.7.12

⁶²³ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 67.

extant brooches is compared to these representations, the difference is palpable. Of the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the average size is 2.8cm, which shows that many are smaller than this, six being less than 2cm in diameter. The same is true for the British Museum collection and entries on the Portable Antiquities Database. (Fig 6.11). Brooches with a diameter of more than 3cm are the exception rather than the rule in all these collections. The majority of the brooch finds from London documented by Pritchard and Egan are also 3cm in diameter or less.⁶²⁴ This is not to say that there are examples of larger brooches, but anything over 5cm is unusual. Very large brooches are more likely to be found elsewhere in Europe, both in archaeological evidence and on funeral monuments.⁶²⁵

The relevance of size, therefore, is that very small brooches of just 1-1.5cm, which could be described as tiny, seem to be very common in the archaeological evidence. This could account for the lack of this type of brooch being represented on funeral monuments for a number of reasons. There may be more brooches on monuments but because of their size they have worn away or are not clearly visible. However, this seems unlikely as on good quality monuments small details are quite clearly visible. Another reason could be that because of their size, those commissioning monuments or those producing them did not think it worthwhile adding such a small detail. These reasons, though, are just guesswork and there is no evidence to corroborate them. A more credible reason is related to how brooches were worn. John Cherry states that the ring brooch was common and used to fasten the dress at the neck.⁶²⁶ But the visual evidence does not support this with only two, or possibly three funeral monuments showing this clearly. The disjunction between the physical evidence and

⁶²⁴ Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 247-271.

⁶²⁵ Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 258-260.

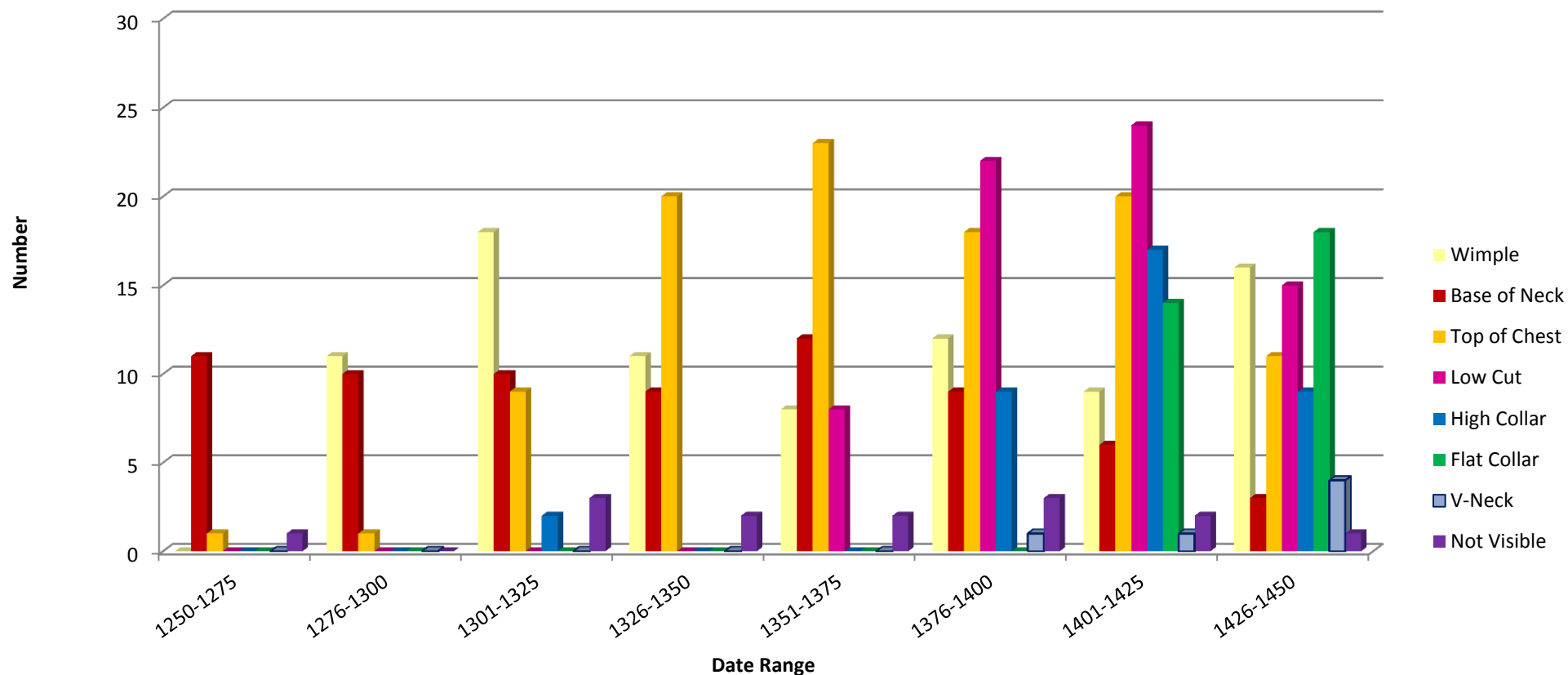
⁶²⁶ Tait, *7000 Years of Jewellery*, 138.

the visual evidence could be explained by brooches not being visible physically, and therefore not being represented on monuments. By looking at surrounding garments this can be shown to be a possibility. A brooch worn at the neck might not be visible for a number of reasons. An analysis of the necklines of funeral monuments shows that 20% have their neckline covered by a wimple, which in contemporary real clothing would hide anything worn underneath this. The analysis of the main garment depicted on the funeral monuments shows that 60% of monuments are represented with at least two garments.⁶²⁷ Brooches may have been worn on the undergarments (as opposed to underwear, of which we have little knowledge) and therefore would not have been visible. Towards the end of the fourteenth and into the fifteenth century large collars, both turned up to cover the neck and folded flat against the garment, are represented on funeral monuments, with 9% and 8% of monuments respectively showing these. This is another style which may have concealed a brooch either on a garment underneath or under the collar. Lightbown states that pendants were worn underneath high necked garments in the fourteenth century.⁶²⁸ Chart 6.3 shows the changing styles of neckline on funeral monuments.

⁶²⁷ See Appendix 1: Data.

⁶²⁸ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 202.

Chart 6.3: Neckline styles on funeral monuments



As well as a brooch being referred to as being worn on a collar in *The Miller's Tale* above, there is also reference in the *General Prologue of The Canterbury Tales*, which describes the Prioress as carrying,

‘A peire of bedes, gauded al with grene,

And theron heng a brooch of gold ful sheene,’⁶²⁹

This indicates the item being described was possibly not the type of brooch that is pinned to a garment, or that some of the archaeological brooches were worn attached to beads. Brooches could also be worn pinned to hats.⁶³⁰ There is also the possibility that brooches were deliberately concealed. Jewellery was often exchanged between lovers and inscriptions on brooches sometimes hint at secret or forbidden love. Fig 6.12 shows a gold ring brooch, c. 1200-1300, with a diameter of 1.4cm. It is inscribed with 'IESVI: CI: ENLIV: DAMI:' which could be translated as 'I am here in place of a friend' or 'I am here in a friendly place'.⁶³¹ James Robinson, Curator of Late Medieval Europe at the British Museum, has been quoted as suggesting that the size and inscriptions on brooches such as this meant that they were personal symbols of affection, and even forbidden love, so would have been worn discreetly.⁶³² Other inscriptions include ‘All my love is yours’;⁶³³ ‘Think of a friend who loves you’;⁶³⁴ and ‘I am here in the place of the friend I love’.⁶³⁵ Inscriptions might also have been thought to have protective qualities, either Christian or generally against danger of

⁶²⁹ Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 26, l. 159-60.

⁶³⁰ Lightbown, *Jewellery in Britain*, 36.

⁶³¹ The V&A, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15219/ring-brooch-unknown/>, accessed 13.7.12.

⁶³² The V&A, Historical Context, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15219/ring-brooch-unknown/> accessed 13.7.12.

⁶³³ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O13418/ring-brooch-unknown/>, accessed 13.7.12.

⁶³⁴ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O103427/ring-brooch-unknown/>, accessed 13.7.12.

⁶³⁵

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=43633&partid=1&IdNum=AF.2683&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database%2fmuseum_number_search.aspx accessed 13.7.12.

various sorts, and these brooches may have been worn concealed.⁶³⁶ An example from the Victoria and Albert Museum is inscribed ‘Hail Mary, full of grace, give us peace’.⁶³⁷

The idea of small brooches being worn concealed either because of the structure of the costume or the meaning of the brooch to the individual, explains why there are very few instances of brooches being depicted on funeral monuments, when the archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that this type of jewellery was popular in the Middle Ages. The monuments in this research depicting brooches could therefore be classed as an exception to the rule, and because of this, a more detailed analysis of the brooches shown and the women represented is warranted to put them into context. Out of five monuments depicting brooches, four are of named women, and these will be analysed further.

Lady Margaret de Bois

The tomb of Sir Roger and Lady Margaret de Bois is in Holy Trinity Church, Ingham, in Norfolk. According to the inscription on the tomb, he died in 1300 and she died in 1315. However, it is believed that the monument was not made until later in the fourteenth century by subsequent members of the de Bois or Boys family.⁶³⁸ Both Sir Roger and Lady de Bois are wearing circular badges or brooches on the right side of their cloaks depicting a Tau cross – the Greek letter ‘T’ - with an inscription ‘Anthon’ which is the symbol of St Anthony the Hermit.⁶³⁹ A conscious decision must have been made to include these badges on the effigies of the couple so there must have

⁶³⁶ Lightbown, *Jewellery in Britain*, 38.

⁶³⁷ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15221/brooch-unknown/>, accessed 13.7.12.

⁶³⁸ <http://www.stalhambenefice.org.uk/ingham/history.html> accessed 12.7.12; Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/97874?docPos=11>, accessed 16.7.12.

⁶³⁹ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 188.

been a connection with St Anthony in the family, either dating back to when they were alive or with the members of the family who commissioned the monument. There are a number of meanings which could be attributed to the wearing of a Tau cross in the medieval period. Firstly, the Tau was connected with salvation and to the prophecy of Ezekiel in that those who were marked with the Tau cross on their foreheads in Jerusalem would be saved from God's destruction. It was also the sign painted in blood by Aaron on the houses of the Israelites on the night of the Passover.⁶⁴⁰ Therefore, the positioning of a Tau cross on the cloaks of Sir Roger and Lady de Bois could be a symbol of salvation.

The Tau cross was also associated with two saints in the medieval period. It is said to be a symbol of the crutch that St Anthony the Hermit and swineherd used with his herd, which then became a mystical symbol due to its similarity with the shape of a cross.⁶⁴¹ The Hospitaller Order of St Anthony was founded in La Motte in the Dauphiné area of France in 1095 by Gaston du Dauphiné after his son became ill with ergotism, a disease caused by the eating of flour contaminated with ergot, and also known as St Anthony's Fire. The Order became synonymous with the treatment of the disease, and also the Black Death, almost 400 connected hospitals were established across Western Europe by the fourteenth century.⁶⁴² One of the subsidiary houses was in London and this and the cult of St Anthony was promoted through a confraternity in the fifteenth century.⁶⁴³ Lightbown suggests that the de Bois family could have

⁶⁴⁰ Scarisbrook, *Jewellery in Britain*, 34; T. B. Husband, 'The Winteringham Tau Cross and Ignis Sacer', *The Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 27, 1992, 19-35, 22.

⁶⁴¹ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O115568/ring-unknown/>, accessed 16.7.12

⁶⁴² J. Gaudert et al, 'Demography and Diffusion in Epidemics: Malaria and the Black Death Spread', *Acta Biotheor*, Vol. 58, 2010, 277-305, 289.

⁶⁴³ John Cherry, 'Healing through faith: the continuation of Medieval attitudes to jewellery into the Renaissance', *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2001, 154-171, 160.

been members of a Confraternity of St Anthony.⁶⁴⁴ Pilgrimages to the hospital were encouraged in the fourteenth century but it is possible that the de Bois couple could have gone there earlier. There is also the possibility that they went on pilgrimage to the church of St Antoine de Viennois in Dauphiné, where the saint's relics were held.⁶⁴⁵ There is evidence that the de Bois or Boys family possibly went on pilgrimage, with Sibylle (b. c. 1370, d. in or after 1455), who married a later Sir Roger, being unable to go to Rome in later life, although this does not confirm she had been earlier.⁶⁴⁶ Dauphiné was a popular destination for pilgrimage for people who suffered from ergotism, but there is no evidence that there was an outbreak during the lifetime of the de Bois couple in Norfolk.⁶⁴⁷ As their monument was erected in the later fourteenth century, there could have been a connection with the healing properties of the cross connected to St Anthony in relation to the Black Death, as he was also believed to protect people from pestilence and poison.⁶⁴⁸

Archaeological evidence shows that the Tau cross was a popular symbol on medieval jewellery, possibly showing support for the order and perhaps as a souvenir from a pilgrimage to France. For example, there is a Tau cross lead alloy pilgrim badge in the British Museum's collection.⁶⁴⁹ Tau crosses were also popular on medieval rings which may have been worn to protect the wearer.⁶⁵⁰ A search of the Portable

⁶⁴⁴ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 188.

⁶⁴⁵ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O115568/ring-unknown/>, accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁴⁶ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/97874?docPos=11>, accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁴⁷ Cherry, 'Healing through faith: the continuation of Medieval attitudes to jewellery into the Renaissance', 161.

⁶⁴⁸ <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O115568/ring-unknown/>, accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁴⁹

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=49953&partid=1&searchText=tau&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fsearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=8 accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁵⁰ See for example The British Museum,

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=49453&partid=1&searchText=tau&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&images=on&orig=%2fsearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1;

Antiquities Scheme database for objects linked to the word ‘tau’ brings up 28 records including rings, pendants, and purse bars, with 7 of these coming from East Anglia and Essex.⁶⁵¹ The relevance of this is that Lightbown suggests that the Tau cross had particular significance in this part of the country and that they are mentioned in wills from this area as well.⁶⁵² However, much of the evidence comes from the fifteenth century, including a gold reliquary pendant in the shape of a Tau cross from Matlaske in Norfolk,⁶⁵³ which is only 20 miles from Ingham.⁶⁵⁴ This is not to say that the tradition of wearing Tau crosses could not have been popular in East Anglia from an early period, either in the lifetime of Sir Roger and Lady de Bois, or their descendants.

The Tau cross was also connected to St Francis⁶⁵⁵ and in the fourteenth century the Boys family had donated land to a community of Franciscan nuns at Bruisyard in Suffolk.⁶⁵⁶ But according to Lightbown, the badges worn by Sir Roger and Lady de Bois, as well as having the Tau cross, also had an inscription of ‘Anthon’, but the cross could have served dual saints.⁶⁵⁷

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?obj
jectid=49459&partid=1&searchText=tau&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&images=on
&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=2](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=49459&partid=1&searchText=tau&fromADBC=ad&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&images=on&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=2) ; The Portable
Antiquities Scheme, <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/386386> ;
<http://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/q/tau/page/2> all accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁵¹ <http://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/q/tau/page/2>, accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁵² *Medieval European Jewellery*, 204.

⁶⁵³ [http://www.culturalmodes.norfolk.gov.uk/projects/img/imglib.asp?page=item&itemId=LN00037.JP
G](http://www.culturalmodes.norfolk.gov.uk/projects/img/imglib.asp?page=item&itemId=LN00037.JPG), accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁵⁴ [http://www.theaa.com/route-
planner/index.jsp#fromNode=18260045274680%7CMatlaske,%20Norwich%7CSTREET%7C615131
%7C334913%7CtoNode=18260045779912%7CIngham,%20Norwich%7CSTREET%7C639053%7C3
26057](http://www.theaa.com/route-planner/index.jsp#fromNode=18260045274680%7CMatlaske,%20Norwich%7CSTREET%7C615131%7C334913%7CtoNode=18260045779912%7CIngham,%20Norwich%7CSTREET%7C639053%7C326057) accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁵⁵ Fr. Ignatius Fennessy, Letter in *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol.7, No. 2, (Summer, 1993), 38.

⁶⁵⁶ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/97874?docPos=11>, accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁵⁷ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 188.

Philippa Roet Chaucer

The effigy in St Mary the Virgin Church at East Woldham, Hampshire, is believed to be that of Philippa Roet Chaucer, the wife of the writer of the Canterbury Tales, Geoffrey Chaucer.⁶⁵⁸ Philippa was the daughter of a Flemish knight, Sir Payn Roelt, from Hainault, who travelled to England in the service of Philippa, Queen of Edward III. Her sister, Katherine Swynford, eventually married John of Gaunt, and became the Duchess of Lancaster, so Philippa came from a privileged background.⁶⁵⁹ She became the *domicella* of the Queen Philippa in 1366, so herself was part of the royal household.⁶⁶⁰

Philippa Chaucer is believed to have died in 1387.⁶⁶¹ On her tomb she is represented wearing a large circular brooch with a centre of either a cross or a flower, which appears to be used as a clasp to hold together the top of her outer garment. (fig 6.6). As archaeological evidence discussed above shows that brooches were usually small in size, there must be a reason for this particular brooch being of such a large size. It could perhaps be linked to her status in the royal household, and although most extant brooches are small, there are brooches that are of a larger size. Egan and Pritchard feature an ornate brooch of 8.5cm which was found in Billingsgate, and is compared to a large brooch on the mid-fourteenth century effigy of Queen Eufemia of Denmark.⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁸ <http://worldham.org/churches/st-mary-the-virgin/> accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁵⁹ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26858> accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁶⁰ Craig R. Davis, 'A Perfect Marriage on the Rocks: Geoffrey and Philippa Chaucer, and the "Franklin's Tale"', *The Chaucer Review*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 2002, 129-144

⁶⁶¹ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5191/?back=,54434> accessed 16.7.12

⁶⁶² Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 258.

Generally, literary and documentary evidence does not indicate the size of jewellery items but there is a reference in Chaucer's *The Miller's Tale* to Alison, the young wife of a carpenter, who is wearing:

‘A brooch she baar upon hir lowe coler
As brood as is the boos of a bokeler’.⁶⁶³

A *bokeler* was a small shield and the *boos* was the raised centre or boss, so Chaucer is comparing this brooch to something much larger than the average.⁶⁶⁴ A medieval shield boss found in Kent has a diameter of 5.25cm, giving an indication of the size of the brooch being described by Chaucer.⁶⁶⁵ It may be seen as an exaggeration as in this description the brooch is associated with the wealth of the carpenter and his wife's liking for showy items.⁶⁶⁶ But the reference indicates that Chaucer was aware of large brooches being a sign of status, and it is not inconceivable that his own wife might have worn something like this to show her status, particularly as her own marriage was to someone of a lower class, unlike her sister Katherine.⁶⁶⁷ The brooch on her funeral monument may then be a copy of something she actually wore or it may be a status symbol to show how important she was during her life.

The brooch depicted on the monument may also represent the coat of arms for the Roets. Roet is the old French or Flemish word for the wheel of a water mill and the brooch could be a representation of this, with what appears to be a cross or petals,

⁶⁶³ Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 69, l. 3265-6.

⁶⁶⁴ Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED5418> accessed 16.7.12; *The Riverside Chaucer*, 69.

⁶⁶⁵ The Portable Antiquities Scheme, <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/73547> accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁶⁶ James Winny, ed. Chaucer, *The Millers Prologue and Tale*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 63.

⁶⁶⁷ Davis, 'A Perfect Marriage on the Rocks: Geoffrey and Philippa Chaucer, and the "Franklin's Tale"', 129

being the spokes of the wheel.⁶⁶⁸ When Philippa's sister Katherine married John of Gaunt in 1396, she adopted a coat of arms showing three gold wheels on a red background.⁶⁶⁹ Although this was nine years after the death of her sister, the Roet coat of arms showing three wheels was in existence before Katherine married.⁶⁷⁰ The wheel reference could also be linked with St Catherine of Alexandria, whose symbol was the spiked wheel on which she was to be tortured until it was miraculously destroyed. She was then beheaded by the Roman emperor Maxentius.⁶⁷¹ St Catherine was a popular saint with women,⁶⁷² and badges depicting the spiked Catherine wheel have been found in London, Coventry, Bristol and Canterbury. Brian Spencer in his work on pilgrim badges suggests that these would have been tokens of allegiance to St Catherine rather than linked to a particular cult or souvenirs from pilgrimage to her shrine on Mount Sinai.⁶⁷³

Joan Perient

The brass to Joan Perient (née Risain) and her husband John (Figs 6.7/8) is in St John's Church, Digswell, in Hertfordshire, dated 1415, the year he died.⁶⁷⁴ She is depicted wearing a brooch in the shape of a swan which has a specific meaning which Joan or whoever commissioned the brass wanted to present. The couple were of high status as John Perient was standard-bearer to Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V,⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁶⁸ The Anglo-Norman Dictionary, <http://www.anglo-norman.net/gate/index.shtml?session=S3289361342476737> accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁶⁹ E. A. G. Lamborn, 'The Arms on the Chaucer Tomb at Ewelme', *Oxoniensia*, 1940, 4.

⁶⁷⁰ <http://home.gwu.edu/~jhsy/chaucer-ppp-ks.html> accessed 16.7.12.

⁶⁷¹ William Granger Ryan, trans., Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints, Volume II*, Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1993, 334-341.

⁶⁷² Erica Langmuir, *A Closer Look at Saints*, London: The National Gallery, 2009, 54.

⁶⁷³ Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010, 179

⁶⁷⁴ 'Parishes: Digswell', *A History of the County of Hertford: volume 3* (1912), pp. 81-85.

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43585> accessed 17.7.12.

Monumental Brass Society, <http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page258.html> accessed 17.7.12.

⁶⁷⁵ 'Parishes: Digswell', *A History of the County of Hertford: volume 3* (1912), pp. 81-85.

<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43585> accessed 17.7.12.

and his wife served the queens of both Richard II and Henry IV, being chief lady-in-waiting to Joan Navarre, the second wife of Henry IV.⁶⁷⁶ The relevance of the swan emblem is related to Henry IV's first wife Mary de Bohun. The Lancastrian swan badge was used in the fourteenth century by important English families the Tonys, Bohuns, Beauchamps and Courtenays. The Bohuns in particular thought they were descended from the Swan Knight of medieval romance.⁶⁷⁷ When Henry of Lancaster, son of John of Gaunt, married Mary de Bohun, one of two co-heiresses of Humphrey de Bohun, in 1380, he used the swan as a badge, and after he became king the swan badge was used as a livery badge of the Prince of Wales.⁶⁷⁸ Mary's sister, Eleanor, who married Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, has a swan emblem on her brass in Westminster Abbey.⁶⁷⁹ John Goodall suggests that the swan emblem was only given to ladies at court during the reign of Henry IV and it seems very likely that Joan would have been given the original badge on which her brass engraving was based.⁶⁸⁰

There is some archaeological evidence for animal heraldry badges with the rare Dunstable Swan, (Fig 6.12) now in the British Museum, giving some indication of what this badge may have actually looked like. It is made from opaque white enamel fused over gold and is 3.3cm high. It is dated around 1400 and is thought to have

⁶⁷⁶ Tait, *7000 Years of Jewellery*, 138.

⁶⁷⁷ Tait, *7000 Years of Jewellery*, 140.

⁶⁷⁸ The Dunstable Swan Jewel, Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, eds. *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1987, Ref: 659, 487-8; Ann Payne, 'Medieval Heraldry', in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, eds. *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1987, 55-59, 59.

⁶⁷⁹ Institute of Historical Research, http://www.history.ac.uk/richardII/dunst_swan.html accessed 17.7.12. For an image of the brass see Images/fourteenth century/London.

⁶⁸⁰ John Goodall, 'Heraldry Depicted on Brasses', in Fr. Jerome Bertram, ed., *Monumental Brasses as Art and History*, Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1996, 51.

belonged to a prominent supporter of a family like the Bohuns.⁶⁸¹ Other evidence includes a 4.4cm silver-gilt livery badge in the shape of an eagle or hawk found in Lincolnshire.⁶⁸² Egan and Pritchard show a number of bird and animal badges which were found in London, mainly made from lead alloy, which indicates that these types of badges were not just worn by the upper classes.⁶⁸³ They were often distributed to supporters of a lower social status including servants.⁶⁸⁴ Other examples of copper alloy animal badges include birds listed in the Portable Antiquities Database.⁶⁸⁵ Written evidence for animal badges or brooches can also be found in wills with Edmond, Earl of March, leaving his son ‘a small nonce, in the form of the body of a stag and the head of an eagle’ in his will of 1380. In 1369, Thomas Earl of Warwick, bequeathed to his daughter ‘an ouche, called the eagle, which the Prince gave me’ and to another daughter another ouche ‘called the eagle’.⁶⁸⁶ These items could refer to animal emblem jewellery.

⁶⁸¹ The British Museum, http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/t/the_dunstable_swan_jewel.aspx accessed 17.7.12

⁶⁸² <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/422836>, accessed 17.7.12.

⁶⁸³ Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 264-267.

