

Saint Christopher Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches

c.1250-c.1500

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ABSTRACT

Saint Christopher Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches, c.1250-c.1500

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This thesis is a comprehensive reassessment of the role of Saint Christopher wall paintings in English (and Welsh) churches. Although the study focuses primarily on parish churches (where the majority of mural paintings survive), it also considers cathedrals, abbeys and other medieval buildings where such imagery is extant or documented. Welsh churches are also examined where appropriate, though there are only a few surviving Saint Christopher images in this geographical area. The investigation spans the period from the emergence of Saint Christopher representations in illumination (c.1250), to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when wall painting depictions of the saint were at their zenith (c.1500 for sake of convenience).

The thesis begins with an examination and assessment of universal image function and reception in medieval church and society. This is a central issue to the study of churches, and it is therefore necessary to dedicate a whole chapter to the subject. Through the examination of individual paintings and documents relating to specific churches, the thesis then goes on to focus on three main themes related to Saint Christopher and his cult. First, it considers the role of Saint Christopher wall paintings (and other types of images where appropriate), secondly, the location of Saint Christopher murals within church buildings, and thirdly, the different methods of patronage associated with the wall paintings. The survey also establishes a long-overdue and revised chronology of the entire corpus of Saint Christopher wall paintings based on an examination of architectural, documentary and visual evidence, and on comparisons with other types of media from England and the Continent (such as sculpture, illumination and woodcuts). Most murals can be dated to within the nearest quarter or third of a century (and to the nearest century if the date of execution is uncertain).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archives, Libraries and Museums

BL: British Library, London

BLO: Bodleian Library, Oxford

BM: British Museum, London

CL: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London

CCC: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

CMVA: Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (Corpus of Medieval Window Glass) Archive
(online)

CRO: Cornwall Record Office, Truro

DMW: Devizes Museum, Wiltshire

GRO: Gloucestershire Record Office, Gloucester

JRL: John Rylands Library, Manchester

LPL: Lambeth Palace Library, London

MCC: Magdalene College, Cambridge

NA: National Archives, London

NRO: Norfolk Record Office, Norwich

PRO: Public Record Office (Author)

PML: Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

SOA: Society of Antiquaries, London

V &A: Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Secondary Works

Keyser (A): Keyser, C.E., *List of Buildings having Mural Decorations*, London 1883.

Keyser (B): Keyser, C.E., 'Saint Christopher as Portrayed in England during the Middle Ages', *The Antiquary*, 2nd Series, Vol. 77, 1883, 193-200.

Newman 1969 (A): Newman, J., *North-East and East Kent*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1969.

Newman 1969 (B): Newman, J., *West Kent and the Weald*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1969.

Pevsner 1962 (A): Pevsner, N., *North-East Norfolk and Norwich*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1962.

Pevsner 1962 (B): Pevsner, N., *North-West and South Norfolk*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1962.

Pevsner 1970 (A): Pevsner, N., *Cambridgeshire*, 2nd Edition, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1970.

Pevsner 1970 (B): Pevsner, N., Radcliffe, E., *Cornwall*, Revised Edition, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1970.

Series and Organisations

BHG: Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca

BHL: Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis

BAA: British Archaeological Association

BAR: British Archaeological Report

EETS: Early English Text Society

RCHME: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England

VCH: Victoria County History

SAINT CHRISTOPHER (EXTRACT FROM THE *GOLDEN LEGEND*)

Granger Ryan, W., ed. and transl., Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, Vol. 2, Princeton 1993.

100. Saint Christopher

Before Christopher was baptized, he was called Reprobus, meaning outcast, but afterwards he was called Christophoros, the Christ-bearer. He bore Christ in four ways, namely, on his shoulders when he carried him across the river, in his body by mortification, in his mind by devotion, and in his mouth by confessing Christ and preaching him.

Christopher was a Canaanite by birth, a man of prodigious size—he was twelve feet tall—and fearsome of visage. According to some accounts of his life it happened one day, when he was in the presence of a certain Canaanite king, that the idea came to him of going in quest of the greatest prince in the world and staying with him. He came to a mighty king who was regarded generally as the world's greatest ruler. When this king saw Christopher, he received him gladly and made him a member of his court.

Then one day the court jester sang some ditty before the king, in which frequent mention was made of the devil. The king was a Christian and made the sign of the cross on his forehead when he heard the devil spoken of. Christopher noticed this, and wondered why the king did it and what the sign meant. He asked the king about it and, when the ruler did not answer, said to him: "Unless you answer my question I will not stay with you any longer!" The king, thus pressed, told him: "Whenever I hear the devil mentioned, I defend myself with this sign, for fear the devil might get some power over me and do me harm!" Christopher: "If you're afraid of being harmed by the devil, this proves that he is greater and more powerful than you are, or you wouldn't be afraid of him. Therefore I am frustrated in my hope that I had found the greatest and most powerful lord in the world. So now farewell! I'll go and look for the devil, accept him as my master, and become his servant!"

Christopher left that king and went in search of the devil. He was going through a desert when he saw a great host of soldiers, and one of them, fiercer and more terrible than the rest, came to him and asked where he was going. Christopher answered: "I'm looking for the lord devil! I want to take him as my master." The other said to him: "I'm the one you're looking for!" Christopher was happy to hear this and pledged himself to serve him forever, acknowledging him as his lord and master.

They marched along the highway until they came to a cross erected at roadside. When the devil saw it, he was terror-stricken, left the road, and led Christopher over a wild and desolate tract before returning to the road. Christopher was surprised at this, and asked the devil what made him so afraid that he left the highroad and took another way through a rough wilderness. The devil refused to state his reason, and Christopher said: "Unless you tell me what this is about, I shall leave you immediately!" The demon, no longer able to evade the question, said: "There was a man named Christ who was nailed to a cross, and when I see the sign of his cross, I am filled with terror and run away!" Christopher: "Well, then, this Christ, whose sign you dread so much, is greater and more powerful than you are! Therefore I have labored in vain and have not yet found the greatest prince in the world! So good-bye to you! I'm leaving you and going in search of Christ!"

He looked long and far for someone who could give him word of Christ. Finally he came upon a hermit who preached Christ to him and instructed him

diligently in the Christian faith. He said to Christopher: "This king whom you wish to serve requires that you do his will in many ways. For instance, you will have to fast frequently." Christopher: "Let him require some other form of obedience! That one I just can't do!" Again the hermit: "You will also have to offer him many prayers." Christopher: "I don't even know what that means, so I can't perform that kind of service!" The hermit then asked him: "Do you know the famous river, where many people, trying to get across, go under and perish?" "Yes I do!" said Christopher. The hermit: "You're big enough and strong enough! Go dwell by the river, and if you help those who wish to cross it, that will greatly please Christ the king whom you wish to serve, and I hope he might show himself to you there!" Christopher: "Good! That kind of service I can give, and I promise to serve him that way!"

He went to the river and built himself a shelter to live in. Instead of a staff he used a long pole to steady himself in the water, and carried across all those who wished to go. Many days later he was resting in his shelter when he heard a child's voice calling him: "Christopher, come out and carry me across!" He jumped to his feet and went out, but found no one. He went indoors and again heard the same voice calling him, but ran out and again saw no one. The third time he responded to the same call and found a child standing on the riverbank. The child begged him to carry him across the river, and Christopher lifted him to his shoulders, grasped his great staff, and strode into the water. But little by little the water grew rougher and the child became as heavy as lead: the farther he went, the higher rose the waves, and the weight of the child pressed down upon his shoulders so crushingly that he was in dire distress. He feared that he was about to founder, but at last he reached the other bank.