⁶⁸⁴ http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/t/the_dunstable_swan_jewel.aspx accessed 17.7.12.

⁶⁸⁵ <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/220759> ;

<http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/392099> accessed 17.7.12

⁶⁸⁶ Testamenta Vetusta, 110, 79.

6. 3 Rings

The content analysis shows that rings were more regularly depicted on funeral monuments than other types of jewellery. However, over the period under discussion, only 7% of monuments show rings, with just 3% of all brasses and 10% of all effigies. From the last quarter of the fourteenth century the percentage of brasses depicting rings is much smaller than the percentage of effigies with rings. This section of the chapter will thus focus on two questions, firstly does the incidence of rings depicted on

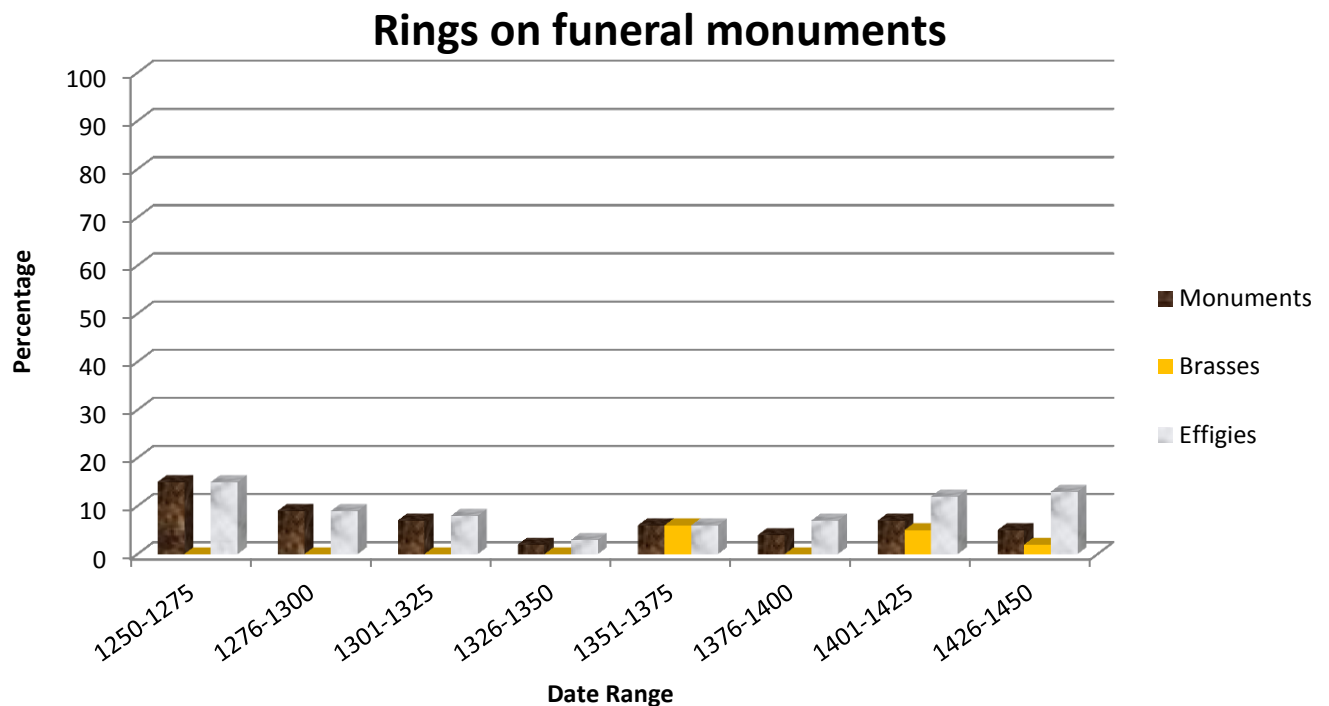


Chart 6.4

funeral monuments correspond with other evidence for the existence and wearing of finger-rings in the medieval period, and secondly, is there a reason why finger-rings are depicted less on brasses than sculpted monuments. These questions will be

illustrated with documentary, literary and archaeological evidence, and case studies taken from the monuments showing jewellery.

Cherry states in his chapter on medieval rings in *Rings Through the Ages* that rings were an important indication of status, and that they were worn by all members of society for many different reasons.⁶⁸⁷ Scarisbrook also suggests that rings of gold, silver and gilt bronze were worn by men and women of all classes.⁶⁸⁸ Egan and Pritchard discuss 37 finger-rings found during excavations in London, and point out that although five are gold, the rest are of base metals such as copper, bronze, brass, gunmetal and pewter, indicating that ordinary people wore rings as well as those who could afford precious metals.⁶⁸⁹ There is a lot of archaeological evidence for rings and they have survived in much greater numbers than other types of jewellery.⁶⁹⁰ A search of the British Museum collections database results in more than 200 finger-rings from the period 1250-1450.⁶⁹¹ The Victoria and Albert Museum has nearly 100 medieval finger-rings in its collection,⁶⁹² and a search of the Portable Antiquities Scheme Database brings up nearly 70 entries for finger rings from 1250-1450.⁶⁹³ Rings are also regularly mentioned in wills from the period including:

⁶⁸⁷ John Cherry, 'Medieval Rings', in Anne Ward, John Cherry, Charlotte Gere, Barbara Cartlidge (eds), *Rings Through the Ages*, New York: Rizzoli, 1981.

⁶⁸⁸ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, 57.

⁶⁸⁹ Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 325.

⁶⁹⁰ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, 57.

⁶⁹¹

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_results.aspx?orig=%2Fsearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&searchText=finger-rings&fromDate=1250&fromadbc=ad&toDate=1450&toadbc=ad&x=8&y=8, accessed 17/7.12.

⁶⁹²

<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/?offset=105&limit=15&narrow=0&extrasearch=&q=&quality=0&objectnamesearch=ring&placesearch=england&after=1250&after-adbc=AD&before=1450&before-adbc=AD&namesearch=&materialsearch=&mnsearch=&locationsearch=> accessed 17.7.12.

⁶⁹³

<http://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/objecttype/FINGER+RING/broadperiod/MEDIEVAL/fromdate/1250/todate/1450> accessed 17.7.12.

- William de Beauchamp, in 1268 left a ring with a ruby in it to his daughter, a gold ring with a ruby to his son, and a ring each to Sir Roger Mortimer and Sir Bartholomew de Sudley.
- Sir Guy de Beauchamp, bequeathed in his will of 1359, to his father his best gold ring, his mother the next best, his wife third best and daughter (a nun) his fourth best.
- Robert, Earl of Suffolk left two gold rings in his will of 1368.
- Katherine, Countess of Warwick, left her husband a ring with an emerald in it in 1369.
- Joan, Lady Cobham bequeathed a ring with a diamond to her son Reginald, in her will of 1369.⁶⁹⁴

There is also evidence from a will connected to Elizabeth Aldburgh, whose funeral monument is extant and depicts her wearing rings, so a connection can be made here between documentary and visual evidence. It is rare for an extant will and a brass or effigy to exist for the same person so there is not a great deal of evidence which shows what sort of jewellery a woman might have in relation to the type of funeral monument she received. The tomb of Elizabeth Aldburgh and her husband Sir Richard Redman is in All Saints Church, Harewood House, Leeds, and is dated c. 1426, the date of death of Sir Richard.⁶⁹⁵ Elizabeth, and her sister Sybil, who married Sir William Ryther, were the daughters of Sir William Aldburgh, Lord of Harewood and they inherited Harewood Castle and estate when their older brother William died without issue in 1392.⁶⁹⁶

Elizabeth Aldburgh is depicted wearing rings on the second, third and little fingers of both hands. The ring on the little finger is worn halfway down but the others are worn

⁶⁹⁴ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 51, 63, 74, 78, 81.

⁶⁹⁵ W. Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood: A Contribution to the History of the Levens Family of Redman and Redmayne in Many of Its Branches*. Kendal: T. Wilson, 1905, 87.

⁶⁹⁶ Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood*, 80.

near the top third of the finger. Documentary evidence shows that she was very likely to have owned a particular gold ring as in 1413 Sir Henry Vavasour left her a gold ring in his will – “*Item lego dominae Elizabethae de Redman unum annulum de auro*”⁶⁹⁷ and she was also left a ring by her first husband Sir Brian Stapilton – his will states “*jeo devise a mesme la Elisabeth un annul de le soyne proper, que jeo solay porter entour mon colle.*”⁶⁹⁸ This means a particular ring that he wore round his neck on a chain or possibly a cord of silk. It is impossible to say whether the rings she was bequeathed were represented on her funeral monument but it gives some idea of the ownership of rings at this time. The rings depicted on the fingers of Elizabeth Aldburgh are fairly thick with protuberances which could represent gemstones. Elizabeth’s rings appear to have stones in them and a woman of her status is likely to have been able to afford rubies or diamonds, which were popular.⁶⁹⁹ Although the rings referred to in bequests to Elizabeth Aldburgh do not mention stones of any type, the documentary and archaeological evidence discussed above refers to and shows gemstones to be popular in finger-rings. The collection of finger-rings at the British Museum includes sapphires, garnets, pearls, and diamonds.

⁶⁹⁷ Greenwood, *The Redmans of Levens and Harewood*, 82.

⁶⁹⁸ Testamenta Eboracensia, 199.

⁶⁹⁹ Hinton, *Medieval Jewellery*, 10.

Multiple rings

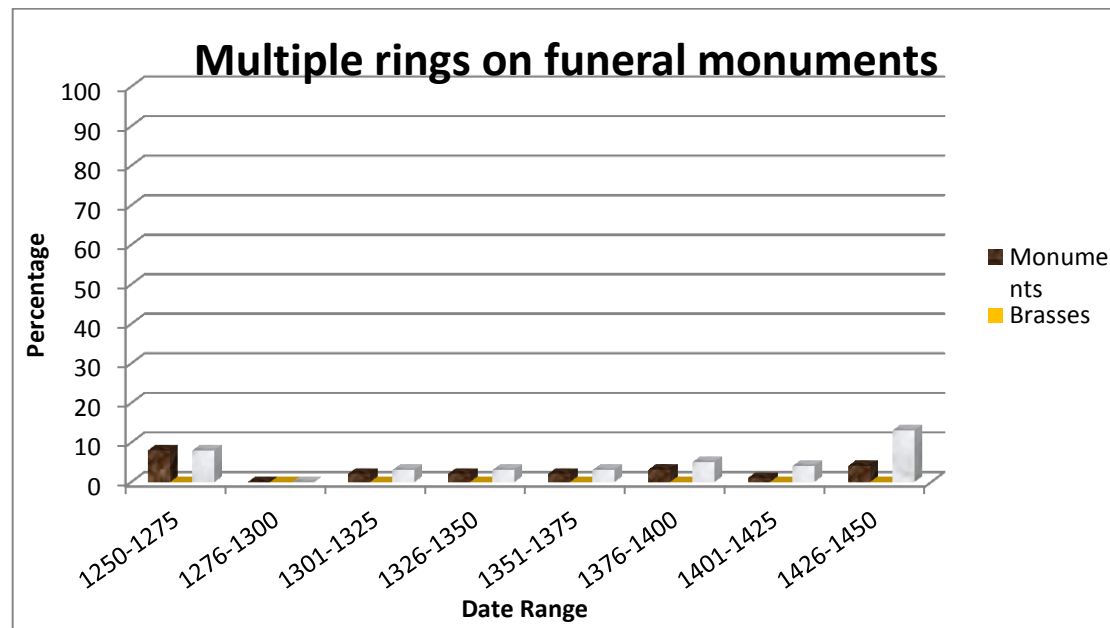


Chart 6.5

Elizabeth Aldburgh has multiple rings depicted on her effigy and Cherry and Scarisbrook both point out that it was fashionable and common for people during the medieval period to wear many rings on different fingers. Cherry uses the funeral monument of Lady Thorpe, of Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk, who is depicted wearing many rings on both hands as an example.⁷⁰⁰ However, the monument of Lady Thorpe is just one of five monuments out of 170 from the fifteenth century depicted with multiple rings. This gives a figure of just 3%. In total there are only 9 monuments (all sculpted effigies) wearing multiple rings. The archaeological and documentary evidence shows that rings were popular in the middle ages but the representation on funeral monuments does not always replicate this, although 24% of effigies are depicted with rings in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

⁷⁰⁰ Cherry, 'Medieval Rings'; Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, 57.

It is more noticeable that the incidence of rings on brasses is very low, with only 3% showing rings. Reasons for this specific to brasses could be connected to their cost, manufacture and the type of person that purchases a brass as opposed to a sculpted monument. A brass would be cheaper to have made than a full sculpted tomb with an effigy and it would therefore follow that brasses were purchased by a less wealthy class of society than the more expensive and elaborate tomb monuments. Some idea of the cost of an alabaster tomb can be determined by a comparison to a tomb where the cost of production is known. A contract from the Chellaston workshop of Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton exists for the tomb of Ralph Greene and his wife in Lowick, Northants. The tomb was commissioned in 1419 and cost £40,⁷⁰¹ showing how much people were prepared to pay for family commemoration. Brasses were generally more affordable than sculpted effigies, although there is evidence of large brasses such as the St Quintins brass at Brandesburton, Yorkshire, dated 1397, costing up to 20 marks.⁷⁰² However, in the fifteenth century a brass would have cost between £2-3.⁷⁰³ In the late fourteenth century a knight could expect an average landed income of £50-£100 so a brass would be within his budget.⁷⁰⁴ Evidence from wills shows that wool merchants were usually very wealthy men and could have easily afforded brasses, which many of them did.⁷⁰⁵ Although the cost of brasses meant that they were available to lower levels of society such as merchants, the majority of brasses are of knights and ladies. The example above of Joan Perient, lady-in-waiting to the queen

⁷⁰¹ Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, 179.

⁷⁰² Nigel Saul, 'Bold as Brass: Secular Display in English Medieval Brasses', in ed. Peter Coss and Maurice Keen, *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002, 173.

⁷⁰³ Measuring Worth, http://www.measuringworth.com/ppoweruk/result.php?use%5B%5D=CPI&use%5B%5D=NOMINAL EARN&year_early=1400£71=3&shilling71=&pence71=&amount=3&year_source=1400&year_result=2008, accessed 15/11/10.

⁷⁰⁴ Chris Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages*, London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1987, 156.

⁷⁰⁵ See Nigel Saul, 'The Wool Merchants and their Brasses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, Vol. XVII, Part 4, 2006, 315-335.

shows that brasses were commissioned by high status people and it would be incorrect to suggest that these women did not own or wear jewellery.

A further argument for the lack of rings being depicted on brasses could be that it was more difficult to engrave detail. Following the Black Death there was a reduced supply of skilled labour and brasses were more modest than their earlier counterparts, often being simple designs which required less time and skill.⁷⁰⁶ However, the London workshops, which produced almost all the English brasses post-Black Death, soon recovered and created both very detailed brasses which obviously had input from the commissioners, but also 'off-the-peg' brasses. Nigel Saul suggests that these commercialised conditions meant that many customers, however, had little ability to influence the design of a monument but rather were more concerned with good craftsmanship. He cites a letter from John Paston I who appeared not to be concerned with an individual portrait of his brother Edmund but that the workmanship was 'klene'. i.e. skilful or clear.⁷⁰⁷ With the prevalence of stylised brasses at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century, specific additions would have had to have been negotiated, and would have cost more and taken more effort on the part of the engraver. The process of engraving has not changed over the past 800 years regarding the cutting edge of a tool and the handling of a hammer and chisel, and it would not have been difficult or costly to add detail to a brass.⁷⁰⁸ The brass to wool merchant Thomas Lyndewode and his wife Alice is very detailed in its design, although she is dressed very simply as a widow. Their seven children are engraved

⁷⁰⁶ Sally Badham, 'Monumental Brasses and the Black Death: A Reappraisal', *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 80, 2000, 207-244, 207, 233.

⁷⁰⁷ Saul, 'Bold as Brass', 181-185

⁷⁰⁸ W. E. 'Ancient and modern methods of engraving brasses', *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. 9 (1922), 65-74.

underneath and there is a very long inscription.⁷⁰⁹ Inscriptions did become longer in the later middle ages and the representation of status was important to those commissioning brasses. This could be indicated by heraldry, long inscriptions, details of offspring to show the genealogy of the family and attire.⁷¹⁰ This could also include jewellery items for women. The significance of this for monuments in the later fourteenth century and early fifteenth century is that variations, particularly on stylised brasses are likely to indicate specific choices being made by those commissioning them. So if ‘off-the-peg’ brasses were jewellery-free, when it was depicted it must have been for a specific reason and followed a specific request from the woman or her husband or executors.

Out of 185 brasses analysed there are only six depicting rings, with three of these more clear than the others. An analysis of one of these in context will give some indication of why rings have been represented when this was not a regular occurrence on a brass.

Agnes Adynet

The brass of Agnes Adynet and her husband Thomas is dated c. 1409, and is in St Peter and St Paul’s Church in Northleach, Gloucestershire. (Fig 6.13) Until recently this brass was classed as depicting the wife of an unknown wool merchant, the brass being one of many commemorating the wool trade at the church.⁷¹¹ Merchants, and in particular, wool merchants, were a class which were able to afford monumental

⁷⁰⁹ See Images/Brasses/fourteenth century/Gloucester.

⁷¹⁰ Saul, ‘Bold as Brass’, 185-187.

⁷¹¹ See Muriel Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brass and Incised Slabs*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1968, p52 & 80, which lists the brass as c.1400 and depicting a male civilian and a female civilian.

brasses following an increase in trade in the late fourteenth century.⁷¹² However, wives of merchants are not depicted regularly wearing rings. In the case of the woman depicted on this brass and her husband, one could surmise that the merchant was particularly successful and the ring on his wife's brass was there to indicate this. It may have represented a particular ring or as it is on the right hand, more commonly associated with wedding rings in the medieval period, it may be asserting something about the marriage.⁷¹³ However, as regards ostentation, although the merchant was an important member of society, the status of his wife, I suggest, was nowhere near as grand as the noble women depicted on the majority of extant brasses. The ring is fairly ostentatious with a big stone in it which could still indicate a wedding ring as these could be plain bands or with precious stones.⁷¹⁴ The ring may have been included as a sign of status indicating that her husband was rich enough to buy her something like this in real life. This ring may have had sentimental meaning, or maybe there had been some question over the marriage, so the 'wedding' ring was on display for all to see. As an anonymous brass there was no way of knowing the background.

However a recent article by Sally Badham has thrown light on the identity of the merchant. She suggests it is Thomas Adynet, depicted with his wife, Agnes.⁷¹⁵ Adynet was a very wealthy merchant who owned land in several Gloucestershire parishes and dealt with Italian merchants. His will shows that he amassed a considerable fortune so the idea of the ring on his wife's hand to show their status does make sense. However,

⁷¹² See Nigel Saul, 'The Wool Merchants and Their Brasses', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, Vol. XVII, 4, 2006, 315-335.

⁷¹³ Cherry, 'Medieval Rings, 1100-1500', in *Rings Through the Ages*, New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1981, 35.

⁷¹⁴ Cherry, 'Medieval Rings', 37.

⁷¹⁵ Sally Badham, 'Thomas Adynet and His Brass at Northleach, Gloucestershire', *The Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, Vol. XVII, 4, 2006, 347-353.

provisions in his will also show his piety and he leaves his wife money and land as long as she remains single.⁷¹⁶ The woman on the brass is dressed in widow's clothing wearing a cloak or mantle and a veil covering her hair. At this period of time, the wearing of a veil as opposed to the various types of elaborate headdress shown on many funeral monuments, usually depicted a widow's clothing. One of the definitions of the Middle English term *mantel* is 'a robe, together with a ring, assumed by a widow or wife upon her profession of perpetual chastity before a bishop'.⁷¹⁷ Because of the instructions in her husband's will for her to remain single, it is possible that Agnes chose to live the chaste life of a vowess. The woman could choose to live a religious life but not enter a convent, and still live in secular society.⁷¹⁸ For Agnes Adynet this choice was dictated by her husband but economically it would have been a sensible move for her. The vowess's habit seems indistinguishable from the widow's but the one thing which may indicate that Agnes became a vowess is the ring she is wearing. To become a vowess the woman had to take a vow of chastity in the presence of a bishop and the ring and mantle she had to wear were blessed in the ceremony.⁷¹⁹ It was not only wives of knights who became vowesses as records show that urban women were 14% of vowesses in the fourteenth century and 13% in the fifteenth century.⁷²⁰ Although there is no record of Agnes's will, a will from Alice, Lady West, gives us evidence of the wearing of a particular ring similar to Agnes. In the will of 1395, Alice bequeaths 'a ring wherewith I was espoused to God'.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁶ Badham, 'Thomas Adynet and His Brass at Northleach, Gloucestershire'.

⁷¹⁷ Middle English Dictionary, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED26839> accessed 18.7.12.

⁷¹⁸ Jennifer Ward, *Women of the English Nobility and Gentry, 1066-1500*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995, 191.

⁷¹⁹ Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500*, 173.

⁷²⁰ Mary C. Erler, 'English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages', *Medieval Studies*, 57, 1995, 155-203, 186-200.

⁷²¹ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 137.

From an unknown brass to a wool merchant and his wife, to a named brass which has documentary evidence connected to it, the analysis of the jewellery depicted has been put into context. It seems very likely that the ring on Agnes's brass is of religious significance and probably represents the ring which was part of the vow of chastity she took.

6.4 Necklaces

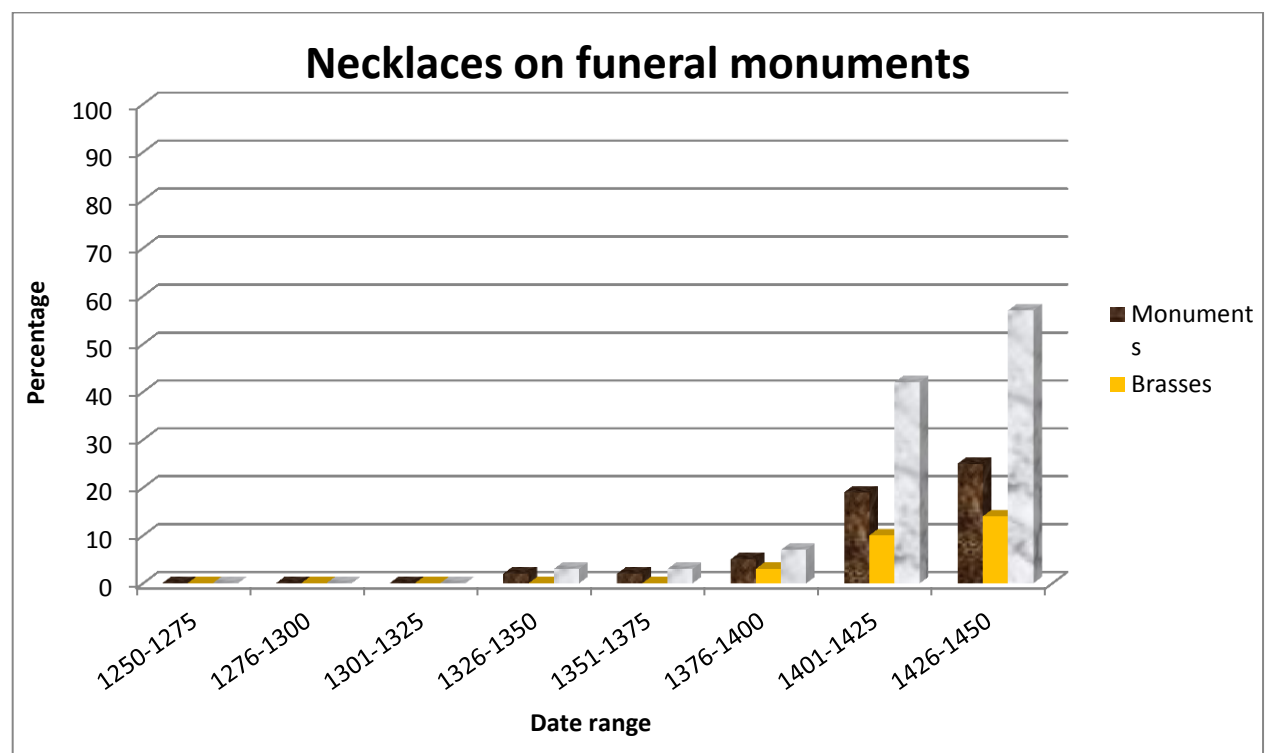


Chart 6.6

The content analysis shows that necklaces were not represented on funeral monuments in the sample in the thirteenth or first quarter of the fourteenth centuries. In the rest of the fourteenth century there still were not many instances of necklaces being shown on monuments with only 3% in the whole of the fourteenth century wearing necklaces. However, the figures for the first half of the fifteenth century show that a large percentage of monuments are depicted wearing necklaces. In total 22% of

monuments have necklaces, with this figure rising to almost half of effigies in this period, but just 12% of brasses.

Some of the reasons discussed above apply to the depiction of necklaces, such as the lack of detail on earlier monuments, and the use of standardized brasses from the late fourteenth century onwards. As with brooches, the wearing of necklaces and their depiction on funeral monuments is linked to other garments being worn. Pendants could have been worn under garments or high necked dresses, with this possibly being the case of they were thought to have protective qualities or secret inscriptions similar to the brooches discussed above.⁷²² A necklace for show is more likely to be worn when the décolletage is visible.⁷²³ Chart 6.7 shows the incidence of various types of necklines across the period being studied. The types of neckline most conducive to the wearing of a necklace are classed here as ‘top of chest’ and ‘low cut’.⁷²⁴ The analysis shows that although there was a high incidence of suitable necklines for depicting a necklace from the second quarter of the fourteenth century onwards, there was not a corresponding frequency of necklaces actually being shown. It is not until the fifteenth century when the incidence of visible décolletage falls slightly that the occurrence of necklaces increases. Lightbown suggests that in the fifteenth century many noblemen and women would have worn gold and silver chains every day but this is not reflected in the visual evidence.⁷²⁵ He also suggests that the introduction of

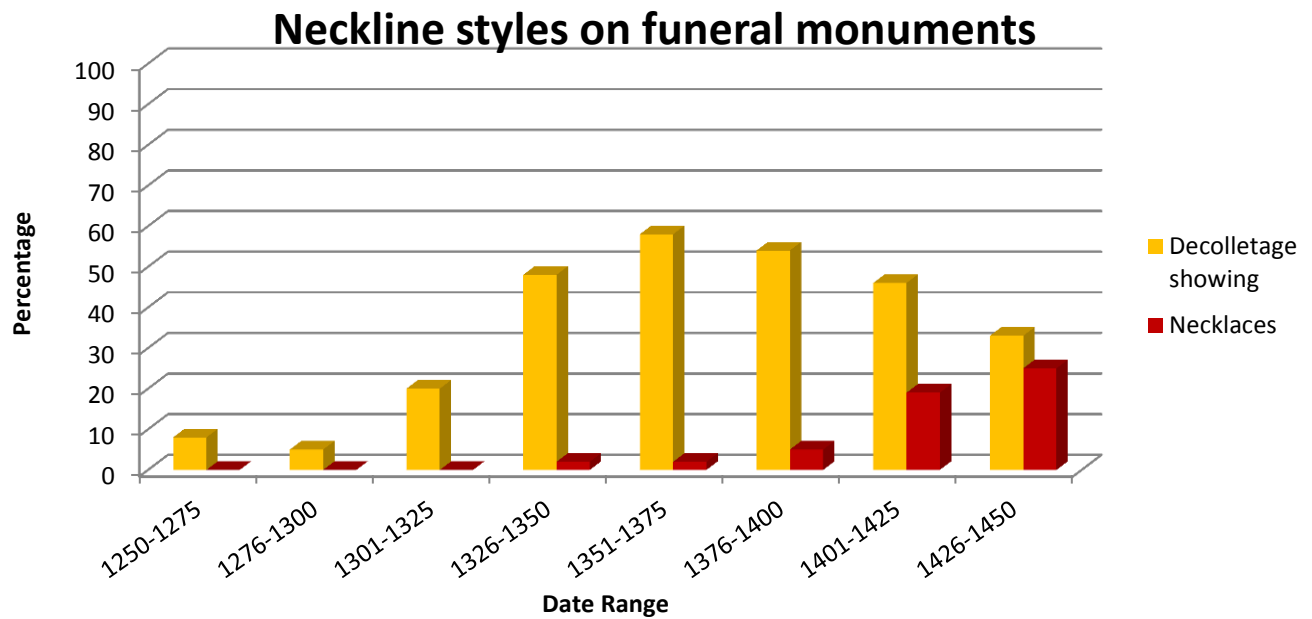
⁷²² Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 202-203.

⁷²³ Tait, *7000 Years of Jewellery*, 138.

⁷²⁴ See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the terminology and classification of necklines.

⁷²⁵ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 68.

Chart 6.7



livery collars led to brooches being superseded by pendants in prominence.⁷²⁶ Again, this is not backed up by evidence on funeral monuments. However, the introduction of livery collars could account for the high instance of jewellery being depicted on monuments from the start of the fifteenth century compared with previously. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century nearly half of all the necklaces worn were livery

⁷²⁶ Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery*, 202.

collars but in the second quarter this figure drops to 25% of brasses and 17% of effigies depicted with necklaces. Lancastrian livery collars, the collar of 'SS' which are the type seen on the majority of the funeral monuments depicted with collars, became popular in the late fourteenth century when Richard II assumed the collar of his uncle John of Gaunt, the 1st Duke of Lancaster.⁷²⁷ They carried on in use as a sign of Lancastrian support until at least the mid-fifteenth century.⁷²⁸

The visual evidence shows that up until the fifteenth century necklaces were not popular on funeral monuments but this cannot be explained by the style of clothing, in particular necklines, not being conducive to the wearing of necklaces. Although the introduction of Lancastrian livery collars in the fifteenth century accounts for about a third of the necklaces worn, the other two-thirds consist of beads, chains, and choker-style necklaces. These are not appearing on earlier monuments to any great degree with just 6 necklaces depicted in the thirteenth and fourteenth century data.

Consequently, there must be another reason for the lack of necklaces depicted on monuments. Unlike brooches and rings, there could be an argument that necklaces were not worn in the early period of this research. Documentary and archaeological evidence can give some indication of the prevalence of this type of jewellery in this period.

Compared to the archaeological evidence for rings and brooches, there is much less for necklaces. Because of the composite parts of a necklace, it is more likely that pieces of necklace would be extant rather than the whole necklace. A search for

⁷²⁷ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, 24.

⁷²⁸ <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/111045>, accessed 18.7.12.

medieval necklaces from England for the period under research in the British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Portable Antiquities Scheme databases brings up little results. A gold link from a collar of SS has been found in Wiltshire and a silver-gilt fragment from a collar has been found in Staffordshire.⁷²⁹ A number of chains from the medieval period are included in the Portable Antiquities database but only a small number of these appear to have possibly come from a piece of jewellery.⁷³⁰ There are also 39 records for beads, which include glass, jet, amber, coral, silver and copper alloy.⁷³¹ Beads are mentioned in wills with

- Elizabeth de Bohun, Countess of Northampton, bequeathing ‘a set of beads of gold and jet’ to her sister Margery de Roos, in her will of 1356.⁷³²
- Thomas, Earl of Warwick, in 1369, bequeathed sets of beads of gold to his three daughters.⁷³³
- Roger, Lord Scrope, left paternosters of coral with a jewel of gold in his will of 1403.⁷³⁴
- In her will of 1395, Alice, Lady West, left a pair of beads, as well as the ring mentioned above, with which she was ‘espoused to God.’⁷³⁵

As discussed earlier, it is likely that Lady West had taken the vow of chastity when her husband died, and thus the beads she bequeathed could have been rosary beads. Beads mentioned in wills are as likely to be rosary beads or paternosters as beads in a necklace for show. Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, bequeathed in 1399, a

⁷²⁹ Portable Antiquities Scheme, <http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/111045>, accessed 18.7.12

⁷³⁰ Portable Antiquities Scheme, <http://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/objecttype/CHAIN/broadperiod/MEDIEVAL> accessed 18.7.12.

⁷³¹ <http://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/objecttype/BEAD/broadperiod/MEDIEVAL/page/2> accessed 18.7.12.

⁷³² *Testamenta Vetusta*, 61.

⁷³³ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 79.

⁷³⁴ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 160.

⁷³⁵ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 137.

‘pair of paternosters of coral’.⁷³⁶ Her father, Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, left a pair of coral paternosters and a pair of jet paternosters’.⁷³⁷ It is possible that the coral beads left by Eleanor were the same ones bequeathed by her father. The archaeological evidence of coral, jet, amber and other beads cannot tell us what sort of necklace these came from but the fact that beads are bequeathed by men would indicate that beads are not just for female necklaces.

Archaeological evidence and references in wills show that beads were in existence and could be said to be fairly common. More than 200 beads were found in the excavations in London in the 1970s and 1980s and many of the larger ones are thought to be from paternosters.⁷³⁸ The visual evidence for beads can be seen on the effigy of Joan Keynes, St Andrew’s Church, Dowlish Wake, Somerset, c. 1442, where she has a set of beads and a cross depicted round her neck. Crosses were sometimes part of rosary beads and in the 1362 will of Humphrey de Bohun, he leaves ‘a pair of gold paternosters of fifty pieces, with ornaments, together with a cross of gold, in which is a piece of the true cross of our Lord’.⁷³⁹

Other depictions of beads can be seen on the brass of an unknown lady at St Leonard’s Church, South Ormesby, Lincolnshire, c. 1410; and the effigy of Elizabeth Aldburgh, All Saints Church, Harewood, Leeds, c. 1418-26.⁷⁴⁰ Paternosters might have been hung round the neck or they could also have been hung round the arm like Chaucer’s Prioress who:

‘Of small coral aboute hir arm she bar

⁷³⁶ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 147.

⁷³⁷ Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, 53.

⁷³⁸ Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 305.

⁷³⁹ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 66.

⁷⁴⁰ See Images.

‘A peire of bedes, gauded al with grene,

And theron heng a brooch of gold ful sheene,’⁷⁴¹

The effigy of Blanche Mortimer, Lady Grandison, at St Bartholomew’s Church, Much Marcle, Herefordshire, c. 1347, is holding a set of rosary beads with a pendant or ‘brooch’ at the end, and the effigy of Lady Margaret Conyers, St Mary’s Church, Hornby, Yorkshire, c. 1422, is possibly holding a string of rosary beads.⁷⁴²

The rosary beads bequeathed by Elizabeth Bohun to her sister in 1356 also had a *firmaile* attached to them so may have been something similar to the beads held by Blanche Mortimer on her effigy.⁷⁴³ Beads were also used as trimmings on garments so may not necessarily have formed part of jewellery.⁷⁴⁴

Some of the funeral monuments depicting necklaces show chains with pendants on them in the shape of crosses, hearts or roundels. Evidence from wills does correspond with this with various types of pendant being referred to, although individual pendants without a chain may not have referred to something worn round the neck, in particular with the case of crosses. For example Roger, Lord Scrope, in his will of 1403 left ‘a cross of gold which I used to carry about with me.’⁷⁴⁵ It is quite rare to find an instance what could be termed a decorative necklace as opposed to rosary beads and although Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester bequeathed ‘a cross of gold pendant by a chain, with an image of the crucifix and four pearls around it’ in her 1399 will, this still has a religious theme to it rather than being simply decorative.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴¹ Benson, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 26, l. 159-60.

⁷⁴² See Images.

⁷⁴³ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 61.

⁷⁴⁴ Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, 305.

⁷⁴⁵ *Testamenta Vetusta*.

⁷⁴⁶ *Testamenta Vetusta*, 147.

There is some archaeological evidence for pendants with the Portable Antiquities Scheme database giving a result of eight gold pendants, including crosses, a lozenge shape, and oval shaped pendants. Two of the pendants contain gemstones, with a large garnet in the centre of one and the other having small pearls round the edges. There is also a rectangle pendant with an inscription which could mean ‘when God pleases we will be one’.⁷⁴⁷ The inscription suggests a secret love and this could have been a pendant that was worn hidden. There appear to be very few items in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum, although the British Museum has two possible pendants from necklaces in the Fishpool Hoard, which is dated to the mid-fifteenth century and as well as coins, rings and a brooch, includes a gold padlock locket, two chains, a pendant cross with a ruby, four amethysts and four projections which would originally have held pearls, and a roundel decorated with enamel and set with a sapphire.⁷⁴⁸ The museum collection also includes a silver hexagonal pendant dated to the fifteenth century.⁷⁴⁹

The evidence on funeral monuments shows that necklaces were not common until the fifteenth century and reasons for this have been assessed. The idea of the neckline of garments not being suitable for the wearing of a necklace has been discounted due to the increase in the incidence of lower necklines not showing a corresponding increase

⁷⁴⁷ Portable Antiquities Database
<http://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/objecttype/PENDANT/broadperiod/MEDIEVAL/material/23>
 accessed 19.7.12.

⁷⁴⁸ The British Museum,
http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/j/jewellery_from_fishpool_hoard.aspx accessed 19.7.12.

⁷⁴⁹
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=43718&partid=1&searchText=heart&fromDate=1250&fromADBC=ad&toDate=1450&toADBC=ad&titleSubject=on&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=2 accessed 19.7.12.

in the wearing of necklaces. Necklaces may have previously been worn hidden as discussed above in relation to brooches, and again with necklines being hidden by wimples this may have been the case. There is also archaeological evidence to show that inscriptions on secret love may have led to items not being on show. Evidence from wills identifies beads being a popular bequest and it is most likely that these are rosary beads as they are often referred to as paternosters and they are also linked to items such as rings and crosses which might indicate a religious connection. There is evidence of rosary beads being held on a monument from the mid-fourteenth century, when jewellery worn round the neck on monuments was not common. Archaeological evidence shows that beads were a common find across the period but chains and pendants, although fairly rare, were more likely to come from the fifteenth century. The conclusion on necklaces therefore is that funeral monuments rarely depict necklaces before the fifteenth century as they were not commonly worn by women for decorative purposes. However, they may have owned rosary beads and these would have been carried or possibly worn around the neck, although this style is not shown on funeral monuments until the fifteenth century. Lancastrian livery collars were not introduced until the late fourteenth century and these do appear on monuments in the first half of the fifteenth century, reflecting the support of noble families for the royal household.

Sumptuary Laws

There is another reason which may have affected the depiction of jewellery on funeral monuments, and that is the existence of sumptuary laws for some of the period under research. The earliest known laws which regulated clothing and jewellery were during

the reign of Edward III (1327-1377). The reason for restricting the wearing of certain types of cloth and jewellery was the increase of luxury and extravagance of the period.⁷⁵⁰ Documentary evidence shows that there was criticism of the extravagant clothing worn. Preachers and moralists blamed many of society's ills on the lavish and showy clothes of the fourteenth century.⁷⁵¹ The evidence looked at in this chapter, however does not indicate that jewellery in particular was prominent on funeral monuments in the fourteenth century for reasons discussed above. Extravagance was shown in the type of cloth being worn and the use of furs on garments, both of which are impossible or very difficult to ascertain from funeral monuments.⁷⁵² The first law regulating dress was enacted in 1363 and the relevant section for this chapter is the limiting of the wearing of gold, silver and precious stones. The wives of esquires and gentlemen below the rank of knights were allowed to wear precious stones as trimmings for their clothing but not on headdresses. Wives of knights were only allowed to wear precious stones on their headdresses.⁷⁵³ There is no mention of jewellery specifically and the analysis above suggests that jewellery such as necklaces was not commonly worn. As there is no evidence of jewellery on monuments before the sumptuary laws and no change after the laws were enacted, it appears that they did not have any bearing on how people were depicted, and there is no evidence to show that the laws were enforced.⁷⁵⁴

The evidence from funeral monuments on jewellery shows care is needed when making assumptions from other sources such as archaeological and literary sources.

⁷⁵⁰ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, 12.

⁷⁵¹ See Chapter 4.

⁷⁵² Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, 22, 33, 37, 40, 41.

⁷⁵³ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, 48-50.

⁷⁵⁴ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, 54.

The existence of artefacts does not tell us how they were worn and care must be taken not to simply use funeral monuments as illustrations for discussion of jewellery.

6: Images



Fig 6.1: Constantina de Frecheville, c. 1260. Scarcliffe, Derbyshire



Fig 6.2 Ring brooch.: Constantina de Frecheville, c. 1260. Scarcliffe, Derbyshire



Fig 6.3: Lady Margaret de Bois, c. 1365. Ingham, Norfolk



Fig 6.4: Tau Cross. Lady Margaret de Bois, c. 1365. Ingham, Norfolk



Fig 6.5: Philippa Roet Chaucer, c. 1387. East Worldham, Hampshire.



Fig 6.6: Ring brooch. Philippa Roet Chaucer, c. 1387. East Worldham, Hampshire.



Fig 6.7: Joan Perient, c. 1417. Digswell, Hertfordshire



Fig 6.8: Swan brooch. Joan Perient, c. 1417. Digswell, Hertfordshire



Fig 6.9: Lady, c. 1440. Brympton D'Evercy, Somerset.



Fig 6.10: Brooch. Lady, c. 1440. Brympton D'Evercy, Somerset.



Fig 6.11: The Portable Antiquities Scheme:
<http://finds.org.uk/database/ajax/wabcite/id/251288>



The Dunstable Swan,
http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/t/the_dunstable_swan_jewel.aspx



Fig 6.13 Agnes Adynet



Fig 6.14 Agnes Adynet's Ring

7. Conclusion

The work in this thesis has re-assessed the use of funeral monuments for the study of dress, which has implications for the use of all visual sources for scholars of costume of any period.

While previously the majority of dress historians, as discussed in the introductory chapter's literature review, relied on monuments as an illustration of real fashions in the medieval period, I have shown that this reliance is flawed. The key argument of this thesis is that monuments must be taken as objects in their own right and it is not realistic to separate the source from the clothing depicted on it.

I have shown that by looking at monuments in context and not in isolation the researcher can find new evidence that challenges preconceived ideas. The methodology outlined in Chapters 1 and 2 has been shown to be worthwhile in the study of medieval dress. In particular the use of content analysis has shown that even with qualitative data a quantitative approach can be taken to ensure an objective starting point for further contextual discussion. The fact that this analysis is replicable strengthens the methodology used here for use by other dress historians for research on collections or visual sources of a certain size.

The interdisciplinary approach emphasised throughout this research has facilitated original research and has yielded results, particularly in the chapter on jewellery, which show the flaws in previous assumptions about the display of jewellery on monuments.

The research has also concurred with the theory of Roland Barthes that ‘real’, ‘written’ and ‘image’ clothing are disjointed and cannot be seen as the same thing. By using an interdisciplinary approach and looking at sources which correspond to real, written and visual items of clothing, I have shown that these do not mirror each other. In particular I have shown that for medieval jewellery, the ‘real’ or archaeological evidence is not necessarily the same as the ‘written’ or documentary or literary evidence, and neither of these match with what is shown as ‘image’ or visual clothing on funeral monuments. The qualitative research has gone further by examining the idea of ‘shifters’ which would explain the disjunction between the visual evidence and the archaeological and written evidence. By analysing the monuments in context, I have been able to present a ‘story’ of why and how a particular item of jewellery was depicted on a monument. Barthes says that the structure of real clothing is ‘technological’ and for extant jewellery we can see this, although for most other examples of medieval dress, the technological structure is no longer available. He says that the structure of image clothing is ‘iconic’ and therefore a ‘real’ garment is transformed into representation. This thesis has focused on these representations which can be shown in the three chapters looking at specific aspects of how dress has been depicted on funeral monuments.⁷⁵⁵

Chapter 3, Cleavages and Horns: The Paradox of Immoral Dress on Funeral Monuments, looked at the disjunction between the depiction of what was termed ‘immoral’ clothing on funeral monuments and the criticism of these styled of clothing by preachers and moralists. By looking at the wider context of the period under study and using an interdisciplinary approach focusing on literature and visual sources, a

⁷⁵⁵ Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard, London: University of California Press, 1990, 3-6.

significant paradox was uncovered which would not otherwise have been the case.

This showed that by digging deeper and contextualising visual sources, there is much more information that can be found about the society being studied.

The second chapter focused on the Black Death and whether it could be argued to have had an influence on the clothing represented on funeral monuments. While traditional scholars suggested that fashion changed in the middle of the fourteenth century with some suggesting that it had not existed previously, I was able to show that the ideas behind this could also be used to argue that fashionable dress started in the twelfth, thirteenth or fourteenth centuries as the requirements put forward by scholars for the birth of fashion, were already present. This led me to consider other reasons for changing styles on monuments. Again, using an interdisciplinary approach I found that archaeological evidence does not concur with the depiction of very large square and round buttons on funeral monuments from the middle of the fourteenth century. This therefore led me to an argument that the Black Death and changes in attitudes to death and dying could have influenced the choices made for funeral monuments, in particular with reference to medieval memory theory. This interdisciplinary approach was novel in that memory theory has not been applied to the study of memorials previously, and there is scope to take this further. This chapter also briefly looked at the idea of resurrection and the use of the effigy as a substitute body for the deceased. This again is an area where further research might be fruitful, in particular with reference to monuments on the continent.

The final qualitative chapter looked at the depiction of jewellery on funeral monuments and found some significant results in that art historians and dress

historians have been using these visual sources as illustration for types of jewellery without any further analysis. My study showed that jewellery is not commonly shown on funeral monuments and I looked into various reasons for this. In particular, the section on brooches was very illuminating, in that only five of the monuments were shown wearing brooches, and each of these could have had a specific meaning. Therefore I argued that monuments cannot be used to illustrate arguments as they have their own intrinsic value as pieces of evidence and should be analysed in context. Overall, the implications of my research are that dress historians should re-assess the sources they use for the study of medieval costume and be aware that the source itself might have a tale to tell and a function in society, which is not just as a mirror of fashion. There are areas of medieval dress history, which I think have been shown to have flaws in them, in particular the idea of fashion starting in the mid-fourteenth century, and also the owning and wearing of jewellery by people.

Another implication is the use of terminology when writing about medieval costume. There has so far been an arbitrary use of various terms in different medieval languages which may mean more than one thing, or may have meant something different to the contemporary viewer. Therefore I think it is vital to take a more analytical and consistent approach to both the use of monuments as sources and also the terminology used to describe medieval fashion.

This reasoning ties in with more recent scholars who are trying to bring together the archival, object-led study of fashion in museums with the academic study of costume from an art history perspective. This is where the disjunction between the source and its function is greatest and where I believe there needs to be more work done. Fashion

historians need to take a more interdisciplinary approach to the study of dress and I have shown the results of this with what I think is a significant thesis highlighting areas which shed a new light on the choices of clothing made for funeral monuments.

The work on monuments was valid as there have been no large-scale studies of costume on funeral monuments from the medieval period. Since undertaking this research, I have become aware of a study into Tudor effigies which follows a similar methodology of data collection. This study is being undertaken by Dr Jane Malcolm-Davies, formerly of the Textile Conservation Centre,⁷⁵⁶ but now working as an independent scholar. The research started with a pilot project to provide a database of costume – The Costume Research Image Library. The database now contains 40 images from Hampshire, and 36 from Suffolk, and has details of the costume on the effigies. Changes were tracked over time and some results have been published on the website.⁷⁵⁷ The reason for including a discussion of this project in the conclusion to my thesis is to show that the need for a database of funeral monuments has been identified and also the need to link together archival and object based research, which is one of my key arguments in this thesis. The project also shows the amount of work over a number of years by a dedicated group of people needed to produce less than 100 records. This shows the vast undertaking of my own research, which as well as producing a database of costume details for more than 400 funeral monuments, has led to significant investigations and analysis of the findings.

In the future I would like to carry on with the study of monuments and look more closely at other aspects such as other accessories, the use of fur, and other trimmings,

⁷⁵⁶ The Textile Conservation Centre, based at the Winchester School of Art, closed down and was transferred to Glasgow University in 2010. <http://www.textileconservationcentre.co.uk/glasgow>

⁷⁵⁷ <http://www.tudoreffigies.co.uk/> accessed 31.7.12.

which there was not time to analyse. While researching the section on brooches, it became apparent that the jewellery depicted on monuments in other countries in Europe was different from those in England but often scholars did not make that distinction. It would be a worthwhile project to include foreign effigies in a further study of clothing on monuments. I would also like to look at manuscript illustrations, again something for which there was not time for in this study. A brief focus on certain images showed that often clothing depicted in manuscripts did not correspond by date or style with that on monuments. I think a chronological study of manuscript illustration using the same criteria as this study would make an interesting comparison, with either outcome, concurring with changes on monuments or contradicting them, both with valid and interesting results.

The methodology used for the research made it as reliable as possible and the use of content analysis to show chronological changes would be replicable for other researchers or for other data sets, such as foreign monuments as discussed above.

The key point that I want to emphasize from this research is the importance of looking at the function of a source rather than just what it can illustrate. This can be summed up with a quote from Aileen Ribeiro who says:

The painting or other art object is a text to be de-coded; the image becomes a central fact, and no longer just an illustration to a text, but the text itself.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁸ Aileen Ribeiro, 'Re-fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress', *Fashion Theory*, Vol. 2, Issue 4, 1998, 315-326, 323.

Appendices

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Contents

Appendix 1

Data

The appendix contains the data used for this research. This was divided into date ranges and each monument was given an individual record which spanned three pages. Included on the first page were:




- The location of the monument, firstly town, then county.
- Whether the monument was a sculpted effigy or a brass.
- The name of the individual represented, if known, their title, and relationship e.g. wife of Lord Neville, or if unknown, they would be referred to simply as 'Lady'.
- The date or estimated date of the monument's construction.
- The image number, which refers to images stored on an external hard-drive.
- The image copyright owner. PW indicates copyright owned by the author of the research.
- The source of the image. Photo indicates the image was taken by the author of the research.
- A thumbnail image of the monument, intended only as an indication.