Setting the child down he said to him: "My boy, you put me in great danger, and you weighed so much that if I had had the whole world on my back I could not have felt it a heavier burden!" The child answered him: "Don't be surprised, Christopher! You were not only carrying the whole world, you had him who created the world upon your shoulders! I am Christ your king, to whom you render service by doing the work you do here. And if you want proof that what I am saying is true, when you get back to your little house, plant your staff in the earth, and tomorrow you will find it in leaf and bearing fruit!" With that the child vanished. Christopher crossed over and thrust his staff into the earth near his shelter. The next morning he rose and found the staff bearing leaves and fruit like a palm tree.

After that, Christopher went to Samos, a city in Lycia. He did not understand the language spoken there, and prayed the Lord to make him able to understand it. As he prayed, the judges thought he was insane and left him alone; but when the favor he had prayed for was granted, he covered his face and went to the place where Christians were being tortured and executed, to speak to them and give them courage in the Lord. One of the judges struck him in the face, and Christopher, uncovering his face, said: "If I were not a Christian, I would

quickly have revenge for this insult!" Then he planted his staff in the earth and prayed the Lord that it might burst into leaf and thus help to convert the people. Leaves sprouted instantly, and eight thousand men believed and became Christians.

The king now sent two hundred soldiers to bring Christopher to him, but they found him at prayer and were afraid to tell him why they had come. The king sent as many more, but they, when they found him praying, prayed with him. Christopher rose and said to them: "For whom are you looking?" Seeing his face, they said: "The king sent us to bring you to him in bonds!" Christopher: "If I did not wish to go, you could not take me, bound or not!" They said: "Well, then, if you don't want to come, take your leave and go wherever you wish, and we'll tell the king that we could not find you anywhere." "Not so!" he replied, "I will go with you!"

So Christopher converted the soldiers to the faith, and had them tie his hands behind his back and present him, thus bound, to the king. The sight of him terrified the king, who fell from his seat. His servitors raised him, and he asked Christopher his name and country of origin. Christopher replied: "Before baptism I was called Reprobus but now am called Christopher." The king: "You have taken a foolish name, calling yourself after Christ, who was crucified and could do nothing to save himself, and now can do nothing for you! Now, then, you trouble-making Canaanite, why do you not sacrifice to our gods?" Christopher: "You are rightly called Dagnus, because you are the death of the world and the devil's partner, and your gods are the work of men's hands!" The king: "You were brought up among wild beasts, and you can do only the works of savages and talk only of things unknown to men! Now, however, if you are ready to sacrifice, I will bestow great honors upon you. If not, you will be tortured to death!" Christopher refused to sacrifice, and the king put him in jail. As for the soldiers whom he had sent after Christopher, he had them beheaded for the name of Christ.

Now the king had two shapely young women, one named Nicaea and the other Aquilina, put into the cell with Christopher, promising them large rewards if they succeeded in seducing him. Christopher quickly saw through the stratagem and knelt to pray. When the women tried to arouse him by stroking him and putting their arms around him, he stood up and said to them: "What are you trying to do and for what reason were you sent in here?" The two were frightened by the radiance of his face and said: "Saint of God, pity us! Make us able to believe in the God whom you preach!"

Word of this reached the king, who had the women brought to him, and said: "So you too have been seduced! I swear by the gods that unless you sacrifice to the gods, you will die an awful death!" They answered: "If your will is that we offer sacrifice, have the streets cleared and order all the people into the temple!" This done, they went into the temple, loosened their girdles, and threw them around the necks of the idols, pulling them to the ground and reducing them to

dust. Then they said to the assistants: "Call your doctors and let them heal your gods!"

By order of the king, Aquilina was then hung up by the wrists and a huge stone was tied to her feet, thus breaking all her limbs. When she had breathed her last in the Lord, her sister Nicaea was thrown into the fire, but when she emerged unscathed, she was beheaded at once.

Christopher was then brought before the king, who ordered him to be beaten with iron rods, and to have an iron helmet, heated in the fire, placed on his head. Then he had an iron chair made. The saint was bound into it, then a fire was lighted underneath and pitch thrown on the flames. But the chair crumbled like wax, and Christopher came away from it unharmed. Then the king had him lashed to a pillar and ordered four hundred bowmen to shoot arrows at him, but the arrows hung in midair and not a single one of them could touch him. But when the king, thinking that he had been mortally wounded, came to mock him, suddenly one of the arrows came through the air, turned back, and struck the tyrant in the eye, blinding him. Christopher said to him: "Tyrant, I will be dead by tomorrow. Then make a paste with my blood and rub it on your eyes, and you will recover your sight!"

By the king's order the saint was led away to the place of execution, where after praying he was beheaded. The king took a little of his blood and rubbed it on his eyes, saying: "In the name of God and Saint Christopher," and his sight was restored immediately. Then he was baptized and issued a decree that whoever blasphemed against God or Saint Christopher was to be beheaded at once.

Ambrose in his Preface says of this martyr: "O Lord, you granted such a wealth of virtue and such grace of teaching to Christopher that by his gleaming miracles he recalled forty-eight thousand men from the error of paganism to the cult of Christian dogma. Nicaea and Aquilina had been engaged in prostitution in a public brothel, but he won them over to the practice of chastity and schooled them to receive the crown of martyrdom. For this he was strapped into an iron chair in the middle of a blazing fire but feared no harm from the heat. For a whole day the storm of arrows shot by the soldiers could not pierce him; yet one arrow struck the executioner in the eye, and the blessed martyr's blood mixed with earth restored his sight and by removing the body's blindness also illumined his mind; for the saint besought your forgiveness and by his supplications obtained the cure of diseases and infirmities."

INTRODUCTION

Part One: Historiography of Medieval Wall Painting

The English (and Welsh) parish church is still an under-researched area of study, despite rich survivals from the late medieval period.¹ Modern academics have tended to focus upon the larger churches and cathedrals for which documentary evidence is often more readily available. Some (including Duffy) have drawn illustrative examples from specific and arguably unrepresentative geographical areas such as East Anglia.² Others have examined artistically superior and lavish images such as the wall paintings at Brent Eleigh and the Thornham Parva retable (Suffolk), thus implying that they are representative of the medieval church image as a whole.³ Yet it should be considered that the majority of buildings in medieval England did not attract such extravagant patronage. Although many of the smaller, rural edifices were impressive and had major additions in the later medieval period, the wall painting did not generally achieve the high artistic standards of the more illustrious schemes. Binski dismisses their style as ‘haphazard and average in quality’, but has to concede that they are interesting from the point of view of function and perception.⁴ Yet they are also remarkable from an iconographical perspective. The Saint Christopher painting at Impington (Cambridgeshire), for example, is relatively simple and unsophisticated in style, but is significant because it is one of the first surviving murals dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth century in which the hermit is visible (Plate 15). It was to these churches that the majority of the population of medieval England was attached, and thus it is to these buildings and their artwork we

¹ Some of the more up-to-date literature includes: Duffy, E., *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, 2nd Edition, New Haven and London 2005; Kamerick, K., *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350-1500*, Basingstoke 2002; Gibson, G.M., *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages*, London and Chicago 1989; Marks, R., *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, Stroud 2004.