The second and third pages contained the analysis of the dress depicted on the monuments and include:





- Garments
- Sleeves
- Buttons
- Neckline
- Headress
- Jewellery

Data 1250-1275

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	copyright	source	Image
Staindrop	Durham	Effigy	Lady Isabel Neville	1254	1322-1328	PW	photograph	
Scarcliffe	Derbyshire	Effigy	Constantia de Frecheville	c. 1260	2817	picture the past	https://www.hpacde.org.uk/picturethepast/jpgh_derbyshire/DC HQ200140.jpg	
Tilton on the Hill	Leics	Effigy	Lady de Diggebeye	c. 1269	2917	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/Female/Tilton%20on%20the%20Hill%20-%20St%20Peter%20Lady%20de%20Diggebeye%201269%20small%20199.JPG	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	copyright	source	Image
Worcester	Worcs	Effigy	Lady	c.1250	2938	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_worcester_woman_a/	
Eltisley	Beds	Effigy	Lady	Mid-thirteenth C	1492-1499	PW	photograph	
Beadlow	Beds	Effigy	Lady de Preaux	c. 1250	2937	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_de_preaux/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	copyright	source	Image
London	London	Effigy	Aveline de Forz	c. 1274	2797	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/aveline_of_lancaster/image/3766/original/	
Axminster	Devon	Effigy	Alicia de Bohun	c.1257	1729-1743	PW	Photograph	
Weare Giffard	Devon	Effigy	Lady Alice Giffard	c.1243	1744-1756	PW	photograph	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	copyright	source	Image
Hacombe	Devon	Effigy	Margaret de Hacombe	c.1243	1780-1787	PW	photograph	
Winterbourne Bassett	Wiltshire	Sculpture	Lady Despenser	c. 1265	2550-2558	PW	photograph	
Modbury	Devon	Effigy	Ione Okeston	c. 1275	2848	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/ione_okeston/image/4023/original/	
Tawstock	Devon	Effigy	Thomasine Hankford	c. 1275	3062	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/thomasine_hankeford/image/6490/original/	




Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady Isabel Neville	1254	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	yes	fitted	fitted	no	No		
Constantia Frecheville	c. 1260	loose sleeved	1	loose		loose	yes				No		
Lady de Diggebeeye	c. 1269	loose sleeved	1	loose		loose	yes						
Lady	c.1250	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		No		
Lady	Mid-thirteenth C	loose	?	loose		loose	yes	?	?	?	No		
Lady de Preaux	c. 1250	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	no	No		
Aveline de Forz	c. 1274	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		No		
Alicia de Bohun	c.1257	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		No		
Lady Alice Giffard	c.1243	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		Yes	small on sleeves	
Margery de Haccombe	c.1243	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		No		
Lady Despenser	c. 1265	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	unclear	fitted	yes?	No		
Ione Okeston	c. 1275	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted?	fitted?		No		





Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Thomasine Hankford	c. 1275	loose sleeved	1	loose		loose					No		


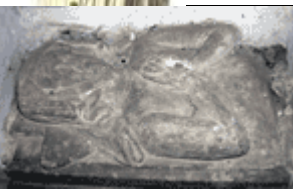

Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Description	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Lady Isabel Neville	1254	round base of neck	veil, fillet and chinband		None visible							
Constantia de Frecheville	c. 1260	round base of neck	coronal	feathered?	yes						yes	circular ring
Lady de Diggebeye	c. 1269	round top of chest	veil		none visible							
Lady	c.1250	round base of neck	coronet, fillet and chinband		None visible							
Lady	Mid-thirteenth C	round base of neck	no head		None visible							
Lady de Preaux	c. 1250	round base of neck	circlet		None visible							
Aveline de Forz	c. 1274	round base of neck	veil, wimple and fillet		Not visible							
Alicia de Bohun	c.1257	round base of neck	veil and wimple		yes	yes	?	bands				
Lady Alice Giffard	c.1243	round base of neck	veil, wimple and coronet	coronet	None visible							






Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Description	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Margery de Hacombe	c.1243	round base of neck	veil and wimple		None visible							
Lady Despenser	c. 1265	round base of neck	veil and wimple		None visible							
Ione Okeston	c. 1275	round base of neck	veil, fillet and chinband		None visible							
Thomasine Hankford	c. 1275	unclear	frilled veil		yes	yes	1	band				




Data 1276-1300



Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Sedgefield	Durham	Effigy	Lady Lora Harpyn	1290-1300	1313-1321	PW	photograph	
Felixkirk	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady	c1300	517-521	PW	photograph	
Hornsea	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady Fauconberg	c.1294?	1102-1109	PW	photograph	
Rand	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Lady	Late thirteenth C	2246-2259	PW	photograph	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Stoke Rochford	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Lady	c.1300	2297-2299	PW	photograph	
Norton Disney	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Joan D'Isney	c.1300	2323-2334	PW	photograph	
Rippingale	Lincs	Effigy	Lady	c. 1300	2941	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/rippingale_woman/image/3236/original/	
Edwyn Ralph	Herefordshire	Effigy	Lady Zeddefen	c.1290	405-409	PW	photograph	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Worcester	Worcs	Effigy	Lady Clifford	c. 1300	2815	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_clifford_b/	
Narborough	Norfolk	Half Effigy	Dame Agatha	c. 1293	2762/a/b	The Church Monuments Society	http://www.churchmonumentsociety.org/Norfolk.html#Narborough_-_All_Saints	
Chichester	Sussex	Effigy	Joan de Vere	1293	204-220	PW	photograph	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Romsey	Hants	Effigy	Lady Joan de Nevill	c. 1295	2940	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_de_nevill/image/6447/original/	
Dunster	Somerset	effigy	Lady	c.1300	570-578	PW	photograph	
Milborne Port	Somerset	effigy	Lady	c.1290	579-584	PW	photograph	
Ashill	Somerset	effigy	Lady	c. 1300	2612-2619	PW	photograph	
Withycombe	Somerset	effigy	Lucy de Meriet	c.1300	608-621	PW	photograph	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
English Bicknor	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Cecilia de Muchegros	c.1300	2129-2138	PW	photograph	
Bere Ferrers	Devon	Effigy	Isolda de Cardinham	c.1280	1765-1779	PW	photograph	
Ilington	Devon	Effigy	Isobel Dinham	c.1300	1917-1927	PW	photograph	
Stoke Fleming	Devon	Effigy	Lady Elyenore Mohun	Late thirteenth C	1955-1961	PW	photograph	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Bradford on Avon	Wiltshire	Effigy	Lady	c. 1300	2559-2565	PW	photograph	
Curry Rival	Somerset	Effigy	Lady	c. 1280-90	2939	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/Female/2007%20MCS%20Curry%20Rivel%20St%20Andrew%20Lady%201289-90%2088.JPG	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady Lora Harpyn	1290-1300	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		Yes	small round on fitted sleeve	no
Lady	c1300	loose sleeveless	2	loose	small side holes	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	None visible		
Lady Fauconberg?	c.1294?	loose sleeved	2	loose		fitted	no	fitted	fitted		Yes	small round on fitted sleeve	
Lady	Late thirteenth C	loose	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Lady	c.1300	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear							None visible		
Joan D'Isney	c.1300	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		Yes	small round on fitted sleeve	
Lady	c. 1300	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	None visible		
Lady Zeddefen	c.1290	Unclear	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Lady Clifford	c. 1300	loose sleeved	1	loose		loose	no				None visible		
Dame Agatha	c. 1293	Not visible	Not visible	Unclear							None visible		

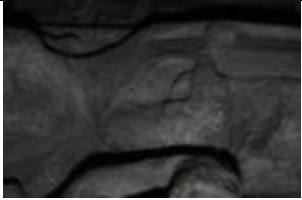



Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Joan de Vere	1293	loose sleeved	2	loose		fitted	no	fitted	fitted		Yes	small round on fitted sleeve	
Lady Joan de Nevill	c. 1295	loose sleeved (2)	2	loose		loose	yes	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Lady	c.1300	Loose sleeveless overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	?		None visible		
Lady	c.1290	Unclear									None visible		
Lady	c. 1300		2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Lucy de Meriet	c.1300	Loose sleeveless overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	fitted/buttoned		None visible		
Cecilia de Muchegros	c.1300	Loose overgarment	2?	loose		fitted	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Isolda de Cardinham,	c.1280	Sleeveless loose overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Lady Isobel Dinham	c.1300	Sleeveless loose	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		





Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
		overgarment											
Lady Elyenore Mohun	Late thirteenth C	Sleeveless loose overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	loose		None visible		
Lady	c. 1300	Sleeveless loose overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	?	loose	loose		None visible		
Lady	c. 1280-90		2?	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	Type
Lady Lora Harpyn	1290-1300	covered by wimple	veil, wimple, and fillet		None visible							
Knight & Lady	c1300	covered by wimple	veil and wimple	hair showing at sides	Yes	yes	1	gemstone				
Lady Fauconberg	c.1294?	covered by wimple	veil and wimple	hair showing at sides	None visible							
Lady	Late thirteenth C	round base of neck	veil, fillet and chinband		None visible							
Lady	c.1300	covered by wimple	veil	worn	None visible							
Joan D'Isney	c.1300	round base of neck	veil and wimple		Possibly	Possibly	1	simple hoop				
Lady	c. 1300	covered by wimple	veil and wimple	hair showing at sides	None visible							
Lady Zeddefen	c.1290	round base of neck	frilled veil	short round face, longer veil at back	None visible							
Lady Clifford	c. 1300	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Dame Agatha	c. 1293	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Joan de Vere	1293	covered by wimple	veil, fillet and chinband		None visible							
Lady Joan de Nevill	c. 1295	round base of neck	veil, fillet and chinband		None visible							






Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	Type
Lady	c.1300	covered by wimple	veil, fillet and chinband		None visible							
Lady	c.1290	round base of neck	veil	worn	None visible							
Lady	c. 1300	round base of neck	veil, wimple and circlet	possibly a circlet	None visible							
Lucy de Meriet	c.1300	round base of neck	veil and wimple		None visible							
Cecilia de Muchegros	c.1300	round base of neck	veil, fillet and chinband		None visible							
Isolda de Cardinham,	c.1280	round top of chest	veil and wimple		None visible							
Isobel Dinham	c.1300	round base of neck	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Lady Elyenore Mohun (m. John Carew)	Late thirteenth C	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Lady (half Lady)	c. 1300	covered by wimple	veil, wimple and fillet	band across forehead/ crinkled edges	None visible							
Lady	c. 1280-90	round base of neck	unclear	loose hair?	None visible							





Data 1301-1325





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Yarm	Stockton	Effigy	Lady	Early fourteen th	1355- 1360	PW	photo	
Appleton-Le-Street	Yorkshire	Effigy	Hawise, mother of Sir Thomas de Boulton or either wife, Clementia or Alice	1300- 1350	448- 455	PW	photo	
Thornton Le Dale	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady Beatrice Hastings ?	early fourteen th C	483- 489	PW	photo	
Goxhill	Yorkshire	Effigy	Johanna de Lilley	early fourteen th C	522- 526	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Bedale	Yorkshire	Effigy	Muriel, first wife of Sir Brian Fitzalan	c.1306?	527-540	PW	photo	
Ampleforth	Yorkshire	Effigy	Wilhelmus de Jarponville and wife (half figure)	c.1322	1023-1025	PW	photo	
South Anston	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady & Child	early fourteenth C	1026-1038	PW	photo	
Hornby	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady	early fourteenth C	1075-1082	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Hauxwell	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady Barden	c.1309	1154-1157	PW	photo	
Howden	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady Metham	c.1311	1158-1166	PW	photo	
Sapperton	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Lady	Early fourteenth C	2309-2316	PW	photo	
Norbury	Derbyshire	Brass	Maud de Verdon Fitzherbert	c.1312	3035	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/maud_de_verdon/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Gayton	Northants	Effigy	Juliana de Murdak	c. 1310	2903	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/juliana_de_murdak/	
Bottesford	Leics	Effigy	Lady	c. 1310	2944	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/bottesford_woman/	
Willoughby on the Wolds	Notts	Effigy	Lady de Willoughby	c. 1325	2923	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_de_willoughby/	
Threkingham	Lincs	Effigy	wife of Lambert Threkingham	c. 1310	3067	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/threkingham_woman/	
Edwyn Ralph	Herefordshire	Effigy	Miniature Lady - possible child	Early fourteenth C	410-412	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Edwyn Ralph	Herefordshire	Inscribed slab	Maud, wife of Sir Thomas Edefin	c.1325	424-430	PW	photo	
Much Marcle	Herefordshire	Effigy	Isolde, wife of Hugh, Lord Audley	c.1325	885-901	PW	photo	
Pembridge	Herefordshire	Effigy	Lady	Early fourteenth C	916-925	PW	photo	
Little Hereford	Herefordshire	Incised slab	Lady-no head	Early fourteenth C	954-956	PW	photo	


Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Bodenham	Herefordshire	Effigy	Devereux Lady with child	Early fourteenth C	965-977	PW	photo	
Wolvey	Warwickshire	Effigy	Alice Clinton	c. 1305	2781	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/alice_clinton/image/4712/original/	
Newton	Suffolk	Effigy	Lady	c.1310-20	2492-2508	PW	photo	
Goldington	Beds	Effigy	Lady	Early fourteenth C	2733	St Mary's Church	http://www.stmarygoldington.org.uk/History.htm	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Westley Waterless	Cambs	Brass	Sir John de Creke & wife, Lady Alyne	c.1325	1579-1590	PW	photo	
Trotton	Sussex	Brass	Margaret, Lady Camoys	1310	155-167	PW	photo	
Winchelsea	Sussex	Effigy	Lady	c. 1310-20	75-97	PW	photo	
Cobham	Kent	Brass	Joan de Cobham	c. 1320	2892	MBS	http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page422.html	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Pitstone	Bucks	Brass	Lady	c. 1315	2966	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/pitstone_woman/	
Woodford	London	Effigy	Eleanor Trayli	c. 1316	2827	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/eleanor_trayli/image/5982/original/	
Limington	Hants	Effigy	Gunnora	c. 1312	2845	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/Female/Limington%20-%20St%20Mary%20Gunnora%201312%202nd%20wife%20of%20Richard%20de%20Gyvernay%20255.JPG	
Ash	Kent	Effigy	Lady de Goshall	c. 1306	2930	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_de_goshall/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Langridge	Somerset	effigy	unknown Lady	early fourteenth C	685-690	PW	photo	
Bathampton	Somerset	effigy	knight and Lady	c.1325	693-702	PW	photo	
Combe Florey	Somerset	effigy	knight and two ladies	early fourteenth C	703-715	PW	photo	
Combe Florey	Somerset	effigy	knight and two ladies	early fourteenth C	703-715	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Down Ampney	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Margaret, wife of Sir Nicholas de Valers	c. 1300-1320	2073-2082	PW	photo	
Lustleigh	Devon	Effigy	Juliana Widworthy or Emma Giffard or Dynham	late thirteenth/early fourteenth	1859-1869	PW	photo	
St Mawgan	Cornwall	Effigy	Lady Johanna Carminow	c.1308	1706-1715	PW	photo	
Bradford on Avon	Wiltshire	Effigy	Lady	c.1300-1310	2566-2573	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	copyright	source	Image
Stockton	Wiltshire	Effigy	Lady	Early fourteen th C	2620- 2631	PW	photo	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady	Early fourteenth	Loose garment	Unclear	loose							None visible		
Hawise, mother of Sir Thomas de Boulton or one of his two wives, Clementia or Alice	1300-1350	Sleeveless overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	fitted		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady Beatrice Hastings ?	early fourteenth C	Sleeveless overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	fitted		None visible		
Johanna de Lilley	early fourteenth C	Belted houppelande/ gathered gown	1	loose	pleated/ gown style	loose, wide	yes				Yes		round on turned up collar
Muriel, first wife of Sir Brian Fitzalan	c.1306 ?	Weird outfit - look at again in more detail	2	loose	very low, pinafore style/sideless?	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		

Wilhelmus de Jarponville and wife (half figure)	c.1322	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear							None visible		
Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady & Child	early fourteenth C	Look at again	1	fitted		fitted/buttons	no				Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady	early fourteenth C	Sleeved overgarment	3	loose		?	no	fitted	fitted		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady Barden	c.1309	Unclear	Unclear	loose							None visible		
Lady Metham	c.1311	Sleeveless overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	?	? (arms broken off)		None visible		
Lady	Early fourteenth C	Sleeveless overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	loose	no	None visible		
Maud de Verdon Fitzherbert	c.1312		2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Juliana de Murdak	c. 1310		2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	loose	loose	yes	None visible		

Lady	c. 1310		2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	None visible		
Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady de Willoughby	c. 1325		2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	None visible		
wife of Lambert Threkingham	c. 1310		2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Miniature Lady - poss child	Early fourteenth C	Sleeveless overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	loose	no	None visible		
Maud, wife of Sir Thomas Edefin	c.1325	Sleeveless overgarment, third undergarment	3	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	loose	no	None visible		
Isolde, wife of Hugh, Lord Audley	c.1325	Houppelande/voluminous gathered gown	2	loose	pleated/gown style	loose, wide and long	yes	fitted	fitted/buttoned/cuffs		None visible		

Lady	Early fourteenth C	Loose Garment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	fitted		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady-no head	Early fourteenth C	Loose garment	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Devereux Lady with child	Early fourteenth C	Loose garment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Alice Clinton	c. 1305		1	loose		loose	no				None visible		
Lady	c.1310-20	Sleeveless overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	loose	no	None visible		
Lady	Early fourteenth C	Loose garment	unclear	loose							None visible		
Sir John de Creke & wife, Lady Alyne	c.1325		2	loose	sideless	loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Margaret, Lady Camoys	1310	Loose sleeved overgarment	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		None visible	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady	c. 1310-20	Sleeved overgarment	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		Yes	small round on fitted	

												sleeves	
Joan de Cobham	c. 1320		2	loose							None visible		
Lady	c. 1315		2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Eleanor Trayli	c. 1316		1	loose		loose	no				None visible		
Gunnora	c. 1312		1	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Lady de Goshall	c. 1306		2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
unknown Lady	early fourteenth C	Loose belted garment	2	loose		loose	yes	fitted	fitted		None visible		
knight and Lady	c.1325	Sideless, sleeveless, laced	2	fitted	laced up the sides	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
knight and two ladies	early fourteenth C	Sleeveless overgarment	2	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	loose		None visible		
knight and two ladies	early fourteenth C	Sideless overgarment	2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	loose	loose		None visible		
Margaret, wife of Sir Nicholas de Valers	c. 1300-1320	Sleeveless overgarment, third undergar	3	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	loose	loose	no	None visible		

		ment											
Juliana Widworthy or Emma Giffard	late thirteenth/early fourteenth	Belted loose garment	2	loose		loose	yes	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady Johanna Carminow	c.1308	Loose garment	unclear	loose							None visible		
Lady	c.1300-1310	Unclear	unclear	loose							None visible		
Lady	Early fourteenth C	Loose garment	2	fitted		?	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comment	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
Lady	Early fourteenth	Not visible	unclear		None visible							
Hawise, mother of Sir Thomas de Boulton or one of his two wives, Clementia or Alice	1300- 1350	covered by wimple	veil, wimple and circlet	hair showing at sides, band across forehead	None visible							
Lady Beatrice Hastings ?	early fourteenth C	round top of chest	veil and circlet	thin coronet/ban d	None visible							
Johanna de Lilley	early fourteenth C	high necked	caul cap		None visible							
Muriel, first wife of Sir Brian Fitzalan	c.1306?	round base of neck	structured cauls under veil		None visible							

Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comment	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
Wilhelmus de Jarponville and wife (half figure)	c.1322	round top of chest	frilled veil		None visible							
Lady & Child	early fourteenth C	wide folded top of chest	veil/loose hair	worn	None visible							
Lady	early fourteenth C	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Lady Barden	c.1309	Not visible	veil	worn	None visible							
Lady Metham	c.1311	round base of neck	veil		None visible							
Lady	Early fourteenth C	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Maud de Verdon Fitzherbert	c.1312	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Juliana de Murdak	c. 1310	round base of neck	veil and circlet	worn	None visible							
Lady	c. 1310	round top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Lady de Willoughby	c. 1325	round top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							

Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comment	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
wife of Lambert Threkingham	c. 1310	round top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Miniature Lady - poss child	Early fourteenth C	round base of neck	veil		None visible							
Maud, wife of Sir Thomas Edefin	c.1325	round base of neck	veil		None visible							
Isolde, wife of Hugh, Lord Audley	c.1325	high turned up collar	cauled and crowned		yes	yes	3?	simple and decorated hoops			This effigy appears to be wrongly dated.	
Lady	Early fourteenth C	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		possibly	possibly	?	simple hoops				
Lady-no head	Early fourteenth C	Not visible	veil?	damaged	None visible							
Devereux Lady with child	Early fourteenth C	round base of neck	veil and wimple		yes	yes	1	gemstone?				
Alice Clinton	c. 1305	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comment	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
Lady	c.1310-20	round base of neck	veil and wimple	worn	None visible							
Lady	Early fourteenth C	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Sir John de Creke & wife, Lady Alyne	c.1325	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Margaret, Lady Camoys	1310	covered by wimple	veil, wimple and fillet		None visible							
Lady	c. 1310-20	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Joan de Cobham	c. 1320	wide folded top of chest	veil and wimple		None visible							
Lady	c. 1315	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Eleanor Trayli	c. 1316	round base of neck	veil and wimple		None visible							
Gunnora	c. 1312	round base of neck	veil and wimple		None visible							
Lady de Goshall	c. 1306	round base of neck	veil, fillet and chinband		None visible							
unknown Lady	early fourteenth C	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comment	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
knight and Lady	c.1325	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
knight and two ladies	early fourteenth C	covered by wimple	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
knight and two ladies	early fourteenth C	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Margaret, wife of Sir Nicholas de Valers	c. 1300-1320	round top of chest	veil and wimple		None visible							
Juliana Widworthy or Emma Giffard or Dynham	late thirteenth/early fourteenth	covered by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Lady Johanna Carminow	c.1308	covered by wimple	veil and wimple	worn	None visible							





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comment	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
Lady	c.1300-1310	covered by wimple	veil, wimple and fillet		None visible							
Lady	Early fourteenth C	round top of chest	veil and wimple		None visible							




Data 1326-1350



Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Chester	Cheshire	effigy	Agnes de Ridlegh	c. 1347	2775	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/alice_de_ridlegh/image/3234/original/	
St Bees	Cumbria	effigy	Lady	c. 1350	2948	St Bees Church	http://www.stbees.org.uk/churches/stones/pri_sto_effigies.htm	
Alnwick	Northumberland	Effigy	Lady Isabella, widow of William de Vesci?	early-mid fourteenth C	1378-1387	PW	photo	
Old Bewick	Northumberland	Effigy	Lady	1330-50	1335-1342	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Staindrop	Durham	Effigy	Margery, second wife of Ralph, Lord Neville	1343	1361- 1364	PW	photo	
Staindrop	Durham	Effigy	Euphemia de Clavering, 1st wife Ralph Lord Neville	1343	1365- 1375	PW	photo	
Ryther	Yorkshire	Effigy	Sir Robert Ryther & Wife	1327	475- 483	PW	photo	
Danby Whiske	Yorkshire	Effigy	Matilda, widow of Sir Brian Fitzalan (see Bedale)	c.1340	498- 505	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Harpham	Yorkshire	Effigy	Joan de Thwing?	1349/1382	1039-1043	PW	photo	
Sprotbrough	Yorkshire	Effigy	Isabel Deincourt	c.1348	1083-1094	PW	photo	
Much Marcle	Herefordshire	Effigy	Blanche Mortimer, Lady Grandison	c.1347	869-884	PW	photo	
Thurlaston	Leics	effigy	Agnes Turvile	c. 1349	2779	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/agnes_turvile/	






Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Laxton	Notts	effigy	Clarissa La Warre	c. 1341	2813	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/clarissa_la_warre/	
Hereford	Herefordshire	effigy	Joanna de Bohun	c. 1327	2896	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joanna_de_bohun/	
Norwell	Notts	effigy	Lady	c. 1350	2947	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/norwell_woman/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Laxton	Notts	effigy	Margery Deville	c. 1336	3009	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/Female/2007%20MCS%20Laxton%20St%20Michael%20Adam%20de%20Everingham%201341%20first%20wife%20Clari%20ssa%20la%20Warre%20and%20second%20wife%20Margery%20Deville%20in%20wood%201336%20195.jpg	
Gayton	Northants	effigy	Scholastica de Gayton	c. 1345	3061	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/scholastica_de_gayton/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Walsall	Staffs	brass	Lady	c. 1330	2945	Staffordshire Views Collection	http://www.views.staffspasttrack.org.uk/engine/resource/default.asp?theme=218&originator=/engine/theme/default.asp&page=18&records=222&direction=1&pointer=22952&text=0&resource=9931	
Tamworth	Worcs	effigy	Joan de Freville	c. 1339	2871	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_de_freville/	
Ettington	Warwicks hire	effigy	Margaret Waldeschef	c. 1327	3001	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_waldeschef/	
Felbrigg	Norfolk	Brass	Simon & Alice de Felbrigg	c.1350	2739	Norfolk Churches	http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/felbrigg/images/dscf1144.jpg	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Minster Abbey	Essex	brass	Elizabeth de Northwood	c. 1335	2831	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elizabeth_de_northwode/	
Wimbush	Essex	brass	Ellen de Wautone	c.1347	2925	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/john_de_wautone/	
Little Horkesley	Essex	effigy	Emma de Horkesley	c. 1333	2843	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/emma_de_horkesley/	
Halstead	Essex	effigy	Margaret Payer	c. 1349	2994	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_payer/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Minster in Sheppey	Kent	brass	Joan de Baddlesmere	c. 1335	2868	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_de_northwood/	
Quainton	Bucks	brass	Joan Plessi	c. 1350	2884	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_plessi/	
London	London	effigy	Blanche de la Tour	c. 1340	2803	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/blanche_de_la_tour/	
Silchester	Hants	effigy	Eleanor Baynard	c. 1348	2823	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/eleanor_baynard/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Northmoor	Oxfordshire	effigy	Lady de la More	c. 1347	2919	Flickr	http://www.flickr.com/photos/oxfordshirechurches/6281357094/	
Lymington	Hants	effigy	Matilda Power	c. 1340	3031	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Limington	Somerset	effigy	Lady	c.1330	642-664	PW	photo	
Tewkesbury	Gloucestershire	effigy	Lady Elizabeth le Despenser,	c. 1349	DC2494-2519	PW	photo	
Newland	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Joce or Joyce, wife of Sir John Clearwell	c. 1344-1362	2083-2098	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
English Bicknor	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Harwisia de Muchegros	c.1350	2117-2128	PW	photo	
Leckhampton	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Wife of Sir John Giffard	c.1330	2167-2176	PW	photo	
Hacombe	Devon	Effigy	Isabella, wife of Jordan de Hacombe	c.1341	1806-1816	PW	photo	
Atherington	Devon	Effigy	Elinor Mohun, wife of Sir Ralph Bassett	c. 1349	1870-1891	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Image No.	Copyright	Source	Images
Tamerton Foliot	Devon	Effigy	Agnes de Gorges	c. 1346	1902-1916	PW	photo	
Winterbourne	Gloucestershire	effigy	Isabel, first wife of Sir Thomas Bradeston	c. 1343	2151-2156	PW	photo	
Littlehempston	Devon	effigy	Arondella Arundel	c. 1330	1842-1858	PW	photo	
Bristol	Bristol	effigy	Margaret Berkeley	c. 1337	2974	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_berkeley/	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Agnes de Ridlegh	c. 1347	loose gathered	2	loose	pleated, possibly gown style	to elbows, long, loose and wide	?	fitted	fitted, buttoned		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady	c. 1350	loose sleeved	1?	loose		loose	no				None visible		
Lady Isabella, widow of William de Vesci?	early-mid fourteenth C	Unclear	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady	1330-50	Unclear	Unclear	unclear							None visible		
Margery, second wife of Ralph, Lord Neville	1343	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless (thin border eound sides)	sleeveless	no	fitted			None visible		
Euphambia de Clavering, 1st wife Ralph Lord Neville	1343	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless (less curved than others and goes to a point at the waist	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/butooned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Sir Robert Ryther & Wife	1327	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Matilda, widow of Sir Brian Fitzalan (see Bedale)	c.1340	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Joan de Thwing?	1349/1382	Unclear	unclear	unclear							None visible		
Isabel Deincourt	c.1348	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Blanche Mortimer, Lady Grandison	c.1347	Fitted	1	fitted		fitted/buttoned	no				Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Agnes Turvile	c. 1349	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Clarissa La Warre	c. 1341	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	no	None visible		
Joanna de Bohun	c. 1327	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady	c. 1350	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Margery Deville	c. 1336	loose sleeved	1?	loose		loose					None visible		
Scholastica de Gayton	c. 1345	loose sleeved	2?	loose		loose		fitted	fitted		None visible		
Lady	c. 1330	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned?		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Joan de Freville	c. 1339	fitted	1	fitted	buttons down front	fitted	yes				yes		round front of garment to waist
Margaret Waldeschef	c. 1327	loose sleeveless	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted	no	None visible		
Simon & Alice de Felbrigg	c.1350	Loose garment sleeves unclear	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		None visible		
Elizabeth de Northwood	c. 1335	loose sleeved	2	loose	strange pointed patterned piece down front of main	loose with wide cuffs, more like slits in main garment	no	fitted	fitted, decorated hems.		None visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
					garment								
Ellen de Wautone	c.1347	fitted	1	loose		fitted	no				None visible		
Emma de Horkesley	c. 1333	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted	no	None visible		
Margaret Payer	c. 1349	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	no	None visible	possibly round down front	
Joan de Baddlesmere	c. 1335	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose with wide cuffs, more like slits in main garment	no	fitted	fitted, decorated hems.		None visible		
Joan Plessi	c. 1350	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				None visible		
Blanche de la Tour	c. 1340	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, square buttons down front	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned	yes	yes	small round on fitted sleeves	square down front of garment to waist
Eleanor Baynard	c. 1348	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless	sleeves over shoulders	no	fitted	fitted	no	None visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady de la More	c. 1347	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless, but gown covers shoulders	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	None visible		
Matilda Power	c. 1340	loose sleeved	2?	loose		loose		fitted	fitted		None visible		
Lady	c.1330	loose sleeved	3	loose		sleeveless	no	loose	loose	no	None visible		
Lady Elizabeth le Despenser,	c. 1349	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, but not totally sleeveless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned	yes	yes	small round on fitted sleeves	large round down front of garment to waist
Joce or Joyce, wife of Sir John Clearwell	c. 1344-1362	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless/buttons down front	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	Yes		large square front to below hip
Harwisia de Muchegros	c.1350	Unclear	2	loose		loose	no	?	fitted		None visible		
Wife of Sir John Giffard	c.1330	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Isabella, wife of Jordan de Haccombe	c.1341	loose sleeved	2	loose	heraldry on garment	sleeveless	no	loose	loose		None visible		
Elinor Mohun, wife of Sir Ralph Bassett	c. 1349	fitted	1	fitted	square buttons down front	fitted	no				Yes		large square down front of garment to below hip
Agnes de Gorges	c. 1346	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		Yes		large square down front to below hip
Isabel, first wife of Sir Thomas Bradeston	c. 1343	Unclear	unclear	unclear							None visible		
Arondella Arundel	c. 1330	loose sleeved	1	loose		fitted, buttoned	no				Yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Margaret Berkeley	c. 1337	Unclear	unclear	unclear							None visible		

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Agnes de Ridleghe	c. 1347	round top of chest	veil and wimple	worn	None visible							
Lady	c. 1350	not visible	veil, wimple fillet?	worn	None visible							
Lady Isabella, widow of William de Vesci?	early-mid fourteenth C	round top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Lady	1330-50	not visible	veil	worn	None visible							
Margery, second wife of Ralph, Lord Neville	1343	round top of chest	veil, wimple and fillet		None visible							
Euphemia de Clavering, 1st wife Ralph Lord Neville	1343	round top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Sir Robert Ryther & Wife	1327	round top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet	also fillet?	None visible							
Matilda, widow of Sir Brian Fitzalan (see Bedale)	c.1340	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							





Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Joan de Thwing?	1349/1382	round base of neck	frilled veil		None visible							
Isabel Deincourt	c.1348	round top of chest	veil and wimple	barbe	None visible							
Blanche Mortimer, Lady Grandison	c.1347	straight top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		yes	yes	3	simple hoops				
Agnes Turvile	c. 1349	round top of chest	veil and wimple	worn	None visible							
Clarissa La Warre	c. 1341	hidden by wimple	veil, wimple and fillet	worn	None visible							
Joanna de Bohun	c. 1327	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Lady	c. 1350	round base of neck	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Margery Deville	c. 1336	hidden by wimple	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Scholastica de Gayton	c. 1345	round base of neck	veil and circlet		None visible							





Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Lady	c. 1330	hidden by wimple	wimple	all one - drawing so may not be accurate	None visible							
Joan de Freville	c. 1339	round base of neck	frilled veil	circlet	None visible							
Margaret Waldeschef	c. 1327	round base of neck	veil and wimple		None visible							
Simon & Alice de Felbrigg	c.1350	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Elizabeth de Northwood	c. 1335	round top of chest	loose hair	high collar or wimple?	None visible							
Ellen de Wautone	c.1347	hidden by wimple	cauled		None visible							
Emma de Horkesley	c. 1333	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Margaret Payer	c. 1349	round top of chest	frilled veil		None visible							
Joan de Baddlesmere	c. 1335	round top of chest	loose hair		None visible							





Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Joan Plessi	c. 1350	round top of chest	loose hair		None visible							
Blanche de la Tour	c. 1340	straight top of chest	cauled		None visible							
Eleanor Baynard	c. 1348	round base of neck	veil and wimple		None visible							
Lady de la More	c. 1347	straight top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Matilda Power	c. 1340	straight top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Lady	c.1330	straight top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		None visible							
Lady Elizabeth le Despenser	c. 1349	round base of neck	frilled veil		None visible							
Joce or Joyce, wife of Sir John Clearwell	c. 1344-1362	round top of chest	frilled veil		None visible							
Harwisia de Muchegros	c.1350	round base of neck	fillet with chinband		None visible							





Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Wife of Sir John Giffard	c.1330	hidden by wimple	frilled veil		None visible							
Isabella, wife of Jordan de Hacombe	c.1341	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							
Elinor Mohun, wife of Sir Ralph Bassett	c. 1349	round top of chest	structured cauls		None visible							
Agnes de Gorges	c. 1346	straight top of chest	structured cauls		yes				yes	beaded choker?		
Isabel, first wife of Sir Thomas Bradeston	c. 1343	round base of neck	veil and wimple		None visible							
Arondella Arundel	c. 1330	straight top of chest	veil		None visible							
Margaret Berkeley	c. 1337	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		None visible							





Data 1351-1375





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
St Bees	Cumbria	Incised slab	Johanna de Lucy	c. 1369	2898	St Bees Church	http://www.stbees.org.uk/churches/stones/pri_sto_others.htm	
Ripley	Yorkshire	Effigy	Sir Thomas de Ingilby & wife	c.1369	456-488	PW	photo	
Lowthorpe	Yorkshire	Effigy	Sir Thomas Heslerton & wife undercover	c.1364	1044-1048	PW	photo	
Hornby	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady	mid-fourteenth C	1070-1074	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Kirklington	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady (Elizabeth Musters?)	1360	1094- 1101	PW	photo	
Hull	Yorkshire	Effigy	Catherine de la Pole	c.1367	2805	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/catharine_de_la_pole/	
Kingston-upon-Hull	Yorkshire	Effigy	Catherine Norwich	c. 1367	2807	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/catherine_norwich/	
Swine	Yorkshire	Effigy	Wife of Robert Hiltons	c. 1372	3069/a	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_hiltons/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Saxilby	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Lady of Daubeney Family	c.1370	2260-2272	PW	photo	
Norton Disney	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Joan, wife of William Disney	mid fourteenth C	2349-2354	PW	photo	
Broughton	Lincolnshire	Brass	Lady Redford	c. 1375-80	2935	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_de_redford/	
Holme Pierpoint	Notts	Brass	Lady	c. 1370	2951	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Staunton in the Vale	Notts	Effigy	Joan de Staunton	c. 1366	2874	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Dodford	Northants	Effigy	Wentiliana Keynes	c. 1375	3064	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Ledbury	Herefords hire	Effigy	Sister of Grymbald Pauncefoot	c.1360	957-964	PW	photo	
Tarrington	Herefords hire	Effigy	Lady	c.1360	978-985	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Clifton Campville	Staffs	Brass	Isabella Stafford	c. 1360	2853	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/isabella_stafford/	
Warwick	Warwickshire	Effigy	Catherine Mortimer	c. 1370	2806	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/catherine_mortimer/	
Worcester	Worcs	Effigy	Lady	c. 1375	2953	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_worcester_woman_b/	
Kings Lynn	Norfolk	Brass	Margaret Braunche	c. 1364	2743	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_braunche/	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Kings Lynn	Norfolk	Brass	Robert Braunche & two wives - Margaret & Letitia	c. 1364	2744	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/lettice_braunche/image/3349/original/	
Necton	Norfolk	Brass	Ismayne de Winston	c. 1375	2856/8	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/ismayne_de_wynston/image/4339/original/	
Ingham	Norfolk	Brass	Joan Ingham	c. 1365	2879	Gothic Eye	http://www.gothiceye.com/popup.asp?Ref=L013	
West Hanningfield	Essex	Brass	Isabel Cloville	c. 1361	2851	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/isabel_cloville/image/6171/original/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Rusper	Sussex	Brass	John de Kyggesfold and wife Agnes	c. 1370	146-154	PW	photo	
Chichester	Sussex	Effigy	Eleanor Lancaster, wife of Richard Fitzalan,	1375	188-203	PW	photo	
Waterperry	Oxon	Brass	Isabel Beaufort	c. 1370	2849	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/isabel_beaufo/	
Graveney	Kent	Brass	Joan de Feversham	c. 1365	2870	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_de_feversham/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Great Berkhamstead	Herts	Brass	Margaret Briggs	c. 1360	2949	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_briggs/	
Hemel Hemsted	Herts	Brass	Margaret Albyn	c. 1360	2969	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Sherbourne	Hants	Brass	Margaret Brocas	c.1360	2980	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_brocas/	
Cobham	Kent	Brass	Margaret Cobham	c. 1375	2987	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	



Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Berkhamsted	Herts	Brass	Margaret Torrington	c.1356/1380?	2999	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_torrynton/	
Cobham	Kent	Brass	Maud Cobham	c. 1370	3032	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/maude_cobham/	
Sparsholt	Hants	Effigy	Agnes Achard	c. 1356	2771	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/agnes_achard/	
Wantage	Oxon	Effigy	Amicia le Haddon	c. 1361	2790	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/amicia_le_haddon/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Oxford	Oxford	Effigy	Elizabeth Montacute	c. 1354	2835	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elizabeth_montacute/	
Westminster	London	Effigy	Philippa of Hainault	c. 1367	3057	Institute of Historical Research	http://www.history.ac.uk/richardII/philippa.html	
Berkhamsted	Hants	Effigy	wife of Henry of Berkhamsted	c. 1370	3066	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/henry_of_berkhamsted_wife/	
Dowlish Wake	Somerset	effigy	Lady	c.1360	751-765	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Coberley	Gloucestershire	Effigy	(Daughter of Berkeleys)	c. 1350	2105-2108	PW	photo	
Coberley	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Wife of Sir Thomas Berkeley	c. 1352	2098-2104	PW	photo	
Ingham	Norfolk	Effigy	Lady Margaret de Bois	c. 1365	2768/a	The British Museum	http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=733982&partid=1&searchText=Margaret+de+bois&fromADB=ad&toADB=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&currentPage=1	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Newent	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Margaret, wife of Sir Thomas de Grandison	c. 1370-85	2139-2150	PW	photo	
Winterbourne	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Agnes, wife of Sir Thomas Bradeston	c.1360-69	2160-2166	PW	photo	
Winterbourne	Gloucestershire	Brass	Agnes de Bradeston	c. 1370	2737	PW	photo	
Ottery St Mary	Devon	Effigy	Lady Beatrix de Grandisson	c. 1374	1892-1901	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Sheviock	Cornwall	Effigy	Lady Emmeline Courtney	c. 1375	1683-1705	PW	photo	
East Coker	Somerset	Effigy	Elizabeth Courtenay	c. 1375	2829	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elizabeth_courtenay/	
Berkeley	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Jane Berkeley	c. 1362	2859	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/jane_berkeley/	
Barnstaple	Devon	Effigy	Margaret Audley	c. 1373	2971	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_audley/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Bristol	Bristol	Effigy	Margaret Blanket	c. 1371	2976	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Nettlecombe	Somerset	Effigy	Maud Raleigh	c. 1360	3045	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/maud_raleigh/	

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Johanna de Lucy	c. 1369	fitted	1	fitted	buttoned	fitted	no				yes		large round at front to hip
Sir Thomas de Ingilby & wife	c.1369	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Sir Thomas Heslerton & wife undercove r	c.1364	under cover	unclear	unclear							none visible		
Lady	mid-fourteenth C	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Lady (Elizabeth Musters?)	1360	fitted	1	fitted		fitted					none visible		
Catherine de la Pole	c.1367	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless surcote style with	sleeveless but looks like	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round along	small down front to

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
					buttons down front then open from hips down. Unusual	possible tippets, similar to other effigy (check)						fitted sleeve	waist
Catherine Norwich	c. 1367	loose sleeveless	2	loose	pleated but not gown	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Wife of Robert Hiltons	c. 1372	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				yes		large square down front to below hip
Lady of Daubeney Family	c.1370	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned	yes	yes		large round at front to below hip
Joan, wife of William Disney	mid fourteenth C	Unclear	1	fitted		fitted/buttoned					yes	small round along fitted sleeve	
Lady Redford	c. 1375-80	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no	fitted	fitted, fur cuffs?		none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady	c. 1370	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, large round buttons down the front	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned	yes	yes	small round along fitted sleeve	large round down front
Joan de Staunton	c. 1366	fitted	2	fitted		short to mid upper arm, tippets, pockets/slit s?	no	fitted			none visible		
Wentilian a Keynes	c. 1375	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		yes	none visible		
Sister of Grymbald Pauncefoot	c.1360	Unclear	2?	fitted		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round along fitted sleeve	
Lady	c.1360	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned	yes	yes	small round along fitted sleeve	
Isabella Stafford	c. 1360	loose sleeved	1	loose		fitted, buttoned	no				yes	small round along fitted sleeve	

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Catherine Mortimer	c. 1370	fitted	1	fitted		fitted, buttoned	yes				yes	small round along fitted sleeve	
Lady	c. 1375	loose sleeved	1	loose		fitted					none visible		
Margaret Braunche	c. 1364	loose sleeved	2	loose		fitted to elbow, tappets	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Robert Braunche & two wives - Margaret & Letitia	c. 1364	loose sleeved	2	loose		fitted to elbow, tappets	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Ismayne de Winston	c. 1375	fitted	2	fitted		short to mid upper arm, tippets	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		none visible		
Joan Ingham	c. 1365	fitted	2	fitted	buttons down front?	short to mid upper arm, tippets	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round along fitted sleeve	
Isabel Cloville	c. 1361	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted			yes	small round along fitted	

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
												sleeve	
John de Kyggesfold and wife Agnes	c. 1370	Unclear	unclear	loose		fitted/buttoned					yes	small round along fitted sleeve	
Eleanor Lancaster, wife of Richard Fitzalan, thirteenth Earl Arundel	1375	loose sleeved	unclear	fitted		fitted/buttoned					none visible		
Isabel Beaufort	c. 1370	fitted	2	fitted	round buttons to just below hip	short to mid upper arm, tippets	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round along fitted sleeve	large round at front to hip
Joan de Feversham	c. 1365	fitted	2	fitted		fitted	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Margaret Briggs	c. 1360	loose sleeved	2	loose		fitted, thin fur cuffs?	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round along fitted sleeve	

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Margaret Albyn	c. 1360	loose sleeved	1	loose	pleated but not gown style, buttons all down front	fitted, buttoned	yes				yes	small round along fitted sleeve	round all way down front
Margaret Brocas	c.1360	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, buttons down front	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned	?	yes	small round along fitted sleeve	round down front
Margaret Cobham	c. 1375	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, buttons down front, border round sided	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned	no	yes	small round along fitted sleeve	round at front to hip
Margaret Torrington	c.1356/1380?	fitted	2	fitted	shoulder pads??	short to mid upper arm, tippets	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned	no	none visible		
Maud Cobham	c. 1370	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, buttons down front	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	no	yes		round at front to hip
Agnes Achard	c. 1356	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Amicia le Haddon	c. 1361	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	unclear	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes		large round at front to hip

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Elizabeth Montacute	c. 1354	fitted	2	fitted		fitted	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Philippa of Hainault	c. 1367	fitted	1	fitted	buttons down front?	fitted					none visible		
wife of Henry of Berkhamsted	c. 1370	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, big square buttons	sleeveless	no	fitted		yes	yes		large square down front to below hip
Lady	c.1360	fitted	1	fitted		fitted					none visible		
(Daughter of Berkeleys)	c. 1350	loose gathered	1	loose	pleated/gown-style	loose (possible cuffs)	yes				none visible		
Wife of Sir Thomas Berkeley	c. 1352	loose sleeved	1	loose		fitted					none visible		
Lady Margaret de Bois	c. 1365	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless and laced						none visible		
Margaret, wife of Sir	c. 1370-85	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless/square buttons(?)	sleeveless	no	fitted	no arms		yes		large square down

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Thomas de Grandison					down front								front to below hip
Agnes, wife of Sir Thomas Bradeston	c.1360-69	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	yes	small round along fitted sleeve	
Agnes de Bradeston	c. 1370	fitted	2?	fitted	(possible pockets)	fitted	no	fitted	fitted (lines across hands might indicate underdress)		none visible		
Lady Beatrix de Grandisson	c. 1374	Unclear	unclear	unclear							none visible		
Lady Emmeline Courtney	c. 1375	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless (border round cut-out)	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned	yes	yes	small round along fitted sleeve	large square down front to below hip
Elizabeth Courtenay	c. 1375	loose sleeved	unclear	loose		loose	yes				none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2:	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Jane Berkeley	c. 1362	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted			none visible		
Margaret Audley	c. 1373	Unclear	unclear	unclear							none visible		
Margaret Blanket	c. 1371	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Maud Raleigh	c. 1360	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		

Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
Johanna de Lucy	c. 1369	square top of chest	cauled		No evidence							
Sir Thomas de Ingilby & wife	c.1369	round base of neck	frilled veil		No evidence							
Sir Thomas Heslerton & wife undercover	c.1364	not visible	veil		No evidence							
Lady	mid-fourteenth C	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Lady (Elizabeth Musters?)	1360	round top of chest	structured caul	square on top of head	No evidence							
Catherine de la Pole	c.1367	round base of neck	veil		No evidence							
Catherine Norwich	c. 1367	round base of neck	veil		Yes	Yes	3?	simple hoops				
Wife of Robert Hiltons	c. 1372	round low cut, cleavage visible	caul/cap		No evidence							
Lady of Daubeney Family	c.1370	straight top of chest	structured caul	square on top of head	No evidence							
Joan, wife of William Disney	mid fourteenth C	round base of neck	frilled veil	possibly?	No evidence							
Lady Redford	c. 1375-80	round low cut,	frilled veil		No evidence							





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
		cleavage visible										
Lady	c. 1370	square top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Joan de Staunton	c. 1366	round top of chest	fillet with chinband		No evidence							
Wentiliana Keynes	c. 1375	hidden by wimple	veil and circlet	or loose hair?	No evidence							
Sister of Grymbald Pauncefoot	c.1360	round top of chest	veil, wimple and circlet		Yes	Yes	1	simple hoop				
Lady	c.1360	straight low cut	cap		No evidence							
Isabella Stafford	c. 1360	round top of chest	veil and wimple		Possibly	possibly	1	single hoop				
Catherine Mortimer	c. 1370	straight top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Lady	c. 1375	round base of neck	fillet with chinband		No evidence							
Margaret Braunche	c. 1364	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Robert Braunche & two wives - Margaret & Letitia	c. 1364	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Ismayne de Winston	c. 1375	hidden by wimple	frilled veil		No evidence							





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
Joan Ingham	c. 1365	straight top of chest	veil and circlet	hair plaited at sides	No evidence							
Isabel Cloville	c. 1361	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
John de Kyggesfold and wife Agnes	c. 1370	round base of neck	veil		No evidence							
Eleanor Lancaster, wife of Richard Fitzalan, thirteenth Earl Arundel	1375	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Isabel Beaufort	c. 1370	square top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Joan de Feversham	c, 1365	straight top of chest	veil		No evidence							
Margaret Briggs	c. 1360	round low cut, cleavage visible	veil and fillet	thick decorated	No evidence							
Margaret Albyn	c. 1360	square top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Margaret Brocas	c.1360	square top of chest	loose hair and circlet		No evidence							
Margaret Cobham	c. 1375	round low cut, cleavage	frilled veil		No evidence							