² Duffy 2005.

³ For example:

Binski, P., ‘The English Parish Church and its Art in the Later Middle Ages’, *Studies in Iconography*, Vol. 20, 1999, 1-25, 14-16; Park, D., ‘Wall Painting’, in *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, Alexander, J., Binski, P., eds., London 1987, 125-130, Figure 97; Binski, P., Norton, C., Park, D., *Dominican Painting in East Anglia: Thornham Parva Retable and the Musée De Cluny Frontal*, Woodbridge 1987, Plate 1.

⁴ Binski, P., ‘The Murals in the Nave of Saint Alban’s Abbey’, *Church and City, 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, Abulafia, D., Franklin, M., Rubin, M., eds., Cambridge 1992, 249-278, 250-252.

must turn if we are to create an impression of the function and role of medieval imagery.

An integrated and holistic approach to the study of church imagery is necessary if we are to learn more about the function of both individual images and the church as a whole.⁵ The segregated, media-based approach to the study of images applied by academics such as Tristram and Caiger-Smith is invaluable when attempting to locate churches with murals. However, such authors do not recognise that wall painting would not have been the most prominent source of imagery in the parish church.⁶ Rather, it was generally deployed as a complement to three-dimensional figures that were often considered to be more focal and significant than the two-dimensional painting.⁷ Different media could work together when created simultaneously. At Saint Peter's church in Chester, for example, a niche that almost certainly contained a statue of the Virgin and Child is surrounded by the contemporary remains of an elaborate Netherlandish-style painting depicting the Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds (late fifteenth / early sixteenth century).⁸ It was also common for different media from different periods to collaborate. In the porch at Breamore (Wiltshire), for example, the carved, wooden Anglo-Saxon rood is surrounded by an early sixteenth-century wall painting scheme, which includes a landscape with palm trees, the suicide of Judas, and the IHS monogram.⁹ It is clear that church imagery worked together, creating a complex iconographic whole in which different media might create a comprehensive 'scheme'.

It is necessary to examine all types of church imagery in order to create a characteristic depiction and explanation of location patterns. Researchers have tended to adopt a very general approach to the study of churches, drawing sweeping conclusions about the nature of the buildings from the study of just a handful of edifices. As will be demonstrated throughout the course of this study, however, each

⁵ Binski 1999, 2.

⁶ Tristram, E.W., *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century*, London 1955; Caiger-Smith, A., *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, Oxford 1963.

⁷ Aston, M., *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion*, London 1984, 146; Marks 2004, 18.

⁸ Gill, M., *Late Medieval Wall Painting in England: Context and Content, c.1330-c.1530*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Courtauld Institute 2002, 200.

⁹ Gill 2002, 200; Light, A., Ponting, G., *Breamore: A Short History and Guide*, London 1994, 7; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/breamcru.htm

church was an individual product with its own distinct history, and every building should be treated and examined as an individual case study.¹⁰

Problems Associated with the Interpretation of Medieval Wall Painting

The principal obstacle to working with images dating from c.1250 to c.1500 is that a very small proportion of those that originally adorned the church are actually still in existence today. Survival has been hampered not only by sixteenth / seventeenth-century religious changes (the destruction and over-painting with whitewash and texts by reformers), but also by constant remodelling of churches that continues to this day.¹¹ It is therefore difficult to reconstruct exactly how a particular building might have appeared in the medieval period. A handful of churches (Pickworth [Lincolnshire], for example) have almost a complete set of nave wall paintings.¹² Yet these edifices have lost their glass, sculpture and other image types, making it impossible to ascertain precisely how the various media would have related to and interacted with one another. Most murals that do survive are in a fragmentary and damaged state, and many more have been subjected to inaccurate restoration, or even pigment changes. However, working with wall painting does have advantages. There is a far greater number of surviving murals than there are extant images in stained-glass windows or sculpture, largely because wall paintings were usually ‘destroyed’ with whitewash, a reversible process. They continue to be discovered behind peeling paintwork, and many are currently being uncovered (the lower section of a Doom painting at Saint Lawrence’s church in Ipswich, for instance), adding to our knowledge of the subject.¹³ Murals are also advantageous in the sense that they

¹⁰ For studies in favour of this approach see: Lentjes, T., ‘“As Far as the Eye can See...”: Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages’, in Hamburger, J.F., Bouche, A., eds., *In the Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 2006, 360-373, 365. For examples of works which take into account specific buildings or counties see: Sumpter, G., *Lady Chapels and the Manifestation of Devotion to Our Lady in Medieval England*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leicester 2008; Clark, J., *Fourteenth Century Decorated Work in Leicestershire Churches*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leicester 2008.

¹¹ Aston, M., *England’s Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images*, Vol. 1, Oxford 1988, 258-259; Phillips, J., *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660*, Berkeley and London 1973, 129.

¹² Clive Rouse, E., ‘Wall Paintings in St. Andrew’s Church, Pickworth, Lincolnshire’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd Series, Vol. 3, 1950, 24-33, 31, Figure 1.

¹³ I am grateful to Julia Park (Conservator) for drawing my attention to the existence of this wall painting (now whitewashed over again for conservation reasons).

cannot easily be repositioned (unlike glass or sculpture), and are therefore generally located in their original position within the church building.¹⁴

The Function and Use of Medieval Images

Image function is an important phenomenon which has been examined and discussed by numerous researchers over the last century, and it is therefore necessary to devote a whole chapter to this issue. The academic study has largely focused on the question of whether images were mnemonic and / or didactic in role.¹⁵ This thesis will attempt to redefine these terms and their relevance to the function of pictorial depictions within the church environment. It will be demonstrated that although all images are inherently mnemonic in the sense that they recall what is already in the mind (and hence remind supplicants of meaning, significance and required actions), they cannot function as a didactic tool when employed independently. Images are meaningless unless an individual (or group) has a teacher or preacher who can explain their significance and connotation, or unless an individual has prior knowledge, or is educated in the field of image interpretation. Academics have also tended to adopt a general approach to image function, drawing conclusions from all types of visual depictions from the whole of Western Europe.¹⁶ Although all images were inherently mnemonic in function, it is clear that each category of image functioned in a subtly or fundamentally different manner. The Crucifix, for instance, might provide cleansing, forgiveness, intercession and protection, whereas saints acted as intercessors between the supplicant and God, as helpers and protectors, and as individuals to be imitated and emulated. Images were also believed to function after death, the saints they

¹⁴ Park, D., 'The Wall Paintings in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral*, BAA Conference Transactions, Vol. 6, 1983, Leeds 1983, 38-62, 38, 42. An exception to this are the thirteenth-century wall paintings depicting scenes from the Passion of Christ, which were removed from the east end of the Holy Sepulchre Chapel in Winchester Cathedral using the *strappo* method of conservation. This was done so that the high-quality twelfth-century mural of the Deposition and Entombment (with the Three Maries at the Sepulchre and the Harrowing of Hell) could be revealed. The later wall painting was transferred to an artificial wall constructed at the west end of the chapel.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the mnemonic and didactic roles of medieval imagery see: Yates, F.A., *The Art of Memory*, London 1966; Duggan, L.G., 'Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?', *Word and Image*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1989, 227-251; Chazelle, C.M., 'Memory, Instruction, Worship: "Gregory's" Influence on Early Medieval Doctrines of the Artistic Image', in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, Cavadini, J.C., ed., Notre Dame Studies in Theology, Vol. 2, Notre Dame and London, 1995, 181-215.