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
		visible										
Margaret Torrington	c.1356/1380?	round top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Maud Cobham	c. 1370	round low cut, cleavage visible	frilled veil		No evidence							
Agnes Achard	c. 1356	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Amicia le Haddon	c. 1361	straight top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Elizabeth Montacute	c. 1354	round top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Philippa of Hainault	c. 1367	round top of chest	structured caul		No evidence							
wife of Henry of Berkhamsted	c. 1370	straight top of chest	cap/cauled		No evidence							
Lady	c.1360	round base of neck	frilled veil		No evidence							
(Daughter of Berkeleys)	c. 1350	round base of neck	veil		No evidence							
Wife of Sir Thomas Berkeley	c. 1352	round base of neck	veil, wimple and fillet		No evidence							
Lady Margaret de Bois	c. 1365	round low cut,	cap								yes	Tau cross





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	Rings	No.	Type	Necklace	Type	Brooch	Type
		cleavage visible										
Margaret, wife of Sir Thomas de Grandison	c. 1370-85	straight top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Agnes, wife of Sir Thomas Bradeston	c.1360-69	straight top of chest	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Agnes de Bradeston	c. 1370	round base of neck	veil		No evidence							
Lady Beatrix de Grandisson	c. 1374	round top of chest	structured caul	square on top of head	No evidence							
Lady Emmeline Courtney	c. 1375	round low cut	structured caul	square on top of head	Yes				yes	choker (chain?)		
Elizabeth Courtenay	c. 1375	not visible	fillet with chinband		No evidence							
Jane Berkeley	c. 1362	round base of neck	veil and chinband	not wimple/not fillet	No evidence							
Margaret Audley	c. 1373	round top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence	?						
Margaret Blanket	c. 1371	straight top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Maud Ralegh	c. 1360	round base of neck	veil, wimple and circlet		No evidence							





Data 1376-1400




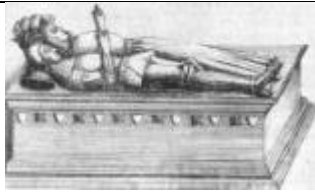
Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Ripon	Yorkshire	Effigy	Sir Thomas Markenfield & wife	1376-1400	490-497	PW	photo	
West Tanfield	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady Marmion	1387	1110-1130	PW	photo	
West Tanfield	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady	1376-1400	1131-1139	PW	photo	
West Tanfield	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady (badly defaced)	1376-1400	1140-1141	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
West Tanfield	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady	1376-1400	1142-1153	PW	photo	
Darfield	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady	c. 1400	1179-1196	PW	photo	
Brandesburton	Yorkshire	Brass	Lora, wife of Sir John de Quintin	1397	2703-2711	PW	photo	
Allerton Mauleverer	Yorkshire	Brass	Eleanor, wife of Sir John Mauleverer	1400	2723-2731	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Topcliffe	Yorks	Brass	Lady de Topcliffe	c. 1391	2922	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Hull	Yorkshire	Effigy	Eleanor Box	c. 1380	2826	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Stoke Rochford	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Lady	1376-1400	2283-2296	PW	photo	
Edwyn Ralph	Herefordshire	Effigy	Knight and two ladies	1376-1400	411-423	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Edwyn Ralph	Herefordshire	Effigy	Knight and two ladies	1376-1400	411-423	PW	photo	
Pembridge	Herefordshire	Effigy	Lady	1376-1400	937-946	PW	photo	
Allensmore	Herefordshire	Incised slab	Wife of Sir Andrew Herl	1376-1400	2243-2245	PW	photo	
Norton Disney	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Hautacia, daughter of William Disney	1400	2335-2348	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Gedney	Lincolnshire	Brass	Lady de Roos	c. 1390	2920	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_de_roos/	
Geddington	Northants	Brass	Joan Mulsho	c. 1400	2881	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_mulsho/	
Dodford	Northants	Effigy	Elizabeth?	c. 1376	2838	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Barlborough	Derbyshire	Effigy	Joan Furnival	c. 1395	2878	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Norbury	Staffs	Effigy	Ann Botiller	c. 1395	2792	?	?	
Norbury	Staffs	Effigy	? Botiller, second wife of Sir Edward	c. 1395	2792	?	?	
Elford	Stafford	Effigy	Matilda Arderne	c. 1391	3028	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/matilda_arderne/	
Tamworth	Staffs	Effigy	Lady Freville	c. 1400	2929	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_freville/	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Felbrigg	Norfolk	Brass	Elizabeth, wife of Roger de felbrigg	1380	2740	Norfolk Churches	http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/felbrigg/images/dscf1144.jpg	
Reepham	Norfolk	Brass	Sir William Kerdiston & Cecily	1391	2751- 2752	PW	photo	
South Acre	Norfolk	Brass	Lady Katherine Harsyck	c. 1384	2767	PW	photo	
Offord Darcy	Cambs	Effigy	Civilian & wife	1376- 1400	1548- 1556	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Barnack	Peterborough	Effigy	Lady	1400	1557-1578	PW	photo	
Wood Ditton	Cambs	Brass	Margaret, wife of Henry English	1393	1591-1595	PW	photo	
Cople	Beds	Brass	Wife of Nicholas Roland	c. 1400	1596-1600	PW	photo	
Tilbrook	Hunts	Brass	Civilian & wife	c. 1400	1621-1627	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Wymington	Beds	Brass	Aubrey, widow of John Curteys	c. 1391	2732	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/aubrey_curteys/	
Little Shelford	Cambs	Brass	Lady Claricia de Frevile	c. 1393-99	2760	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/clarices_de_freville/	
Erwarton	Suffolk	Effigy	Anne Bacon, wife of Sir Bartholemew	c. 1400	2756	Suffolk Churches	http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/erwarton.html	
Wrentham	Suffolk	Brass	Ele Bowet	c.1400	3600	T. M. Felgate, Ladies on Suffolk Brasses/Flickr	photocopy and http://www.flickr.com/photos/norfolkboy1/2072831579/sizes/z/in/photostream/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Crishall	Essex	Brass	Joan de la Pole	c.1380	2872	Gothic Eye	http://www.gothiceye.com/popup.asp?Ref=KL02	
Ingham	Norfolk	Brass	Joan Plays	c. 1385	2883	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_plays/	
Necton	Norfolk	Brass	Phelippe de Beauchamp	c. 1385	3052	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/phelippe_de_beauchampe/	
Stanton Harcourt	Oxford	Effigy	Maud de Grey	c. 1394	3034	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Fletching	Sussex	Brass	Lady Dallingridge (wife of Sir Walter?)	c. 1390	135-145	PW	photo	
West Grinstead	Sussex	Brass	Philippa de Strabolgi, wife of John Halsham	c. 1395	168-179	PW	photo	
Sheldwich	Kent	Brass	Dionisia, wife of Sir Richard Attelese	c.1394	2820	Gothic Eye	http://www.gothiceye.com/popup.asp?Ref=KL08	
Ashford	Kent	Brass	Elizabeth de Strabolgi	c. 1375	2832	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elizabeth_de_strabolgi/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Westminster	London	Brass	Eleanor Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester	c. 1399	2825	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/eleanor_de_bohun/	
Chinnor	Oxon	Brass	Isabel de Malyns	c. 1385	2851	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/isabel_de_malyns/	
Bray	Berks	Brass	Joan Foxley	c. 1378	2875-6	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_foxley/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Chinnor	Oxon	Brass	Lady	c. 1390	2955	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Ore	Sussex	Brass	Lady	c. 1400	2956	?	?	
Cobham	Kent	Brass	Margaret Cobham	c. 1385	3006	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_de_cobham_b/	
St Albans	Herts	Brass	Maud Pecock	c. 1380	3041	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/maud_pecok/	


Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Sandwich	Kent	Effigy	Lady Ellis	c. 1392	2927	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_ellis/	
Cheriton	Kent	Effigy	Lady	c. 1380	2954	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/cheriton_woman/	
Little Munden	Herts	Effigy	Nanrina Thornbury	c. 1396	3051	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/nanrina_thornbury/	
East Worldham	Hants	Effigy	Philippa Roet Chaucer	c. 1387	3058	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/philippa_roet_chaucer/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Winterbourne	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Blanche, wife of Sir Edmund Bradeston	c. 1395	2157- 2159	PW	photo	
Chewton Mendip	Somerset	effigy	wife of Sir Henry Fitzroger	c. 1388	678- 684	PW	photo	
Cothelstone	Somerset	effigy	Lady Stawell, wife of Sir Matthew de Stawell	c. 1379	716- 736	PW	photo	
Chipping Camden	Gloucestershire	Brass	Wife of William Grevel	1386- 1401	2197- 2203	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Deerhurst	Gloucestershire	Brass	Alice Cassy, wife of Sir John	c. 1400	2212-2218	PW	photo	
Crediton	Devon	Effigy	Isobel de Sully, wife of Sir John de Sully	c. 1387	1788-1805	PW	photo	
Powderham	Devon	Effigy	Elizabeth de Bohun	c. 1378	1823-1841	PW	photo	
Shebbear	Devon	Effigy	(Lady Prendergast of Ladford)	1376-1400	1928-1936	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Stoke Fleming	Devon	Brass	Eleanor Corp	c. 1391	2044-2050	PW	photo	
Etchilhampton	Wiltshire	Effigy	Lady of Malwyn Family	c. 1400	2574-2586	PW	photo	
Great Wishford	Wiltshire	Effigy	Edith de Bonham	fourteenth	2596-2611	PW	photo	
Farleigh Hungerford	Wiltshire	Effigy	Lady Joanna Hungerford	c. 1386	2632-2650	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
Draycot Cerne	Wiltshire	Brass	Elyne Cerne	c.1393	2841	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elyne_cerne/	
Wotton-under-Edge	Gloucester	Brass	Margaret Warren	c. 1392	3003	The Medieval Combat Society	http://www.themcs.org/costume/fourteenth%20century%20Female%20Clothing.htm	
Haccombe	Devon	Effigy	Lady Cecily Lercedekene	c. 1380	2810	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/cecily_lercedekene/	
Dunster	Somerset	Effigy	Joan de Burgwash	c. 1380	2869	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_de_burgwash/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Images
South Pool	Devon	Effigy	Muriel de Mules	c. 1380	3048	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/muriel_de_mules/	

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Sir Thomas Markenfield & wife	1376-1400	Unclear	2	loose	pleated/gown-style buttoned down front	fitted, short to mid-way on upper arm		fitted	fitted		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady Marmion	1387	fitted	2?	fitted	chevrons on skirt, stomacher-	fitted		fitted	fitted/buttoned?		none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
					style cut out on front								
Lady	1376-1400	Fitted sideless	1	fitted	big square buttons down front	fitted					yes		large square down front to below hip
Lady (badly defaced)	1376-1400	Unclear	unclear	unclear							none visible		
Lady	1376-1400	fitted	2	fitted		fitted (to elbow length)		fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady	c. 1400	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned	yes	yes	small round on fitted sleeves	round down front to hip
Lora, wife of Sir John de Quintin	1397	loose sleeved	2	loose	buttons round neck	loose, bag-style? But very wide at wrists	no	fitted	fitted, flare out over wrists/hands		none visible		
Eleanor, wife of Sir John Mauleverer	1400	pleated gown	2	loose	buttons down top front	loose, long and wide at wrists	yes	fitted	fitted		yes		round top of garment
Lady de Topcliffe	c. 1391	loose sleeved	2	loose	buttoned down front	long, loose and wide	no	fitted	fitted, over hands		yes		round top of garment

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Eleanor Box	c. 1380	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated gown style	fitted	yes?	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Lady	1376-1400	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	loose/pleated?	loose?	yes	none visible		
Knight and two ladies	1376-1400	loose sleeveless	2	loose	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted?		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Knight and two ladies	1376-1400	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady	1376-1400	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated - gown-style, small buttons down the front	loose to elbow then wide tippets, with buttons/buttonholes along edge	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	small round down front to hip
Wife of Sir Andrew Herl	1376-1400	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated gown-style	loose, with cuffs?					none visible		
Hautacia, daughter of William Disney	1400	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style, buttons down the front	loose		fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes		round top of garment
Lady de Roos	c. 1390	fitted	1	fitted	square/diamond buttons to	fitted, cuffs - lace or	no				yes		diamond shape

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
					lower hips	border							down front to below hip
Joan Mulsho	c. 1400	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted, over hands		none visible		
Elizabeth?	c. 1376	loose sideless	2	loose	sideless	sleeves to shoulders	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Joan Furnival	c. 1395	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Ann Botiller	c. 1395	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, square diamond buttons	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		yes		large square down front to below hip
? Botiller, second wife of Sir Edward	c. 1395	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, square diamond buttons	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		yes		large square down front to below hip
Matilda Arderne	c. 1391	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, thin patterned border	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned	yes	yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady Freville	c. 1400	loose sleeved	1?	loose		loose	yes				none visible		
Elizabeth, wife of Roger de	1380	fitted	1	fitted		fitted					none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
felbrigg													
Sir William Kerdiston & Cecily	1391	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady Katherine Harsyck	c. 1384	fitted sleeveless	2	fitted	mi-parti?	sleeveless	no	fitted (shaded a different colour)	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Civilian & wife	1376-1400	Unclear	2?	loose		loose		fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady	1400	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless		?	?		none visible		
Margaret, wife of Henry English	1393	fitted	1	fitted	buttons down the front	fitted					yes	small round on fitted sleeves	small round down front to hip
Wife of Nicholas Roland	c. 1400	loose sleeved	2	loose	widows garb?	loose		fitted	fitted		none visible		
Civilian & wife	c. 1400	loose sleeved	2	loose	buttons down front (neck) gown-style	bagged style fitted round wrists		fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	round top of garment

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Aubrey, widow of John Curteys	c. 1391	loose sleeved	2?	loose		loose?		fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady Claricia de Frevile	c. 1393-99	fitted	1	fitted		fitted					none visible		
Anne Bacon, wife of Sir Bartholemew	c. 1400	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless		fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Ele Bowet	c.1400	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style, buttons all the way down the front	loose, long(ish) and wide	yes	fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes		round all way down front
Joan de la Pole	c.1380	fitted	2	fitted	buttoned to hips	fitted to mid upper arm, tippets	no	fitted	fitted		yes		round down front to hip
Joan Plays	c. 1385	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown-style	bag, fur cuffs	yes?	fitted	fitted		yes		round top of garment
Phelippe de Beauchamp	c. 1385	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		none visible		
Maud de Grey	c. 1394	fitted	2	fitted	small buttons down front	short to mid upper arm	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady Dallingridge (wife of Sir Walter?)	c. 1390	fitted	1	fitted	round buttons down front	fitted/buttoned	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	round down front to hip
Philippa de Strabolgi, wife of John Halsham	c. 1395	fitted	1	fitted		fitted					none visible		
Dionisia, wife of Sir Richard Attelese	c.1394	fitted	1	fitted	buttoned to hips	fitted					yes	small round on fitted sleeves	round down front to hip
Elizabeth de Strabolgi	c. 1375	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, square diamond buttons	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		yes		diamond shape down front to below hip
Eleanor Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester	c. 1399	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	yes?	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Isabel de Malyns	c. 1385	fitted	1	fitted	small buttons down front	fitted, buttoned	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	small round down front to hip
Joan Foxley	c. 1378	fitted	2	fitted	criss cross patterns to denote	fitted to mid upper arm, tippets	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round on fitted	round down front to

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
					texture, buttons down to below hips							sleeves	hip
Lady	c. 1390	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady	c. 1400	loose sleeved	2	loose	buttons all way down garment	loose, fur cuffs?	no	fitted	fitted		yes		round all way down front
Margaret Cobham	c. 1385	fitted	1	fitted		fitted, over hands	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	round down front to hip
Maud Pecoek	c. 1380	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady Ellis	c, 1392	Fitted sleeveless	2	fitted	sideless, square buttons down the front	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		yes		square down front to waist
Lady	c. 1380	loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		none visible		
Nanrina Thornbury	c. 1396	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, square buttons to below hips	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		yes		large square down front to below hip

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Philippa Roet Chaucer	c. 1387	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose		fitted	fitted		none visible		
Blanche, wife of Sir Edmund Bradeston	c. 1395	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
wife of Sir Henry Fitzroger	c. 1388	Unclear	2	loose		loose (possible cuffs)	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Lady Stawell	c. 1379	fitted	1	fitted		fitted/buttoned					yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Wife of William Grevel	1386-1401	loose sleeved	2	loose	small buttons down front (gown style)	loose	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	small round all way down front
Alice Cassy, wife of Sir John	c. 1400	loose sleeved	2	loose	buttons down front (gown style)	loose (fur cuffs?)	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned, fan out over hands		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	round top of garment
Isobel de Sully, wife of Sir John de Sully	c. 1387	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, buttons down front	sleeveless	no	fitted	no arms		yes		large square down front to below hip
Elizabeth de Bohun	c. 1378	Fitted sideless	1	fitted	buttons down the front	fitted	no				yes	square on fitted	square down

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
												sleeves	front to waist
(Lady Prendergast of Ladford)	1376-1400	loose sleeved	1/2	loose	(widowsgarb ?)	loose					none visible		
Eleanor Corp	c. 1391	fitted	1	fitted	buttons down front	fitted/buttoned	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	large round to hip
Lady of Malwyn Family	c. 1400	fitted	1	fitted		fitted					none visible		
Edith de Bonham	fourteenth	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated/gown-style buttoned down front	fitted, short to mid-way on upper arm	yes	fitted	fitted/buttoned?		yes		small down front
Lady Joanna Hungerford	c. 1386	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose		fitted	fitted		none visible		
Elyne Cerne	c.1393	loose sleeved	1	loose		fitted	no				none visible		
Margaret Warren	c. 1392	fitted	1	fitted		fitted, over hands	no				none visible		
Lady Cecily Leredekene	c. 1380	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Joan de Burgwash	c. 1380	Fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, borders round edge	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Muriel de Mules	c. 1380	fitted	1	fitted	square buttons to below hips	fitted	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	large square down front to below hip

Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Sir Thomas Markenfield & wife	1376-1400	no top half	not visible	very worn	No evidence							
Lady Marmion	1387	round low cut, cleavage visible	cap		No evidence							
Lady	1376-1400	straight top of chest	not visible	defaced	No evidence							
Lady (badly defaced)	1376-1400	not visible	not visible	defaced	No evidence							
Lady	1376-1400	straight top of chest	veil, wimple, coronet		No evidence							
Lady	c. 1400	square low cut, cleavage visible	cap		Yes				Yes	chain (pendant?)		
Lora, wife of Sir John de Quintin	1397	turned up collar	cap		Yes				Yes	chain and pendant		could be part of collar
Eleanor, wife of Sir John Mauleverer	1400	buttoned up collar	frilled veil		No evidence							
Lady de Topcliffe	c. 1391	buttoned up collar	veil and wimple		No evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Eleanor Box	c. 1380	v-neck gown	veil		No evidence							
Lady	1376-1400	round base of neck	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Knight and two ladies	1376-1400	round base of neck	veil		No evidence							
Knight and two ladies	1376-1400	round base of neck	veil		No evidence							
Lady	1376-1400	round low cut, cleavage visible	structure caul	square	No evidence							
Wife of Sir Andrew Herl	1376-1400	hidden by wimple	not visible	head defaced	No evidence							
Hautacia, daughter of William Disney	1400	buttoned up collar	cap		No evidence							
Lady de Roos	c. 1390	round low cut, cleavage visible	frilled veil		No evidence							
Joan Mulsho	c. 1400	round base of neck	veil		No evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Elizabeth?	c. 1376	round base of neck	veil and circlet	loose hair?	No evidence							
Joan Furnival	c. 1395	square top of chest	veil		No evidence							
Ann Botiller	c. 1395	round low cut, cleavage visible	veil		No evidence							
? Botiller, second wife of Sir Edward	c. 1395	round low cut, cleavage visible	cap/caul		No evidence							
Matilda Arderne	c. 1391	square low cut	cap/caul		Yes	yes	2	simple hoops	yes			
Lady Freville	c. 1400	round top of chest	veil and circlet		No evidence							
Elizabeth, wife of Roger de felbrigg	1380	round top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Sir William Kerdiston & Cecily	1391	round top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Lady Katherine Harsyck	c. 1384	round top of chest	structured caul		No evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Civilian & wife	1376-1400	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Lady	1400	round base of neck	fillet and chinband		No evidence							
Margaret, wife of Henry English	1393	round top of chest	no head		No evidence							
Wife of Nicholas Roland	c. 1400	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Civilian & wife	c. 1400	buttoned up collar	wimple, veil and fillet		No evidence							
Aubrey, widow of John Curteys	c. 1391	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Lady Claricia de Frevile	c. 1393-99	hidden by wimple	cauls		?	?		simple hoop				
Anne Bacon, wife of Sir Bartholemew	c. 1400	straight top of chest	cauls		yes				yes	choker with pendant		
Ele Bowet	c.1400	buttoned up collar	cauls		No evidence							
Joan de la Pole	c.1380	square top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							




Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Joan Plays	c. 1385	buttoned up collar	fillet and chinband	veil	No evidence							
Phelippe de Beauchamp	c. 1385	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	No evidence							
Maud de Grey	c. 1394	straight low cut	frilled veil		No evidence							
Lady Dallingridge	c. 1390	straight low cut	frilled veil		No evidence							
Philippa de Strabolgi, wife of John Halsham	c. 1395	round low cut, cleavage visible	structured caul		No evidence							
Dionisia, wife of Sir Richard Attelese	c.1394	round low cut	frilled veil		No evidence							
Elizabeth de Strabolgi	c. 1375	round low cut, cleavage visible	frilled veil		No evidence							
Eleanor Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester	c. 1399	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	No evidence							
Isabel de Malyns	c. 1385	round top of chest, cleavage	frilled veil		No evidence							





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
		visible										
Joan Foxley	c. 1378	square top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Lady	c. 1390	round top of chest	veil		No evidence							
Lady	c. 1400	square low cut, cleavage visible	frilled veil		No evidence							
Margaret Cobham	c. 1385	straight low cut, cleavage visible	frilled veil		No evidence							
Maud Pecoek	c. 1380	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Lady Ellis	c, 1392	low cut off shoulders	structured caul	wimple and chinband	No evidence							
Lady	c. 1380	round, top of chest	hood/veil		Yes	yes	2	simple hoops				
Nanrina Thornbury	c. 1396	square low cut, cleavage visible	cap		No evidence							





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Philippa Roet Chaucer	c. 1387	round base of neck	fillet and chinband		Yes						circular ring	
Blanche, wife of Sir Edmund Bradeston	c. 1395	not visible	structured caul	square	No evidence							
wife of Sir Henry Fitzroger	c. 1388	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		Yes	yes	?	simple hoop				
Lady Stawell, wife of Sir Matthew de Stawell	c. 1379	straight top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Wife of William Grevel	1386-1401	buttoned up collar	frilled veil		No evidence							
Alice Cassy, wife of Sir John	c. 1400	buttoned up collar	frilled veil		No evidence							
Isobel de Sully, wife of Sir John de Sully	c. 1387	round low cut, cleavage visible	frilled veil		No evidence							
Elizabeth de Bohun	c. 1378	straight top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
(Lady Prendergast	1376-1400	hidden by	veil and wimple	barbe	No evidence							





Name	Date	Neckline	Headdress	Comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
of Ladford)		wimple										
Eleanor Corp	c. 1391	square low cut, cleavage visible	cap	veil	No evidence							
Lady of Malwyn Family	c. 1400	straight top of chest	structured caul	square	No evidence							
Edith de Bonham	fourteenth	straight top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Lady Joanna Hungerford	c. 1386	hidden by wimple	frilled veil	wimple	No evidence							
Elyne Cerne	c.1393	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Margaret Warren	c. 1392	straight low cut	cap/caul		No evidence							
Lady Cecily Lercedekene	c. 1380	round top of chest	cap	veil	No evidence							
Joan de Burgwash	c. 1380	straight low cut	structured caul		No evidence							
Muriel de Mules	c. 1380	round base of neck	structured caul	square	No evidence							