¹⁶ For example: Camille, M., *Gothic Art: Visions and Revelations of the Medieval World*, London 1996.

embodied continuing to intercede on one's behalf whilst in purgatory, a factor which has sometimes been neglected by academics assessing the role of medieval artwork.¹⁷

Some researchers have tended to draw upon evidence from theological or Church-prescribed sources when examining image function, including the letters of Gregory the Great, Church liturgy, and the works of Thomas Aquinas and Saint Bonaventure.¹⁸ Certainly, parish images were derived (both thematically and stylistically) from texts such as the Bible and the *Golden Legend* (see below) as well as from illumination.¹⁹ Yet Aston makes it clear that although most parishioners had a basic level of theological knowledge, edification was by no means complete or thorough, and most of the laity would not have been aware of the complicated theories forwarded by the higher echelons of the Church hierarchy.²⁰ This study seeks to draw attention away from this sphere, and to focus on how supplicants interacted with images at parish level. This approach has involved analysing sources which relate directly to individual churches, including wills, churchwardens' accounts, Mirk's *Festial*, Pecock's *Repressor*, and the images themselves.²¹ The examination of such sources reveals that there was also a more 'popular' or 'grassroots' religion, with beliefs in image function and practices far removed from complex theological theories and Church regulations.

¹⁷ Authors who neglect the role of images *post-obit* include: Camille 1996; Yates 1966. Works which do take this function into account include: Bertram, J., "'Orate Pro Anima": Some Aspects of Medieval Devotion Illustrated on Brasses, *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 13, 1983, 321-342; Badham, S., 'Status and Salvation: The Design of Medieval English Brasses and Incised Slabs', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, Vol. 15, Part 5, 1996, 413-465; Goodall, J., *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth Century Almshouse*, Aldershot 2001.

¹⁸ For example: Camille 1996.

¹⁹ Granger Ryan, W., ed. and transl., Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, Vols. 1 and 2, Princeton 1993.

²⁰ Aston 1984, 109.

²¹ Erbe, T., ed., *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies*, EETS, Extra Series, Vol. 96, London 1905; Babington, C., ed., Pecock, *The Repressor over much Blaming of the Clergy*, Vols. 1 and 2, Rolls Series, Vol. 19, London 1860.

Part Two: Saint Christopher

1) The Greek and Latin Textual Traditions

The earliest evidence for the cult of Saint Christopher is an incised inscription in the ruins of a (lost) church near Chalcedon in Asia Minor (a suburb of present-day Istanbul).²² The geographical location of this stone suggests that the Saint Christopher legend originated in the Byzantine Empire. The inscription (in Greek) relates to the foundation (450AD) and consecration of a church dedicated to the saint:

With God were placed down the foundations of the witness of Saint Christopher during the “indiction” in the month of May after the consulate of Protogenes and Astourias, the most illustrious men at the time of King Theodosios and of Eulalios the guardian of Chalcedon. It was founded by the solemn countenance of the servant of the bed chamber Euphemius, and the dedication happened in the “indiction” in the [...] month of September...the consulate of Sporicios and Hercoulanos, most illustrious men.²³

Legends recounting the life of Saint Christopher are found in Byzantine (Greek) and western (Latin) traditions.²⁴ Most extant manuscripts date from the ninth, tenth or eleventh centuries, but it is probable that earlier versions were in circulation.²⁵ Greek manuscripts include a ninth century text (*BHG* 308w), the eleventh-century *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori* (*BHG* 309), and the *Sancti Christophori Martyris Acta Græca Antiqua* (*BHG* 310).²⁶ Latin versions include the *Passio Sancti Christophori*

²² Rushforth, G.M., *Medieval Christian Imagery*, Oxford 1936, 222. The Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon took place in 451AD.

²³ Duchesne, I., ‘Inscription Chrietienne de Dithynie’, *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique*, Vol. 2, 1878, 289-299, 289. Thanks to Dr Tim Saunders for helping with this translation from the original Greek.

²⁴ Rushforth 1936, 222.

²⁵ For a comprehensive and up-to-date discussion on Saint Christopher texts and sources see: Leinbaugh, T.H., ‘St Christopher and the *Old English Martyrology*: Latin Sources and the Phrase “hwæs gneaeðs”’, *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 230, 1985, 434-437.

²⁶ *BHG* 1957, 108-109; Usener, H., ed., *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori*, Bonn 1886; Anon, ed., ‘Sancti Christophori Martyris Acta Græca Antiqua’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. 1, 1882, 121-148. The Latin titles are used here as the editor has translated the text from the original Greek into Latin.

Martyris (BHL 1764) (eleventh century), and the *Vita et Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* verse (983AD) compiled by Walther von Speyer.²⁷

The Greek and Latin textual traditions are closely linked in terms of narrative content, but there are also a number of significant differences. The accounts do not reveal the precise identity of Saint Christopher, but his name is given as Reprebus (a derivation of Reprobus, meaning ‘wicked’ or ‘false’).²⁸ It is not until after his baptism in the legend that the name Christopher is bestowed: ‘Christophorus, Christum induens’ (‘that is Christ bearer’) in Latin texts, and ‘ἅγιος χριστόφορος’ (‘Saint Christopher’) in the Greek tradition.²⁹ It is this title that eventually instigates the river-crossing scene, evident in textual tradition from the twelfth century. The Greek and Latin sources both tell how Reprebus was captured in battle by Roman soldiers, and was forced to serve in a military unit called ‘numero armarianorum’ (Latin).³⁰ This is clearly a reference to the campaign of Emperor Decius against the North African tribe from Marmarica (part of modern-day Libya), and is thus an actual historical event.³¹ Yet not all features of the narrative are quite so factually accurate. According to the Greek tradition, events began in the: ‘fourth year of the Emperor Decius’.³² Decius ruled between 249AD and 251AD, but the climax of the Saint Christopher account takes place in Antioch (Syria), which was not conquered until 303AD by Emperor Diocletian (284AD to 305AD) (not Decius).³³

Saint Christopher appears to have been a member the Marmaritae tribe. According to both Greek and Latin traditions, he hailed from a land of cannibals and dog-headed men. He is described as having a terrible countenance, towering over most men, and

²⁷ BHL 1898, 266. Anon, ed., ‘Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. 10, 1891, 393-405. This manuscript dates from the eleventh century, but earlier versions were in circulation in the eighth and ninth centuries. Harster, W., *Wualtheri Spirensis: Vita et Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris*, Munich 1878; Richter, K., *Der Deutsche S. Christoph: Eine Historisch-Kritische Untersuchung*, Acta Germanica, Vol. 5, 1896, 3. Walther von Speyer (963AD to 1027AD) was subdeacon of Speyer (modern-day Germany). For a full list of Saint Christopher lives in Latin see: BHL 1898, 266-267; Mussafia, A., ‘Zur Christophlegende’, *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vol. 129, 1893, 1-3; Leinbaugh 1985, 434; Walter, C., *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Farnham 2003, 214.

²⁸ *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 122; *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 396.

²⁹ *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 397; *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 129.

³⁰ *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 122-123; *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 395.

³¹ Scarre, C., *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors*, London 1995, 168-171.

³² *Sancti Christophori Martyris Acta Græca Antiqua* 1882, 122.

³³ Barnes, T.D., *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge MA 1982, 4, 55.

being unable to speak ‘our language’ (‘nostrae linguae sermonem’).³⁴ Greek texts interpret his dog-headed appearance literally, and use the term ‘dog-headed’ (kunokephalos).³⁵ This explains why Saint Christopher is often depicted with the head of a dog in Byzantine iconography (for instance the pre-733AD terracotta cynocephalus from Vinica [present-day Macedonia]).³⁶ In contrast, the Latin tradition developed along less literal lines, and Saint Christopher’s visage is described as dog-like: ‘qui habebat terribilem visionem et quasi canino capite’.³⁷

The two textual traditions recall how Reprebus prayed to God to help him speak, and how he was granted the power. He was thus enlightened, awakened to the horrors of the world, and converted countless non-believers to Christianity.³⁸ Reprebus’ conduct eventually came to the attention of Emperor Decius, who sent soldiers out to capture him. Meanwhile, Reprebus came across a church and asked God to make a stick (in later legends a staff or pole) grow leaves as a sign that God had truly called him to perform his work. The miracle occurred, and when Decius’ soldiers finally arrived, Reprebus persuaded them to embrace Christianity. He and the soldiers were all baptised, in the Greek versions by Bishop Babylas of Antioch, and in the Latin tradition by Peter, priest of the church.³⁹ Decius was enraged, and tortured Reprebus (now Christopher), threw him in prison, and summoned two prostitutes (Aquilina and Gallenice) to seduce him. Christopher converted the women instead, and Decius was so enraged that he tortured and killed the prostitutes (after Aquilina had smashed the idols of Jupiter and Apollo in the Temple).⁴⁰ Decius tried to incinerate Christopher, but the city (Antioch) caught fire, the earth shook, and countless inhabitants converted to Christianity (only to be killed by Decius). Christopher was tortured once more, saved from immediate death by the intervention of Christ, but finally beheaded.⁴¹

³⁴ *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 123-124; *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 395.

³⁵ *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 123.

³⁶ Walter 2003, 215 (Plate 24). Saint Christopher is dressed in a tunic, and paired with the warrior Saint George. Both hold up a shield and cross between them, and both spear a serpent with a human head. The inscription reads: ‘XPOFOFUS’, a mixture of Latin and Greek.

³⁷ *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 395.

³⁸ *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 123-124; *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 395.

³⁹ *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 125-129; *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 395-398.

⁴⁰ *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 130-138; *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 398-401.

⁴¹ *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 138-147; *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 401-405.

The texts disagree on the dates of Saint Christopher’s martyrdom. According to the *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori* (BHG 309), Saint Christopher was beheaded on 9th May. However, the *Acta Graeca Antiqua* (BHG 310) states that he was martyred on 9th July. The Latin text (BHL 1764) dates his death to 10th July.

Bishop Athansius heard of these events, and travelled to Antioch to fetch Saint Christopher's corpse and take it to his own city. He constructed a basilica for the body at the source of the river, and from that day forth the water flowed down the opposite side of the mountain, and the city was saved from flooding.⁴² This final event is significant because it forms the basis of the river-crossing episode in textual tradition from the twelfth century (see below).

2) Old English Textual Traditions

Vernacular accounts of Saint Christopher's life appear in England from the ninth century (and probably before).⁴³ The earliest surviving account is found in the *Old English Martyrology*, a list of hagiographies dating from the second half of the ninth century.⁴⁴ This version is essentially a shortened adaptation of the Latin account, although there are also some noteworthy connections with the Greek tradition. Similarities include Christopher's inability to speak until God grants him the power, and the (literally) dog-headed nature of his race: 'He hæfde hundes hafod, ond his loccas wæron ofer gemet side, ond his Eagan scinon swa leohte swa morgensteorra, ond tis teð wæren scearpe swa eofores tuxas'.⁴⁵ However, Christopher is now from Samos (modern-day Greece), and is called 'Cristofores' from the outset of the narrative (not Reprebus).⁴⁶ There is no description of his martyrdom, but in the closing scene his body is taken by Bishop Peter (not Athansius) to his town to protect it from flooding.⁴⁷

⁴² *Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1882, 148; *Passio Sancti Christophori Martyris* 1891, 405.

⁴³ Herzfeld, G., ed., *An Old English Martyrology*, EETS, Original Series, Vol. 116, London 1900, 22; Leinbaugh 1985, 434.

⁴⁴ *Old English Martyrology* 1900, vii; Fraser, J., 'The Passion of St. Christopher', *Revue Celtique*, Vol. 34, 1913, 307-325.

⁴⁵ *Old English Martyrology* 1900, 67. He had the head of a dog, his locks were exceedingly thick, his eyes shone as brightly as the morning-star, and his teeth were as sharp as a boar's tusk. Thanks to Myra Stokes for helping with this translation. For a discussion of the relationship of the *Old English Martyrology* to Latin and Greek texts see: Leinbaugh 1985, 434-437.

⁴⁶ *Old English Martyrology* 1900, 67. According to this tradition, Saint Christopher, who shares his feast with Saint Vitalis, was martyred on 29th April.

⁴⁷ *Old English Martyrology* 1900, 68.

A second Old English Saint Christopher legend forms part of MS Cotton Vitellius A xv, and is one of three texts that precede the *Beowulf* epic.⁴⁸ It is related to the *Old English Martyrology* in terms of events, though the dialect dates from the West-Saxon post-Alfredian period (after 900).⁴⁹ It is a fragment, and begins (mid-sentence) with a detailed description of the torture of Saint Christopher, this time by King Dagnus (probably a derivation of Decius):

...forus he het þær to gebindan & he het beneoðan / him þ
unmætoste fyr onælain & myt ty þe þæs fyre[s] lig on
þære mæstan hæto wæs he þær ofer / het geotan tyn orcas
fulle eles þ he wolde / þ þæs fyres hæto þe reðre wære &
þe ablæstre / on þone halgan man.⁵⁰

Dagnus subsequently attempts to kill Christopher with arrows, but one rebounds into the king's eye and blinds him.⁵¹ His sight is only restored when *he* converts to Christianity (a new theme). Saint Christopher appears to die a natural death (no martyrdom is described), and there is also no account of the posthumous removal of his body.⁵²

3) The Later Legends

In the twelfth century, a south German verse gives the narrative of Saint Christopher a new, 'chivalric', and rather more attractive quality.⁵³ The text is almost certainly a source for the *Golden Legend*, a 'popularised' collection of saints' lives composed and collected by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (c.1260) (See Page v).⁵⁴ There are a number of similarities between the *Golden Legend* and the earlier traditions

⁴⁸ BL. MS Cotton Vitellius A xv, folio 91(93)r to 95 (97)r. Rypins, S., ed., *Three Old English Prose Texts*, EETS, Vol. 161, 1924.

⁴⁹ *Three Old English Prose Texts* 1924, xlix

⁵⁰ *Three Old English Prose Texts* 1924, 69. ...he ordered to be bound there, and he ordered beneath him the greatest fire to be kindled and powerful was the flame of the fire (?), and he was there over the hottest part of it. He ordered ten dishes full of oil to be poured, for he wanted the heat of the fire to be the fiercer and the more furious upon the holy man.

⁵¹ *Three Old English Prose Texts* 1924, 71-72.

⁵² *Three Old English Prose Texts* 1924, 75-76.

⁵³ Richter 1896, 3; Rushforth 1936, 24.