Data 1401-1425





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Lowick	Cumbria	Effigy	Joan Thorpe	c. 1419	2893	Gothic Eye	http://www.gothiceye.com/popup.asp?Ref=L034	
Peover	Cheshire	effigy	Lady Mainwaring	c. 1410	1-33	PW	photo	
Dalden le Dale	Durham	Effigy	Maude of Dalden	c. 1420	3046	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/maude_of_dalden/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Staindrop	Durham	Effigy	Wife of Ralph Neville, Joan Beaufort?	1425	1427-1434	PW	photo	
Staindrop	Durham	Effigy	Wife of Ralph Neville, Margaret Stafford?	1425	1435-1450	PW	photo	
Hornby	Yorkshire	Effigy	Margaret, wife of Sir John Conyers	c.1422	1060-1069	PW	photo	
Ryther	Yorkshire	Effigy	Lady with horned headdress	early fifteenth C	1197-1215	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Harewood	Yorkshire	Effigy	Elizabeth Aldburgh	c.1418-26	1216-1249	PW	photo	
Harewood	Yorkshire	Effigy	Sybil Aldburgh	c.1418-26	1250-1269	PW	photo	
Harewood	Yorkshire	Effigy	Elizabeth Mowbray	c.1419	12701293-	PW	photo	
Stonegrave	Yorkshire	Effigy	Robert Thornton and wife	c.1418	1294-1312	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Owston	Yorkshire	Brass	Ade, wife of Robert de Hatfield	c. 1409	2712-2716	PW	photo	
Harpham	Yorkshire	Brass	wife of Sir Thomas de St Quintin	c.1418	2717-2722	PW	photo	
Swine	Yorkshire	Effigy	Constance Hiltons	c. 1410	2816	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/robert_hiltons_1410/	
Pickering	Yorkshire	Effigy	Margery Roucliffe	c. 1407	3014	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margery_roucliffe/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
South Ormsby	Lincolnshire	Brass	Lady	c. 1410	?	Flickr	http://www.flickr.com/photos/52219527@N00/1158812374/	
Harlaxton	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Lady Rickhill, wife of Sir Richard	early fifteenth C	2383-2401	PW	photo	
Linwood	Lincolnshire	Brass	Alice Lyndewode	c.1419	2411-2416	PW	photo	
Higham Ferrers	Northants	Brass	Beatrice Chichele	c.1425	2799	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/beatrice_chichele/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Dodford	Northants	Brass	Christina Cressy	c.1414	2811/12	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/john_cressy/	
East Markham	Notts	Brass	Milicent Merying	c.1414	2818	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/milicent_merying/	
Ashby St Ledgers	Northants	Brass	Eleanor Stokes	c.1416	2828	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elena_stokes/	
Spilsby	Lincolnshire	Brass	Lady Willoughby D'Eresby	c. 1409	2967	Christies	http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/ZoomImage.aspx?image=/lotfinderimages/d54906/d5490654&IntObjectID=5490654	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Spilsby	Lincolnshire	Brass	Margaret, Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby	c. 1410	3005	Gothic Eye	http://www.gothiceye.com/popup.asp?Ref=L019	
Little Casterton	Rutland	Brass	Margery Burton	c. 1410	3008	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margery_burton/	
Broughton	Oxfordshire	Brass	Philippa Byschoppesdon	c. 1414	3053	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/philippa_byschoppesdon/	
Lowick	Northants	Effigy	Katherine Green	c. 1418	2907	Flickr	http://www.flickr.com/photos/ericharduk/109385217/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Bagington	Warwickshire	Brass	Lady Bagot	c. 1407	3004	The Monumental Brass Society	http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page219.html	
Warwick	Warwickshire	Effigy	Joyouse of Warwick	c. 1410	2900	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joyouse_of_warwick/	
Wixford	Warwickshire	Brass	Juliana de Crewer	c. 1411	2902	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/juliana_de_crewer/	
Hilimorton	Warwickshire	Brass	Lady	c. 1410	2958	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/hilimorton_woman/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Warwick	Warwickshire	Brass	Margaret Ferrers	c. 1401	2992	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_ferrers/	
Kidderminster	Worcs	Brass	Maud Harcourt	c. 1415	3039	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/maud_harcourt_kidderminster/	
Pakefield	Suffolk	Brass	Agnes Bowf	c. 1417	3500	Flickr	http://www.flickr.com/photos/norfolkodyssey/3929973530/	
Burgate	Suffolk	Brass	Wife of Sir William Burgate	c.1409	2538-2549	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Stoke-by-Nayland	Suffolk	Brass	Lady Katherine Tendring	c. 1403-8	2757-2758	Suffolk Churches	http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/stoken.htm	
Rougham	Suffolk	Brass	Wife of Sir Roger Drury	c. 1405	3011	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margery_drury/	
Ashwellthorpe	Norfolk	Effigy	Joan, wife of Sir Edmund de Thorp	c.1417	2427-2461	PW	photo	
Felbrigg	Norfolk	Brass	Simon & Margaret Felbrigg	c. 1416	2741-2742	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/simon_de_felbrigge/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Holme-Next-the-Sea	Norfolk	Brass	Herry Nottingham & Wife Agnes	c. 1405	2745-2746	The Monumental Brass Society	http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page99.html	
Norwich	Norfolk	Brass	Elenor Buttry	1410	2821	Norfolk Churches	http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/norwichstephen/images/dscf2586.jpg	
Great Snoring	Norfolk	Brass	Lady Shelton	c. 1424	2765-6	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/ralph_shelton/	
Sawtry	Cambs	Brass	Mary wife of Sir William le Moyne	c.1404	1610-1620	PW	photo	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Wicken	Cambs	Brass	Margaret Peyton	c.1414	1632-1634	PW	photo	
Hinxton	Cambs	Brass	Sir John Skelton & two wives (left wife)	c.1416	1656-1671	PW	photo	
Hinxton	Cambs	Brass	Sir John Skelton & two wives (right wife)	c.1416	1656-1671	PW	photo	
Offord Darcy	Cambs	Brass	Wives of Sir Lawrence Pabenham	c.1400-1430	1675-1682	PW	photo	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Offord Darcy	Cambs	Brass	Wives of Sir Lawrence Pabenhams	c.1400-1430	1675-1682	PW	photo	
Wymington	Beds	Brass	Margaret, wife of Thomas Brounflet	c. 1407	2731	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_brounflet/	
Little Shelford	Cambs	Brass	Lady Margaret de Freville	c. 1405-10	2761	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_de_freville/	
Tolleshunt D'Arcy	Essex	Brass	Lady	c. 1425	2962	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/tolleshunt_darcy_woman/	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Halstead	Essex	Brass	Margaret Bouchier	c. 1420	2977	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_bouchier/	
Dinton	Bucks	Brass	Margaret Compton	c. 1424	2985	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_compton/	
Watford	Herts	Brass	Margaret de Holes	c. 1416	2988	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/hugh_de_holes/	
Crishall	Essex	Effigy	Lady	c.1410	2957	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/crishall_woman/	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Horsted Keynes	Sussex	Brass	Lady (no head)	early fifteenth	360-362	PW	photo	
Lingfield	Surrey	Brass	Elizabeth Stafford wife of 2nd Lord Cobham	1403	270-279	PW	photo	
Trotton	Sussex	Brass	Elizabeth Mortimer, wife of Thomas Camoys	c. 1419	363-378	PW	photo	
Etchingham	Sussex	Brass	Joan Eychingham	1412	319-339	PW	photo	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Arundel	Sussex	Effigy	Beatrix - wife (d.1439) of earl Thomas Fitzalan(d.1415)	c. 1416-20	234-257	PW	photo	
Arundel	Sussex	Brass	Agnes wife of Thomas Salmon, Lady-in-waiting of Beatrix	1418	307-316	PW	photo	
Lingfield	Surrey	Brass	Eleanor, first wife of Sir Reginald Cobham	1420	280-292	PW	photo	
Lingfield	Surrey	Brass	Katerina Stoket, one of first Lady Cobhams' damsels	1420	295-297	PW	photo	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Digswell	Hertfordshire	Brass	Joan Perient	c. 1417	3501	Monumental Brass Society	http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page258.html	
Bobbing	Kent	Brass	wife of Sir Arnold Savage	c.1420	3502	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_savage/image/5661/original/	
Southfleet	Kent	Brass	Joan Urban	c. 1414	2889	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_urban/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Hever	Sussex	Brass	Margaret Cheyne	c. 1419	2983	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_cheyne/	
Ash	Kent	Brass	Lady Clitherow	c. 1410	2914	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_clitherow/	
Thame	Oxon	Brass	Joan Quatremain	c. 1420	2885	Sacred Destinations	http://www.sacred-destinations.com/england/thame-church-photos/slides/350d_077.htm	


Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Thame	Oxon	Brass	Katherine Quatremain	c. 1420	2910	Sacred Destinations	http://www.sacred-destinations.com/england/thame-church-photos/slides/350d_077.htm	
Great Tew	Oxon	Brass	Lady Alice Wilcotes	c. 1410	2912	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/alice_wylcotes/	
Herne	Kent	Brass	Lady Elizabeth Halle	c. 1420	2924	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elizabeth_halle/	



Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Baldock	Herts	Brass	Lady	c. 1420	2959	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/baldock_woman/	
Furneux Pelham	Herts	Brass	Lady	c. 1420	2960	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/furneux_pelham_woman/	
Nether Winchendon	Bucks	Brass	Lady	c. 1420	2961	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/nether_winchedon_woman/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Stoke Poges	Bucks	Brass	Margery Molyns	c. 1425	3013	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margery_molyns/	
Beddington	Surrey	Brass	Philippa Carreau	c. 1414	3054	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/philippa_carreau/	
Shottesbrooke	Berks	Brass	Margaret Pennebrygg	c. 1401	2995	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_pennebrygg/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Canterbury	Kent	Effigy	Joan Burwasch	c. 1404	3059	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_burwaschs/	
Wormington	Gloucestershire	Slab	Man and two wives	early fifteenth C	2184-2187	PW	photo	
Dyrham & Hinton	Gloucestershire	Brass	Isobel Kingston, Wife of Sir Maurice Russell	c. 1416	2221-2225	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Northleach	Gloucestershire	Brass	Agnes, wife of Thomas Adynet	c.1400- 09	2226- 2231	PW	photo	
Hacombe	Devon	Effigy	Philippa Ercedekene 2nd wife Sir Hugh Courtenay	c. 1425	1962- 1981	PW	photo	
Arlington	Devon	Effigy	Thomasine Raleigh, wife of John Chichester	c. 1402	1982- 1994	PW	photo	
Kingskerswell	Devon	Effigy	(Maud Mautravers, 2nd wife Sir John Dinham)	c. 1402	1995- 2005	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Dartmouth	Devon	Brass	Joanna (right) first wife of John Hawley	c. 1408	2071- 2072	PW	photo	
Dartmouth	Devon	Brass	Alicia (left) second wife of John Hawley	c. 1408	2071- 2072	PW	photo	
Antony	Cornwall	Brass	Lady Margery Arundell	c. 1420	1718- 1723	PW	photo	
Stourton	Wiltshire	Effigy	Lady Stourton	c. 1403	2689- 2698	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Porlock	Somerset	Effigy	Elizabeth Harrington	c. 1418	2834	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elizabeth_harrington/	
Wotton under Edge	Gloucestershire	brass	Margaret Pipard, Lady Berkeley	c. 1417	2997	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/thomas_berkeley/image/87/original/	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Joan Thorpe	c. 1419	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, with border	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned	yes	yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady Mainwaring	c. 1410	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown style	loose, long and wide	yes	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round on fitted	small on collar

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
												sleeves	
Maude of Dalden	c. 1420	loose sleeved	1	loose	bird patterns	loose, short to mid upper arm	yes				none visible		
Wife of Ralph Neville, Joan Beaufort?	1425	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round cut-outs	sleeveless	no	no arms		yes	yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Wife of Ralph Neville, Margaret Stafford?	1425	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round cut-outs	sleeveless	no	no arms		yes	none visible		
Margaret, wife of Sir John Conyers??	c.1422	loose sleeved	2	loose	pleated, but not gown-style?	loose/fitted?	no	fitted	fitted		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady with horned headdress	early fifteenth C	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, long and wide	yes	fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Elizabeth Aldburgh	c.1418-26	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, long and wide	yes	fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Sybil Aldburgh	c.1418-26	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, long and wide	yes	fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Elizabeth Mowbray	c.1419	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown-style	loose, long and wide	yes	fitted	fitted/buttoned		none visible		
Robert Thornton and wife	c.1418	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated, gown-style	fitted	yes				yes		round down front to waist
Ade, wife of Robert de Hatfield	c. 1409	fitted	1	fitted		fitted					none visible		
wife of Sir Thomas de St Quintin	c.1418	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, long and wide with very large cuffs					none visible		
Constance Hiltons	c. 1410	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style, flat collar	loose, wide and long	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Margery Roucliffe	c. 1407	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round edges, square buttons down front	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	large round to below waist

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady	c. 1410	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose, long and wide		loose	bag sleeves with fitted round wrists		none visible		
Lady Rickhill, wife of Sir Richard	early fifteenth C	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated gown-style	loose, long and wide	yes				none visible		
Alice Lyndewode	c.1419	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted/over hands		none visible		
Beatrice Chichele	c.1425	fitted	2	fitted		fitted	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Christina Cressy	c.1414	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown style	loose, long, tight at cuffs	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Milicent Merying	c.1414	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown style (flat collar)	loose, long, wide	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Eleanor Stokes	c.1416	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated gown style, high collar	bag sleeves with wide cuffs	yes				none visible		
Lady Willoughby D'Eresby	c. 1409	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown style, high collar	large, long wide, lots of fabric	yes	fitted	fitted, lacy or floppy cuffs		yes		large round to below waist

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Margaret, Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby	c. 1410	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round edges, large buttons down front	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned, over hands	no	none visible		
Margery Burton	c. 1410	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	yes				none visible		
Philippa Byschoppesdon	c. 1414	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Katherine Green	c. 1418	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, with border	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, buttoned	yes	yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Lady Bagot	c. 1407	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round cut-outs	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned, up to mid-hand	yes	yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Joyouse of Warwick	c. 1410	pleated gown	2	loose	gown but not typical collar	loose, long and wide	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Juliana de Crewer	c. 1411	fitted	1	fitted		fitted, buttoned	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady	c. 1410	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Margaret Ferrers	c. 1401	fitted	1	fitted	large diamond pattern	fitted, buttoned	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Maud Harcourt	c. 1415	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style	loose, wide and long	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Agnes Bowf	c. 1417	pleated gown	1	loose	gown-style, turned up collar	loose, narrow	no				none visible		
Wife of Sir William Burgate	c.1409	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Lady Katherine Tendring	c. 1403-8	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, shaded border to cut-out	sleeveless	no	fitted (pleated lines?)	fitted/buttoned, over hands		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Wife of Sir Roger Drury	c. 1405	fitted	1	fitted		fitted, buttoned and over part of hands	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	small diamond down front to hip
Joan, wife of Sir Edmund de Thorp	c.1417	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round cut-outs	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned	yes	yes	square small on fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Simon & Margaret Felbrigg	c. 1416	fitted	1	fitted		fitted/buttoned	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Herry Notingham & Wife Agnes	c. 1405	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style, buttons down front	loose, fur cuffs?	yes	fitted	fitted/buttoned, over hands		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	round down front to waist
Elenor Buttry	1410	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bagged sleeves, tight at wrists	yes?				yes		round down front
Lady Shelton	c. 1424	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Mary wife of Sir William le Moyne	c.1404	fitted	1	fitted		fitted, buttoned and over part of hands	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Margaret Peyton	c.1414	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown style, buttons at top of neck	loose	yes	fitted	fitted		yes		round on collar
Sir John Skelton & two wives (left wife)	c.1416	fitted	1	fitted		fitted/buttoned	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Sir John Skelton & two wives (right wife)	c.1416	fitted	1	fitted		fitted/buttoned	no				yes	small round on fitted sleeves	
Wives of Sir Lawrence Pabenham	c.1400-1430	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	long, loose, wide	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Wives of Sir Lawrence Pabenham	c.1400-1430	fitted	1	fitted		fitted/buttoned	no				none visible		
Margaret, wife of Thomas Brounlet	c. 1407	fitted	1	fitted	buttons down front	fitted/buttoned					yes	small round on fitted sleeves	round down front to below hip
Lady Margaret de Frevile	c. 1405-10	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Lady	c. 1425	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated gown style, flat collar	bag sleeves, large cuffs	yes				yes		down front to waist
Margaret Bouchier	c. 1420	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Margaret Compton	c. 1424	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style	bag sleeves	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Margaret de Holes	c. 1416	loose sleeved	1	loose		loose	no				none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Lady	c.1410	fitted	1	fitted		fitted					none visible		
Lady, early fifteenth Century (no head)	early fifteenth	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Elizabeth Stafford wife of 2nd Lord Cobham (d. 1375) he died 1403	1403	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, with border round cut-outs, buttons down the front, lower dress engraved differently	sleeveless	no	fitted (engraving possibly showing underdress?)	fitted/buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	large round to below waist
Elizabeth Mortimer, wife of Thomas Camoys	c. 1419	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, buttons/decoration down front	tight very short to top of upper arm	no	fitted	fitted	yes	yes		round and diamond to below hip
Sir William Echyngham, wife, Joan, & son	1412	fitted	1	fitted		fitted					none visible		
Beatrix - wife (d.1439) of earl Thomas Fitzalan(d.141	c. 1416-20	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round cut-outs	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned	yes	yes	small round on fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
5)													
Agnes wife of Thomas Salmon, Lady-in-waiting of Beatrix	1418	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	long loose wide	yes	fitted/loose?	loose, bag-style, tight round wrists		none visible		
Eleanor, first wife of Sir Reginald (3rd Lord) (d. 1420) (he 1382-1446)	1420	fitted	1	fitted	buttons/decoration down front	fitted	no				yes		possibly small down front
Katerina Stoket, one of first Lady Cobhams' damsels	1420	loose sleeved	2	loose		fitted/loose?	no	fitted	fitted (over hands)		none visible		
Joan Perient	c. 1417	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style (flat collar)	loose, long and wide	yes	fitted	bag sleeves with fitted round wrists		none visible		
wife of Sir Arnold Savage	c.1420	loose sleeved	2	loose		fitted	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Joan Urban	c. 1414	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Margaret Cheyne	c. 1419	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Lady Clitherow	c. 1410	fitted	1	fitted		fitted, possible lace on cuffs					none visible		
Joan Quatremain	c. 1420	loose sleeve	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Katherine Quatremain	c. 1420	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style, flat collar	loose, long and wide	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Lady Alice Wilcotes	c. 1410	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated style but not ness gown	fitted	yes				yes		from collar to waist
Lady Elizabeth Halle	c. 1420	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round edges	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	none visible		
Lady	c. 1420	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				none visible		
Lady	c. 1420	fitted	2	fitted		fitted	no	fitted	fitted, over hands		none visible		
Lady	c. 1420	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated, gown style, high collar	bag sleeves	yes				none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Margery Molyns	c. 1425	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Philippa Carreau	c. 1414	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style, high collar	bag sleeves, fur cuffs?	yes	fitted	fitted		yes		collar
Margaret Pennebrygg	c. 1401	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style, buttoned high collar	loose	yes	fitted	fitted, buttoned		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	small down to floor
Joan Burwasch	c. 1404	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, big round buttons	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	yes		large round to below waist
Man and two wives	early fifteenth C	Not clear	Not clear	not clear							none visible		
Isobel Kingston, Wife of Sir Maurice Russell	c. 1416	fitted	1	fitted	buttons down the front	fitted/buttoned	no				none visible		
Agnes, wife of Thomas Adynet	c. 1400-09	loose sleeved	2	loose	buttons down top front	loose	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned, over hands		yes	small round on fitted sleeves	on collar
Lady Philippa Ercedekene 2nd wife Sir	c. 1425	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted, over hands		none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Hugh Courtenay									(lace trim?)				
Thomasine Raleigh, wife of John Chichester	c. 1402	Loose sleeveless	2	loose		sleeveless	no	fitted	arms damaged		none visible		
(Maud Mautravers, 2nd wife Sir John Dinham)	c. 1402	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned	yes	yes	square small on fitted sleeves	
Joanna (right) first wife of John Hawley	c. 1408	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round cut-outs	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes		large round to below waist
Alicia (left) second wife of John Hawley	c. 1408	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, border round cut-outs	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned		yes		large round to below waist
Lady Margery Arundell	c. 1420	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown-style	long, loose, wide	yes	fitted	fitted		none visible		
Lady Stourton	c. 1403	Not clear	?	not clear							none visible		
Elizabeth Harrington	c. 1418	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted	yes	none visible		
Margaret Pipard, Lady	c. 1417	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no				yes	small round on	

Name	Date	Garment	No	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Sleeves	Belt	Buttons Present	Buttons on Sleeves	Buttons on Garment
Berkeley												fitted sleeves	

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Joan Thorpe	c. 1419	round low cut	structured cauls		Yes				yes	chain/collar ?		
Lady Mainwaring	c. 1410	turned up collar	cauled		Yes				yes	SS collar		
Maude of Dalden	c. 1420	round base of neck	fillet, chinband and veil		No evidence							
Wife of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland - Joan Beaufort?	1425	square low cut, cleavage visible	cauls and coronet		Yes				yes	SS collar		
Wife of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland - Margaret Stafford?	1425	square low cut, cleavage visible	cauls and coronet		Yes				yes	SS collar		

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Margaret, wife of Sir John Conyers??	c.1422 ??	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Lady with horned headdress	early fifteenth C	round top of chest	horned		No evidence							
Elizabeth Aldburgh	c.1418 -26	folded down collar	structured cauls		Yes	yes	?	gemstones	yes	beads/heart pendant		
Sybil Aldburgh	c.1418 -26	folded down collar	structured cauls		No evidence							
Elizabeth Mowbray	c.1419	folded down collar	structured cauls		No evidence							
Robert Thornton and wife	c.1418	buttoned up collar	frilled veil		No evidence							
Ade, wife of Robert de Hatfield	c. 1409	straight low cut	veil and fillet		No evidence							
wife of Sir Thomas de St Quintin	c.1418	folded down collar	structured cauls		No evidence							
Constance Hiltons	c. 1410	folded down collar	structured cauls		Yes				yes	chain/choke r		
Margery Roucliffe	c. 1407	straight low cut,	cap		Yes				yes	collar?		