⁵⁴ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 1) 1993, xii. The *Golden Legend* was probably more widely read (both privately and verbally to an audience) than the Bible in the later medieval period.

discussed above, and it is significant that many of the features that do correlate are those represented in wall painting from the fourteenth century onwards (such as Saint Christopher's excessive height, his terrible countenance, and the flowering stick, staff or pole).⁵⁵ Saint Christopher is no longer described as having the head of a dog, and he originates from Canaan (modern-day Israel and Lebanon, the Palestinian Territories, Jordan, Syria and north-east Egypt). He is entitled 'Reprob' (a derivation of the earlier Reprebus) 'meaning outcast', and is searching for the greatest king on earth.⁵⁶ A Canaanite king advises him to seek the devil, but Christopher is unconvinced when the devil flees at the sight of a cross. He eventually meets a hermit who instructs him in the Christian faith, and tells him that he will find what he is looking for if he ferries people across the river.⁵⁷ Christopher obeys, 'and instead of a staff he used a long staff to steady himself in the water'.⁵⁸ He hears a child calling his name and crying for help, but there is no one to be seen. This happens twice, and the third time he spies a child on the riverbank. The child begs Christopher to bear him across the river, and Christopher carries him on his shoulders, with his 'staff' for support.⁵⁹ The water grows rougher and the child becomes heavier and heavier. On reaching the far bank Christopher says: 'My boy, you put me in danger, and you weighed so much that if I had had the whole world on my back I could not have felt it a heavier burden!' The child answers:

Don't be surprised Christopher! You were not only carrying the whole world, you had him who created the world upon your shoulders! I am Christ your king, to whom you render service by doing the work you do here. And if you want proof that what I am saying is true, when you get back to your little house, plant your staff in the earth, and tomorrow you will find it in leaf and bearing fruit like a palm tree.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ In wall painting, Saint Christopher is depicted holding a staff from the thirteenth century (see Lacock Abbey [Wiltshire] below) (Plate 1). However, the staff does not flower until the second quarter of the fifteenth century (see Llanynys [Denbighshire]) (Plate 16). Saint Christopher is also represented as proportionally larger than adjoining images at least from the late thirteenth century. All these features are discussed in more detail in Chapters Three and Five.

⁵⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2), 1993, 10-11.

⁵⁷ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2), 1993, 11-12.

⁵⁸ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2), 1993, 12. This is referred to as a 'staff' a few lines later.

⁵⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2), 1993, 12.

⁶⁰ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2), 1993, 12.

The remainder of the legend is a familiar blend of Latin, Greek and Old English influences. Christopher goes to Samos, a city in Lycia (Asia Minor).⁶¹ He cannot understand the language until the Lord answers his prayers. King Dagnus sends soldiers to capture him, but he converts them, as well as the prostitutes (Niceaea and Aquilina) sent to seduce him in prison.⁶² Christopher is tortured and shot with arrows, but these rebound and blind the king. Dagnus' sight is only restored after Christopher orders him to make a paste from his blood and rub it on his eyes. Dagnus beheads Christopher, but is then converted to Christianity and eventually baptised.⁶³

⁶¹ The region of Lycia is modern-day southern coastal Turkey. Samos is actually an island (not a city).

⁶² Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2), 1993, 13-14.

⁶³ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2), 1993, 5. In the *Golden Legend*, Saint Christopher's shares his feast day with James the Greater (25th July). This is also the case in liturgy in the late medieval period (see Chapter Two).

Saint Christopher Imagery in England and Wales

Images of Saint Christopher emerge in England from the mid-thirteenth century, and for half a century are confined to illuminated manuscripts and wall painting schemes associated with royal, monastic and more affluent patrons. Saint Christopher murals were already in existence in Europe by this time, and examples can be viewed at Torello and Biasca (Switzerland) (c.1217).⁶⁴ It is probable that Henry III (1207-1272), with his Continental connections, was responsible for introducing the visual cult of Saint Christopher into England (and perhaps for encouraging the circulation of his image into the provinces).⁶⁵ The first reference to a Saint Christopher wall painting occurs in Henry III's *Liberate Rolls* for 1240. The entry describes how a likeness is to be painted in the chapel of Saint Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London (see Chapter Five).⁶⁶ A decade later, the saint appears in the Westminster Psalter (c.1250), and towards the end of the thirteenth century in the illustrious murals at Westminster Abbey and Lacock Abbey (Wiltshire) (Plates 1 and 35).⁶⁷

It is not until the early fourteenth century that Saint Christopher murals emerge in more rural and provincial churches, such as Little Wenham and Westhall (Suffolk) (Plates 2 and 3). The paintings then flourished, and it is likely that most churches possessed a pictorial representation of the saint by the mid-fourteenth century. The positioning of the wall painting at Peakirk (Cambridgeshire) implies that this was the case.⁶⁸ Parishioners were so keen to have a 'fashionable' Saint Christopher image in their church, that the wall painting was squeezed into the centre of the existing Passion cycle. Saint Christopher's subsequent prominence can partially be attributed to the appeal of his legend, as popularised by and circulated in the *Golden Legend* from c.1260.⁶⁹ He is portrayed as a kind of chivalric knight, roaming the earth, and

⁶⁴ Hahn-Woernle, B., *Christophorus in der Schweiz: Seine Verehrung in Bildlichen und Kultischen Zeugnissen*, Basel 1972, 72, Plate 1.

⁶⁵ Maddicott, J.R., *Simon de Montfort*, Cambridge 1994, 18. Henry III married Eleanor of Provence in 1236.

⁶⁶ PRO, *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, 1240-1245*, Vol. 2, London 1930, 15.

⁶⁷ BL, MS Royal 2A xxii, folio 220b; Backhouse, J., *The Illuminated Manuscript*, Oxford 1979, Plate 30; Binski, P., *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400*, London 1995, Plate 228.

⁶⁸ Clive Rouse, E.C., 'Wall Paintings in the Church of St. Pega, Peakirk, Northamptonshire', *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 60, 1953, 135-149, Plate 7.

⁶⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2), 1993, 14.

defending and protecting the innocent with his great physical strength. He also boasts an intimate relationship with the Christ Child (and therefore God), and is one of an exclusive group of male saints who are depicted in iconography holding the Christ Child.⁷⁰ In the absence of Saint Joseph from a central position in text and image, Saint Christopher's protective and paternal role in text must have contributed to his status as guardian against death, misadventure, harm and fatigue in images (see below).⁷¹

Academic Background to the Study of Saint Christopher

Following the discovery of numerous wall painting depictions of Saint Christopher during nineteenth-century church restorations, Keyser compiled what is still one of the most comprehensive lists of English wall paintings (1883).⁷² This work was emulated and augmented by subsequent antiquarian studies, as well as surveys by Brindley, Salmon and Whaite, which were specifically devoted to Saint Christopher.⁷³ Yet since the beginning of the twentieth century, very little has been written on the saint, and modern-day researchers are still reliant on works compiled almost a hundred years ago.⁷⁴ These original works are invaluable for academics, but numerous imperfections are evident. Countless paintings are missing from the lists because of the continual discovery of 'new' murals, and the work of these researchers urgently needs updating and amending.

⁷⁰ Other male saints depicted with the Christ Child include Saint Anthony of Padua, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Herman-Joseph of Steinfeld.

⁷¹ Saint Christopher imagery developed its own functions, borrowed, developed an interpreted from textual legends (see Chapter Two).

⁷² Keyser, C.E., *List of Buildings having Mural Decorations*, London 1883.

⁷³ Brindley, H.H., 'Notes on the Mural Paintings of Saint Christopher in English Churches', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 4, 1924, 226-241; Salmon, J.C., 'Saint Christopher in Medieval Art and Life', *Journal of the British Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 61, 1936, 76-115; Whaite, H.C., *St. Christopher in English Medieval Wall Painting*, London 1929.

⁷⁴ Most modern wall-painting researchers only make passing references to Saint Christopher. For example: Gill 2002, 367-373. Continental studies of the saint include: Hahn-Woernle 1972; Rosenfeld, H.F., *Der Heilige Christophorus: Seine l'Erehung und Seine Legende*, Leipzig 1937.

Approaches and Arguments

This thesis examines four elements of the cult of Saint Christopher as manifested in the English (and Welsh) church between c.1250 and c.1500, and serves as a complete revision of the academic study of Saint Christopher and his image.

1) The Function of Saint Christopher Images

The first task is to examine the various roles played by Saint Christopher and his image in the medieval church environment. This element has never been successfully addressed by researchers, and is an area that must be entirely re-assessed. It involves the examination of sources relating to individual church buildings, including wills, churchwardens' accounts, and inscriptions accompanying images. This section focuses mainly on wall painting, but also includes an examination of other media such as sculpture, panel painting, stained-glass and brasses to ensure a holistic approach to image study. This thesis demonstrates that Saint Christopher was not a figure associated with dedication, liturgy or miracle-working shrines. Instead, his cult was largely image-based, and it was necessary to actually *see* his depiction (typically in wall painting) to gain the rewards promised. The murals are characteristically large throughout the period to ensure the saint's visibility. His image had a number of differing roles and functions, and the traditional view that the saint was only associated with pilgrims and travellers is misguided (even though authors continue to expound such a myth to this day).⁷⁵ Primarily, Saint Christopher was a protector against unprepared death, misadventure, harm and fatigue. He was also a curer of illness, a friend, helper and exemplar, an intercessor and mediator (both during this life and in the next). An examination of wills also reveals that Saint Christopher had a function after death, a factor indicated by his occasional appearance on brasses and tomb sculpture.

⁷⁵ For this traditional view see: Brindley 1924, 226-241; Marks 2004, 101; Marrow, J., 'A Medieval Statue of St. Christopher from Norton Priory, Cheshire', *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association*, (Forthcoming), 1-11, 4-5.

2) The Location of Saint Christopher Images

The vast majority of Saint Christopher wall paintings were located in the nave area of the church, a position usual for morality images such as the Doom, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Works of Mercy. ‘Helper’ saints – those invoked to deal with earthly ills - were also found in the nave.⁷⁶ Saint Christopher murals were generally positioned on the north side of the church (either in the nave or the nave aisle). Researchers such as Brindley and Salmon were aware of this convention, but they generally failed to provide evidence for specific buildings.⁷⁷ This study is the first to examine each individual wall painting *in situ* (or in reproductive form if necessary), and it reveals that approximately sixty percent of documented Saint Christopher wall paintings were located on the north side of the nave. In the majority of cases, church buildings were entered through the south door, and the image of Saint Christopher would have been visible from the entrance, or directly after passing through the door. Researchers have also failed to acknowledge the exceptions to this convention, and to account for the fact that approximately thirteen percent of Saint Christopher wall paintings are located on the south side of the nave. In most cases this can be explained by factors such as church realignment, patronage, and individual church design and architecture. A handful of Saint Christopher wall paintings are (or were) located in chantry chapels, although there does not appear to be a particular pattern of location within these enclosed areas.

3) Patronage

Wall painting patronage is an under-researched area, mainly because there is very little visual or documentary evidence to suggest who might have been responsible for commissioning or funding such images in England. Donor figures and heraldry occasionally accompany mural painting, but they tend to be either too fragmentary to decipher, or the bearings prove impossible to trace. It has therefore been necessary to resort to documentary sources that relate to Saint Christopher images. Three sets of

⁷⁶ Duffy 2005, 177. ‘Helper’ saints included Saint Catherine of Alexandria, who was invoked against unprepared death, and Saint Margaret of Antioch, who was called upon by pregnant women to ensure safe delivery of the child.

⁷⁷ Brindley 1924, 230fn; Salmon 1936, 81.

wills (relating to Kent, Sussex and Lincolnshire) and around thirty churchwardens' accounts have been systematically examined for references to evidence of patronage and funding. These sources indicate that devotion to the saint took the form of donations to altars and guilds, gifts and funds for lights and image reparation, and request for burial before his image. Evidence also reveals that patronage came not only from individual members of the gentry (as traditionally assumed), but also from untitled lay people and more ordinary members of the community who donated small amounts of money to a communal fund.⁷⁸

4) The Chronological Scheme

The most essential task is to establish a chronology of the corpus of Saint Christopher wall painting. This is a necessary undertaking because the dates assigned to images by researchers such as Brindley, Whaite and Salmon are frequently so inaccurate and diverse that they cannot be relied upon as a dating source. Wall paintings are notoriously tricky to date with any precision, largely because they are rarely accompanied by dates or heraldry. However, by employing architectural, documentary and visual evidence, and by making stylistic and iconographical comparisons with other media such as illumination, sculpture and woodcuts, it has been possible to place the majority of Saint Christopher wall paintings loosely within twenty-five to thirty year periods (hence a third or quarterly division of a century). A similar approach has been used by Marks, who maintains that dating medieval images is an inexact process, and that early, middle, late and end approximately correspond with quarter centuries.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ For example: Richmond, C., 'Religion and the Fifteenth Century English Gentleman', *Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, Dobson, R.B., ed., Gloucester 1984; Hicks, M.A., 'The Piety of Lady Margaret Hungerford (d.1478)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 38, No. 1, January 1987, 19-38; Hicks, M.A., 'Chantry, Obits and Almshouses: The Hungerford Foundations, 1325-1478', in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society*, Barron, C.M., Harper-Bill, C., eds., Woodbridge 1985, 123-142.

⁷⁹ Marks 2004, 3.

CHAPTER ONE: THE USE AND FUNCTION OF IMAGES IN MEDIEVAL CHURCH AND SOCIETY

Part One: Documents and Sources - The Problems

In order to provide an accurate view of the role of imagery in the medieval church environment, it has been necessary to focus on sources which relate to specific churches, and on those which highlight 'popular' traditions. To a certain extent, the researcher is hampered by the fact that such evidence remains largely unrecorded in comparison with theological tracts and Church edicts. Yet it is still possible (with the aid of other types of evidence discussed below) to create an accurate portrayal of the role of images in individual churches.

1) Wills

Wills are particularly informative and illuminating as a source for the nature of late medieval religion. They have been employed in surveys by academics such as Tanner, Duffy and Marks, but have largely been ignored by other art historians and wall-painting specialists (with the exception of Gill).¹ Wills provide evidence for the existence of images, and are also an indication of individual devotion. However, there are a number of limitations to using testamentary documents as evidence for pious activity, and they need to be interpreted carefully if accurate evidence is to be gleaned from them. Scholars have not always been aware of the potential hazards surrounding the employment of wills as an historical source.² A recent comprehensive review undertaken by Burgess in 1990 has done much to highlight the pitfalls of using testamentary statements for evidence of pious practice and procedures.³ Although Burgess exaggerates the dangers of using wills without other

¹ Tanner, N., *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370-1532*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto 1984; Duffy 2005; Marks 2004; Gill 2002, 86.