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
		cleavage visible										
Lady	c. 1410		veil, wimple and fillet		yes				yes	double beads		
Lady Rickhill, wife of Sir Richard	early fifteenth C	v-neck	structured cauls		No evidence							
Alice Lyndewode	c.1419	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Beatrice Chichele	c.1425	round top of chest	veil		No evidence							
Christina Cressy	c.1414	folded down collar	structured cauls		No evidence							
Milicent Merying	c.1414	folded down collar	structured cauls		Yes				yes	chain & pendant		
Eleanor Stokes	c.1416	turned up collar	veil		No evidence							
Lady Willoughby D'Eresby	c. 1409	turned up collar	cap/cauled		No evidence							
Margaret, Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby	c. 1410	round low cut, cleavage visible	frilled veil		No evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Margery Burton	c. 1410	round low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls		No evidence							
Philippa Byschoppesdon	c. 1414	round top of chest	structured cauls		No evidence							
Katherine Green	c. 1418	round top of chest	structured cauls		yes	yes	?	?				
Lady Bagot	c. 1407	round low cut	cauls/cap		Yes				yes	SS collar		
Joyouse of Warwick	c. 1410	round base of neck	veil		No evidence							
Juliana de Crewer	c. 1411	round top of chest	cauled		No evidence							
Lady	c. 1410	round top of chest	cauled		No evidence							
Margaret Ferrers	c. 1401	round top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Maud Harcourt	c. 1415	folded down collar	structured cauls		No evidence							
Agnes Bowf	c. 1417	buttoned up collar	veil		No evidence							
Wife of Sir William Burgate	c.1409	round top of chest	cauled		No evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Lady Katherine Tendring	c. 1403-8	square top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Wife of Sir Roger Drury	c. 1405	round top of chest	cauled		No evidence							
Joan, wife of Sir Edmund de Thorp	c.1417	square low cut	structured cauls	coronet	Yes	yes		simple hoops & gemstone	yes	SS collar		
Simon & Margaret Felbrigg	c. 1416	round low cut, cleavage visible	cauled		No evidence							
Herry Notingham & Wife Agnes	c. 1405	buttoned up collar	frilled veil		No evidence							
Elenor Buttry	1410	buttoned up collar	veil and wimple		No evidence							
Lady Shelton	c. 1424	round low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls		No evidence							
Mary wife of Sir William le Moyne	c.1404	round top of chest, cleavage showing	cauled		No evidence							
Margaret Peyton	c.1414	buttoned up collar	veil		No evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Sir John Skelton & two wives (left wife)	c.1416	straight top of chest	cauled		No evidence							
Sir John Skelton & two wives (right wife)	c.1416	straight top of chest	cauled		No evidence							
Wives of Sir Lawrence Pabenham	c.1400-1430	round low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls		No evidence							
Wives of Sir Lawrence Pabenham	c.1400-1430	folded down collar	structured cauls		No evidence							
Margaret, wife of Thomas Brounflet	c. 1407	round base of neck	cauled		No evidence							
Lady Margaret de Frevile	c. 1405-10	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		possibly	possibly						
Lady	c. 1425	buttoned up collar	veil		No evidence							
Margaret Bouchier	c. 1420	straight top of chest, cleavage visible	cauled		No evidence							




Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Margaret Compton	c. 1424	folded down collar	structured cauls		No evidence							
Margaret de Holes	c. 1416	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	No evidence							
Lady	c.1410	round base of neck	frilled veil		No evidence							
Lady, early fifteenth Century (no head)	early fifteenth	not visible	not visible	no head	No evidence							
Elizabeth Stafford wife of 2nd Lord Cobham (d. 1375) he died 1403	1403	round top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Elizabeth Mortimer, wife of Thomas Camoys	c. 1419	round low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls		yes	yes	1	gemstones	yes	SS collar		
Sir William Echyngham, wife, Joan, & son	1412	round low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls	almost horned	No evidence							
Beatrix - wife (d.1439) of earl Thomas	c. 1416-20	square low cut, cleavage	structured cauls		Yes	no evidence			yes	chain with pendant		




Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Fitzalan(d.1415)		visible										
Agnes wife of Thomas Salmon, Lady-in-waiting of Beatrix	1418	folded down collar	structured cauls		Yes				yes	chain with cross pendant		
Eleanor, first wife of Sir Reginald (3rd Lord) (d. 1420) (he 1382-1446)	1420	straight low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls		No evidence							
Katerina Stoket, one of first Lady Cobhams' damsels	1420	round base of neck	veil		No evidence							
Joan Perient	c. 1417	folded down collar	structured cauls	unique reverse triangle shape!	yes	no evidence			yes	ss collar	yes	swan
wife of Sir Arnold Savage	c.1420	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	No evidence							
Joan Urban	c. 1414	straight top of chest	cauled		No evidence							
Margaret Cheyne	c. 1419	straight low cut,	structured cauls		No evidence							




Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
		cleavage visible										
Lady Clitherow	c. 1410	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	No evidence							
Joan Quatremain	c. 1420	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	No evidence							
Katherine Quatremain	c. 1420	folded down collar	structured cauls		No evidence							
Lady Alice Wilcotes	c. 1410	buttoned up collar	frilled veil		No evidence							
Lady Elizabeth Halle	c. 1420	round top of chest	structured cauls		yes				yes	chain with pendant		
Lady	c. 1420	round top of chest	veil		No evidence							
Lady	c. 1420	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	No evidence							
Lady	c. 1420	turned up collar	cauled		No evidence							
Margery Molyns	c. 1425	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	No evidence							
Philippa Carreau	c. 1414	buttoned up collar	caul/cap		No evidence							
Margaret Pennebrygg	c. 1401	buttoned up collar	cap		No evidence							




Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Joan Burwasch	c. 1404	straight low cut, cleavage visible	frilled veil		No evidence							
Man and two wives	early fifteenth C	not visible	not visible		No evidence							
Isobel Kingston, Wife of Sir Maurice Russell	c. 1416	round top of chest, cleavage showing	frilled veil		No evidence							
Agnes, wife of Thomas Adyner	c.1400-09	buttoned up collar	veil		Yes	yes	1	gemstones				
Lady Philippa Ercedekene 2nd wife Sir Hugh Courtenay	c. 1425	straight top of chest	cap		No evidence							
Thomasine Raleigh, wife of John Chichester	c. 1402	round base of neck	veil, wimple and circlet		No evidence							
(Maud Mautravers, 2nd wife Sir John Dinham)	c. 1402	round top of chest	cauled		yes				yes	chain?		
Joanna (right) first wife of John Hawley	c. 1408	square low cut	cauled		No evidence							





Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Alicia (left) second wife of John Hawley	c. 1408	square low cut	cauled		No evidence							
Lady Margery Arundell	c. 1420	folded down collar	structured cauls		No evidence							
Lady Stourton	c. 1403	square top of chest	frilled veil		No evidence							
Elizabeth Harrington	c. 1418	straight top of chest	horned		yes				yes	chain(s) with pendant		
Margaret Pipard, Lady Berkeley	c. 1417	straight low cut	cap/cauled		No evidence							





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	North East	Brass	Agnes Thornton	c.1429-41	download	genealogy.org.uk	http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/sources/brasses/brass7.shtml	
Redmarshall	Stockton	Effigy	Sybil de langton, wife of Thomas de Langton	1440	1409-1426	PW	photo	
Chillingham	Northumberland	Effigy	Wife of Sir Ralph Grey	1443	1451-1478	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Wellingore	Lincolnshire	Effigy	Isabella de Buslingthorpe	c.1430-40	2363-2382	PW	photo	
Hainton	Lincolnshire	Brass	Wife of John Heneage	c.1435	2424-2426	PW	photo	
Haversham	Notts	Effigy	Lady Grushill	c. 1440	2931	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_grushill/	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Ashbourne	Derbyshire	Effigy	Margaret Cockayne	c. 1447	2984	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_cockayne/	
Burghill	Herefordshire	Effigy	Elizabeth Devereux, Wife of Sir John Milbourne	c.1440	986-1005	PW	photo	
Hereford	Herefordshire	Brass	Isabella Delamere	c. 1435	2852	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/isabella_delamere/	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Fladbury	Worcestershire	Brass	Margaret Forest	c. 1445	2993	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_forest/	
Bromsgrove	Worcestershire	Effigy	Eleanor Aylesbury	c. 1450	2822	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/humphrey_stafford/	
Acton	Suffolk	Brass	Alice de Bryan	c. 1435	2529-2537	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Long Melford	Suffolk	Brass	Lady Clopton	c.1420/35	2754	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_clopton/	
Melton	Suffolk	Brass	Lady	c. 1430	2755	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/melton_woman/	
Yoxford	Suffolk	Brass	Lady Norwiche	c. 1428	2759	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/maud_norwich/	
East Harling	Norfolk	Effigy	Wife of Sir Robert Harling	c. 1435	2469-2479	PW	photo	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Hingham	Norfolk	Brass	Isabel de la Pole, wife of Lord Morley	c. 1435	2480-2491	PW	photo	
Blickling	Norfolk	Brass	Roger & Cecilia Felthorpe	c. 1454	2738	Norfolk Churches	http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/blickling/images/dscf1348.jpg	
Norwich	Norfolk	Brass	Robert Baxter & wife	c. 1432	2747 - 2748	Norfolk Churches	http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/norwichgiles/norwichgiles.htm	
Norwich	Norfolk	Brass	Richard Purdance & wife	c. 1436	2749	Norfolk Churches	http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/norwichgiles/norwichgiles.htm	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Ormesby	Norfolk	Brass	Wife of Robert Clere	c. 1440	2750	Norfolk Churches	http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/ormesbymargaret/images/dscf6241.jpg	
Salle	Norfolk	Brass	Geoffrey Boleyn & Wife Alice	c. 1440	2753	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/alice_boleyn/	
Cople	Beds	Brass	Wife of John Launceleyn	c.1435	1605-1609	PW	photo	
Eaton Socon	Cambs	Brass	Civilian & wife	c.1450	1635-1637	PW	photo	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Marston Moretaine	Beds	Brass	Thomas Reynes & wife	c.1451	1639-1646	PW	photo	
Meppershall	Beds	Brass	Wife of John Meptyshale or John Boteler	c.1440	1647-1649	PW	photo	
Elstow	Beds	Brass	Margery Argentine	c.1427	1650-1655	PW	photo	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Hildersham	Cambs	Brass	Margaret, wife of Henry de Paris	c. 1427	2734	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/margaret_paris/	
Enfield	Essex	Brass	Lady Joyce Tiptoft	c. 1446	2899	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joice_tiptoft/	
Salle	Norfolk	Brass	Katherine Roose	c. 1441	2911	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/katherine_roose/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Harlow	Essex	Brass	Lady	c. 1430	2963	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/harlow_woman/	
West Grinstead	Sussex	Brass	Lady Jocosa Halsham	c.1441	180-187	PW	photo	
Great Bookham	Surrey	Brass	Elisabeth Slyfield	1443	298-306	PW	photo	
Lingfield	Surrey	Effigy	Lady Cobham	1446	258-269	PW	photo	



Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Leigh	Surrey	Brass	John Arderne & wife and daughters	1449	370-397	PW	photo	
Preston-next-Faversham	Kent	Brass	Cecily Baret	c.1442	2809	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/cecily_baret/image/5615/original/	
Herne	Kent	Brass	Elizabeth Halle	c. 1430	2833	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elizabeth_halle/	



Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Brabourne	Kent	Brass	Denis Finch	c. 1450	2819	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/denis_finch/	
Beddington	Surrey	Brass	Isabelle Carew	c. 1432	2855	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/isabella_carew/	
Saltwood	Kent	Brass	Joan Brokhill	c.1437	2862	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_brokill/	
Childrey	Berkshire	Brass	Elizabeth Fynderne	c. 1445	2832	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elizabeth_fynderne/	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
London	Middlesex	Brass	Joan Bacon	c. 1437	2860	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_bacon/	
Kingston-upon-Thames	Surrey	Brass	Joan Skerne	c. 1437	2888/2936	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/robert_skerne_wife/	
Sawbridgeworth	Herts	Brass	Lady Leventhorpe	c. 1433	2932	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/unknown_leventhorpe/	
Erith	Kent	Brass	Margery Ailmer	c. 1435	3007			




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Nether Wallop	Hants	Brass	Mary Gore	c. 1436	3015	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/mary_gore/	
Dorchester	Oxon	Brass	Matilda Burghurst	c. 1436	3029	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/matilda_burghurst/	
Canterbury	Kent	Effigy	Joan of Navarre	c. 1437	2882	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_of_navarre/	





Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Ewelme	Oxon	Brass	Matilda Chaucer	c. 1436	3030	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/matilda_chaucer/	
Westminster	London	Effigy	Philippa de Mohun	c. 1431	3055	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/philippa_de_mohun/	
Nunney	Somerset	effigy	Wife of Sir John Poulet	c.1436	737-750	PW	photo	
Dowlish Wake	Somerset	effigy	Joan Keynes, wife of John Speke	c.1442	766-781	PW	photo	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Dunster	Somerset	effigy	Wife of Sir Hugh Luttrell	c.1428	782-798	PW	photo	
North Cadbury	Somerset	effigy	Lady Botreaux,	c. 1431	799-813	PW	photo	
Brympton D'Evercy	Somerset	effigy	Lady	c.1440	818-828	PW	photo	
Chew Magna	Somerset	effigy	Lady St Loe, wife of Sir John	c.1450	829-843	PW	photo	
Iron Acton	Gloucestershire	Effigy	Anne or Katherine, wife of Robert Poyntz	c. 1439	2188-2196	PW	photo	




Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Newland	Gloucestershire	Brass	Joan Greyndour, wife of Sir Robert	c. 1443	2207-2211	PW	photo	
Northleach	Gloucestershire	Brass	Agnes, wife of Thomas Fortey	c. 1447	2236-2238	PW	photo	
Kingskerswell	Devon	Effigy	(Philippa Lovell, 3rd wife Sir John Dinham)	c. 1428	2006-2024	PW	photo	
Horwood	Devon	Effigy	Philippa Pollard	c. 1430	2025-2043	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
St Giles-in-the-Wood	Devon	Brass	Aleonara Pollard	c. 1430	2055-2056	PW	photo	
Bigbury on Sea	Devon	Brass	Joan first wife William de Bykebury	c. 1436	2057-2063	PW	photo	
Bigbury on Sea	Devon	Brass	Elizabeth de Bykebury	c.1436	2064-2068	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Luppitt	Devon	Brass	(Elizabeth, wife of Thomas, Lord Carew)	c.1430-40	2069-2070	PW	photo	
Tintagel	Cornwall	Brass	Joanna Kelly	c.1430	1724-1726	PW	photo	
North Bradley	Wiltshire	Incised slab	Emma, mother of John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury	c. 1446	2682-2688	PW	photo	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Langridge	Wiltshire	Brass	Elizabeth Walsche	c. 1441	2699-2702	PW	photo	
South Petherton	Somerset	Brass	Lady Joan Daubeney	1445	3503-3522	PW	photo	
South Petherton	Somerset	Brass	Lady Alice Daubeney	1445	3523-3526	PW	photo	
Fowey	Cornwall	Brass	Avisie Treffry	c. 1450	2798	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/avisie_treffry/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Fowey	Cornwall	Brass	Elizabeth Treffry	c.1440	2837	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/elizabeth_treffry/	
Thorncombe	Dorset	Brass	Joan Brook	c. 1437	2864	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_brook/	
Quinton	Gloucestershire	Brass	Joan Clopton	c. 1430	2866	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_clopton/	

Location	County	Medium	Name	Date	Images	Copyright	Source	Image
Iminster	Somerset	Brass	Joan Wadham	c. 1440	2890	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_wadham/	
Minehead	Somerset	Brass	Joan	c. 1440	2891	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/joan_unknown/	
Shapwick	Dorset	Brass	Mary Oke	c. 1440	3016	Effigies and Brasses	http://effigiesandbrasses.com/monuments/mary_oke/	

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
Agnes Thornton	c.1429-41	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	yes	fitted	fitted			yes		on collar
Sybil de Langton	1440	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless		fitted	fitted			none visible		
Lady Ralph Grey	1443	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted	fitted/buttoned			yes		small on sleeves
Isabella de Buslingthorpe	c.1430-40	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	fitted	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Lady Heneage	c.1435	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Lady Grushill	c. 1440	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, possible off shoulder, decoration across neck	sleeveless	no	fitted	sun patterns on garment	fitted, buttoned	yes	yes		small on sleeves
Margaret Cockayne	c. 1447	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted, buttoned	yes	yes		small on sleeves
Elizabeth Devereux,	c.1440	fitted	2	fitted		fitted	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Isabella Delamere	c. 1435	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted	no	none visible		
Margaret Forest	c. 1445	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
Eleanor Aylesbury	c. 1450	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted	yes	none visible		
Alice de Bryan	c. 1435	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose		fitted		fitted		none visible		
Lady Clopton	c.1420/35	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves		fitted		fitted		none visible		
Lady	c. 1430	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves, with cuffs						none visible		
Lady Norwiche	c. 1428	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	fitted, fur cuffs	yes	fitted		fitted		yes		collar and to waist
LadyHarling	c. 1435	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted/buttoned	yes	yes		small on sleeves
Isabel de la Pole	c. 1435	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes					none visible		
Cecilia Felthorpe	c. 1454	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Robert Baxter &	c. 1432	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no					none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
wife														
Richard Purdance & wife	c. 1436	fitted	2	fitted		fitted	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Wife of Robert Clere	c. 1440	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no					none visible		
Alice Boleyn	c. 1440	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Wife of John Launceleyn	c.1435	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Lady	c.1450	loose sleeved	2	loose	pleated (buttons down front)	fitted	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Thomas Reynes & wife	c.1451	fitted	2	fitted		fitted/loose	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Wife of John Meptyshale or John Boteler	c.1440	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes					none visible		
Margery Argentine	c.1427	loose sleeved	2	loose	pleated	loose, long and	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
						wide								
Margaret, de Paris	c. 1427	fitted	2	fitted		fitted		fitted		fitted		none visible		
Lady Joyce Tiptoft	c. 1446	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted	no	none visible		
Katherine Roose	c. 1441	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style	bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Lady	c. 1430	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated gown style, flat collar, buttons at top	bag sleeves, large cuffs	yes					none visible		
Lady Jocosa Halsham	c.1441	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no					none visible		
Elisabeth Slyfield	1443	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		yes	small	
Lady Cobham	1446	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted		fitted/buttoned		none visible		
John Arderne & wife	1449	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
Cecily Baret	c.1442	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style	loose bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Elizabeth Halle	c. 1430	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted	yes	none visible		
Denis Finch	c, 1450	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style	loose, medium fur cuffs	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Isabelle Carew	c. 1432	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style, flat collar	bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Joan Brokhill	c.1437	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style, flat collar	bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Elizabeth Fynderne	c. 1445	pleated gown	1	loose	possibly pleated gown style	loose (maybe long and wide)	yes					none visible		
Joan Bacon	c. 1437	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style	bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Joan Skerne	c. 1437	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no					none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
Lady Leventhorpe	c. 1433	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Margery Ailmer	c. 1435	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown style	bag sleeves, small fur cuffs, flat collar	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Mary Gore	c. 1436	loose sleeved	2	loose		loose, long and wide	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Matilda Burghurst	c. 1436	fitted	2	fitted		fitted	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Joan of Navarre	c. 1437	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless, off the shoulder !, round buttons down front to below hip level	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted	yes	yes		large round down front
Matilda Chaucer	c. 1436	fitted	2	fitted		fitted	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Philippa de Mohun	c. 1431	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated gown	loose	yes					none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
					style									
Wife of Sir John Poulet	c.1436	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	yes?					none visible		
Joan Keynes	c.1442	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	yes?	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Wife of Sir Hugh Luttrell	c.1428	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted	yes	none visible		
Lady Botreaux,	c. 1431	Not clear	not clear	not clear								none visible		
Lady	c.1440	Not clear	not clear	not clear								none visible		
Lady St Loe,	c.1450	Not clear	not clear	not clear								none visible		
Anne or Katherine, wife of Robert Poyntz	c. 1439	loose sleeved	1	loose		loose						none visible		
Joan Greyndour	c. 1443	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes							
Agnes Fortey	c. 1447	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, wide, but not	yes	fitted		fitted				

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
						long								
Philippa Lovell,	c. 1428	pleated gown	2?	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, wide, but not long	no	fitted		fitted?		none visible		
Philippa Pollard	c. 1430	pleated gown	1	fitted		fitted						none visible		
Aleonara Pollard	c. 1430	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves						none visible		
Joan de Bykebury	c. 1436	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Elizabeth de Bykebury	c.1436	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Elizabeth, Carew	c.1430-40	Not clear	only part bras s	not clear								none visible		
Joanna Kelly	c.1430	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated, gown-style	loose, bag sleeves	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Emma	c. 1446	loose sleeved	1	loose		loose						none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
Elizabeth Walsche	c. 1441	fitted	2	fitted		fitted	no	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Lady Joan Daubeney	1445	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless	sleeveless	no	fitted		fitted	yes	none visible		
Lady Alice Daubeney	1445	fitted sideless	2	fitted	sideless							none visible		
Avisie Treffry	c. 1450	pleated gown	2	loose	pleated gown style	loose, medium fur cuffs	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Elizabeth Treffry	c.1440	fitted	1	fitted		fitted	no					none visible		
Joan Brook	c. 1437	loose sleeved	1	loose		fitted	no					none visible		
Joan Clopton	c. 1430	loose sleeved	1	loose		fitted	no					none visible		
Joan Wadham	c. 1440	fitted	2	fitted		loose and wide cuffs	yes	fitted		fitted		none visible		
Joan	c. 1440	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated gown style, high collar	bag sleeves with large cuffs	yes					none visible		
Mary Oke	c. 1440	pleated gown	1	loose	pleated gown style,	bag sleeves with	yes					none visible		

Name	Date	Garment	No.	Dress 1	Description	Sleeves	Belt	Dress 2	Description	Sleeves	Belt	buttons	on sleeves	on garment
					high collar	large cuffs								

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Agnes Thornton	c.1429-41	buttoned up collar	veil		no evidence							
Sybil de Langton	1440	round base of neck	horned		yes				yes	chain/choker		
Lady Ralph Grey	1443	low cut cleavage visible	horned		yes	yes	3+?	decorated bands	yes	chain with small pendant		
Isabella de Buslingthorpe	c.1430-40	hidden by wimple	structured cauls	barbe	yes	yes	3+	hoops possibly gemstones (worn)				
Lady Heneage	c.1435	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Lady Grushill	c. 1440	straight low cut	horned		yes	yes	5	plain hoops	yes	collar		
Margaret Cockayne	c. 1447	straight low cut	horned		yes				yes	choker/chain with small pendant		

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Elizabeth Devereux,	c.1440	straight low cut	horned	strange veil shaped into horns	yes				yes	chain with pendant and droplets (find proper term for this)		
Isabella Delamere	c. 1435	round low cut	structured cauls		yes				yes	collar?		
Margaret Forest	c. 1445	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							
Eleanor Aylesbury	c. 1450	straight low cut	horned		yes				yes	chain(s)		
Alice de Bryan	c. 1435	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							
Lady Clopton	c.1420/35	folded down collar	circlet		no evidence							
Lady	c. 1430	buttoned up collar	frilled veil		no evidence							
Lady Norwiche	c. 1428	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
LadyHarling	c. 1435	straight top of chest	frilled veil		no evidence							
Isabel de la Pole	c. 1435	folded down collar	horned		no evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Cecilia Felthorpe	c. 1454	v-neck (fur trimmed?)	structured cauls		no evidence							
Robert Baxter & wife	c. 1432	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		no evidence							
Richard Purdance & wife	c. 1436	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							
Wife of Robert Clere	c. 1440	straight low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls		no evidence							
Alice Boleyn	c. 1440	turned up collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Wife of John Launceleyn	c.1435	folded down collar	veil and wimple		no evidence							
Lady	c.1450	folded down collar	veil		no evidence							
Thomas Reynes & wife	c.1451	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							
Wife of John Meptyshale or John Boteler	c.1440	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Margery Argentine	c.1427	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Margaret, de Paris	c. 1427	straight top of chest	veil		no evidence							
Lady Joyce Tiptoft	c. 1446	round, low cut	horned	coronet	yes	yes	1	gemstone?	yes	large, wide jewelled collar with flower pendant.		
Katherine Roose	c. 1441	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Lady	c. 1430	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Lady Jocosa Halsham	c.1441	straight low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls		no evidence							
Elisabeth Slyfield	1443	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Lady Cobham	1446	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	yes	yes	2	simple hoop and a gemstone				
John Arderne & wife	1449	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Cecily Baret	c.1442	folded down	structured cauls		no evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
		collar										
Elizabeth Halle	c. 1430	straight top of chest	structured cauls		yes				yes	chain with pendant		
Denis Finch	c. 1450	v-neck (fur trimmed?)	loose hair?		no evidence							
Isabelle Carew	c. 1432	turned up collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Joan Brokhill	c. 1437	turned up collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Elizabeth Fynderne	c. 1445	round top of chest	structured cauls		no evidence							
Joan Bacon	c. 1437	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Joan Skerne	c. 1437	straight top of chest	structured cauls		yes				yes	chain and circular sun pendant.		
Lady Leventhorpe	c. 1433	straight top of chest	veil		no evidence							
Margery Ailmer	c. 1435	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Mary Gore	c. 1436	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Matilda Burghurst	c. 1436	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							
Joan of Navarre	c. 1437	straight low cut, cleavage visible	crown		yes				yes	ss collar		
Matilda Chaucer	c. 1436	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							
Philippa de Mohun	c. 1431	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							
Wife of Sir John Poulet	c.1436	square low cut	veil and crown	possibly loose hair	yes				yes	chain/square pendant		
Joan Keynes	c.1442	round low cut, cleavage visible	veil and crown		yes				yes	beads/rosary cross		
Wife of Sir Hugh Luttrell	c.1428	straight low cut	structured cauls		no evidence							
Lady Botreaux,	c. 1431	round top of chest	cauls/cap		yes				yes	beads/double chain?		
Lady	c.1440	round base of neck	structured cauls	structured veil	??						possibly?	
Lady St Loe,	c.1450	straight top of chest	structured cauls		yes				yes	thick chain		
Anne or Katherine,	c. 1439	round base of	veil	worn	no evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
wife of Robert Poyntz		neck										
Joan Greyndour	c. 1443	folded down collar	horned		no evidence							
Agnes Fortey	c. 1447	folded down collar	not visible	no head	no evidence							
Philippa Lovell,	c. 1428	buttoned up collar	cauls/cap		no evidence							
Philippa Pollard	c. 1430	straight top of chest	horned		yes	yes	lots!	various	yes	double chain with pendant		
Aleonara Pollard	c. 1430	folded down collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Joan de Bykebury	c. 1436	straight top of chest	horned		yes				yes	chain with cross		
Elizabeth de Bykebury	c.1436	folded down collar	horned		no evidence							
Elizabeth, Carew	c.1430-40	not visible	not visible	no head	no evidence							
Joanna Kelly	c.1430	turned up collar	structured cauls		no evidence							
Emma	c. 1446	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple		no evidence							

Name	Date	Neckline	headdress	comments	Jewellery	rings	no.	type	necklace	type	brooch	type
Elizabeth Walsche	c. 1441	hidden by wimple	veil and wimple	barbe	no evidence							
Lady Joan Daubeney	1445	round low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls		yes				yes	chain with flower pendant		
Lady Alice Daubeney	1445	round low cut, cleavage visible	structured cauls		yes				yes	chain with flower pendant		
Avisie Treffry	c. 1450	v-neck (fur trimmed?)	horned		no evidence							
Elizabeth Treffry	c.1440	straight top of chest	horned		no evidence							
Joan Brook	c. 1437	hidden by wimple	structured cauls		yes				yes	collar? Or chain with pendant		
Joan Clopton	c. 1430	hidden by wimple	veil		no evidence							
Joan Wadham	c. 1440	v-neck	veil		no evidence							
Joan	c. 1440	turned up collar	horned		no evidence							
Mary Oke	c. 1440		veil		no evidence							