² Fleming, P.W., 'Charity and Faith, and the Gentry of Kent, 1422-1529', in *Property and Politics. Essays in Later Medieval English History*, Pollard, A.J., ed., Gloucester 1984, 36-58; Whiting, R., "'For the Health of my Soul': Prayers for the Dead in the Tudor South-West", *Southern History*, Vol. 5, 1983, 68-94. Neither author discusses the hazards of using wills as an historical source.

³ Burgess 1990; see also: Mackie, P., 'Chaplains in the Diocese of York, 1480-1530: The Testamentary Evidence', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 58, 1986, 123-133, 126.

corroborative documentary material, this in-depth study brings to light a number of potential hazards that have never been systematically recorded before.⁴

One of the most frustrating realities of the medieval will is the random and indiscriminate nature of its survival. Although hundreds of fifteenth and sixteenth-century testamentary documents exist for most counties in England, it is impossible to know what percentage of the original sources are still in existence today. Many have been lost, destroyed, or were never officially registered in the first place. Until the mid fifteenth century, the construction of wills in written form was largely confined to the very wealthy.⁵ They were more common by the end of the fifteenth century, but were still limited to the more affluent, to those who could afford to have such a document drawn up and proved, and to those who had property (in the form of commodities or capital) to bequeath.⁶ Wills therefore tend to reflect the desires of the slightly more wealthy sections of society, rather than the very poor or less affluent.

It is probable that many testaments were verbal or implied, especially among the lower ranks of society who were not able to write, or who could not afford a scribe or legal advisor to record and prove their *post-obit* wishes. A case of tacit consent is revealed by a document relating to the parish of Saint Mary le Port in Bristol (1517 / 1518). It states that in 1513, John Newman, butcher and resident of the parish, was murdered by his servant Denys Grene. In the same year, men referring to themselves as ‘recorders’ congregated in the parish church with the parson to witness the arrangements Newman sought to make after his death. Newman’s *post-obit* plans included the celebration of an anniversary for his soul, and a lamp to burn in perpetuity before the sacrament at the high altar at an annual cost of 8s. The revenues were to be drawn from a messuage held in the Shammells, for which his wife Joanna was to pay another £20. The company then retired to the Boar’s Head, where Newman affirmed his will and intent, and the ‘recorders’ promised to fulfil his wishes. The document also reveals that after Newman’s death, his wife paid the £20 still owing on the land in the Shammells, and that the recorders seised the property to

⁴ Burgess 1990, 27.

⁵ Burgess 1990, 27.

⁶ Burgess 1990, 14.

Joanna to carry out the will of her husband.⁷ This instance demonstrates not only that oral agreements existed, but also that they could be binding. Newman also left a will, which was registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. It was made on the day of his demise, and (perhaps as a result of the injuries he sustained) is short and mentions none of the *post-obit* requests described in the document.⁸ It was the more comprehensive and detailed oral testament made in the church and tavern that formed the basis of the procedures undertaken after his death. The case also touches on the fact that it cannot always be ascertained whether *post-obit* instructions were actually carried out as testators planned. Apart from the statement in the document that Joanna paid the £20 owing for the land, there is no evidence to suggest whether Newman's verbal instructions concerning the anniversary obit and sacrament light were put into practice.⁹ Sometimes, as in the case of John Tutbury of Hull who died in 1434 but whose chantry was not established until 1453, there may have been a significant delay between death and instrumentation of bequests.¹⁰ Whether or not instructions were executed must have depended to a large extent on the willingness and swiftness of the executors, parishioners or clergy to implement the wishes of the deceased. The solvency (or indebtedness) of the testator at the time of death might also determine whether or not the requests described in the will were implemented.

Wills are valuable for intention close to the point of death, and highlight where individuals wished an image to be located within a church building, and how they perceived images to function *post-obit*. Yet they do not generally tend to provide information about pre-death relationships with imagery, and it is only possible on very rare occasions to gain insight into the practices of an individual during their lifetime. The will of Richard Staplegh (1546), for instance, reveals that he had already donated 12d each to the two lights in the churches at Twineham and nearby Bolney (Sussex): 'Where as I before this tyme have wylled unto the lyght of Our Lady at Twyneham xijd and in lyke wise to the Lyght of Our Lady at Bolney xijd'.¹¹ It is likely that lifetime motivation (and therefore image function) was somewhat

⁷ Burgess 1990, 27-29.

⁸ Burgess 1990, 29.

⁹ Burgess 1990, 28.

¹⁰ Heath, P., 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Hull Wills', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, Dobson, B., ed., Gloucester 1984, 209-234, 213.

¹¹ Garraway Rice, R., Godfrey, W.H., eds., *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, Vol. 4, Sussex Record Society, Vol. 45, Lewes 1940-1941, 261.

different to that of a *post-obit* request. When a testator bestowed a candle on an image after his death, it is probable that light was intended to invoke the saint to speed the soul through Purgatory (see below). On the other hand, if a testator donated a gift during his or her life, it is more likely that the individual would be more concerned with invoking the saint against some ill, or entreating with the saint to intercede with God on his or her behalf. Because of this emphasis, Burgess has argued that the service specified by a will (whether it be a lamp, an anniversary or a chantry) may have been subsidiary or supplementary to pre-death instructions. He concludes that 'Impressions derived from wills alone are a blank façade disguising an intricate reality', and that 'Wills alone are an inadequate guide to the practice and procedure of individuals and communities alike'.¹² Yet these warnings are perhaps rather severe. Burgess is working within the city milieu, where wills and documents that can be used as supplementary evidence are relatively widely available. For more rural or less well-documented parishes, if they exist at all, wills are sometimes the only records available for the later medieval period. Jones has demonstrated that they are indispensable when searching for references to lost images, lights and altars in both urban and rural areas, and for attempting to reconstruct patronage patterns of saint-devotion in a particular region.¹³

Testamentary documents are a useful starting point for the location of images, lights and altars, and occasionally reveal information about the function of images in the medieval church. However, they generally provide little direct evidence concerning individual motivation behind the leaving of a financial gift or a commodity to an image or altar. Wills are generally fairly formulaic, and preambles tend to be standard and concise, making it difficult to determine whether they are expressing individual motivation or prescribed and standard conventions.¹⁴ The user of the late medieval will should also be aware of the existence of scribal errors. One example illustrates that inaccuracies could easily occur when composing or copying a testamentary document. There is a discrepancy between the will of William Goodknappe of Hull registered in 1502, and the duplicate that was produced as evidence in a lawsuit

¹² Burgess 1990, 27.

¹³ TASC - The Transnational Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults Website: www.le.ac.uk/users/grj1/tascintro.html

¹⁴ Zell, M.L., 'The Use of Religious Preambles as Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. 50, 1977, 246-249; Mackie 1986, 125, 132; Duffy 2005, 303, 5.

thirteen years later. A bequest for Goodknappe's soul to be commended to Jesus, and a prayer for mercy from Jesus, Mary, Saint Michael and all the saints in heaven was added to the copy. Neither of these insertions is found in the original document.¹⁵

2) Churchwardens' Accounts

The Office of Churchwarden and the Development of Accounts

Unlike wills and testaments which date from Anglo-Saxon times (albeit largely in oral or charter form), the first document recording comprehensive organisation of the parish and its funds appears much later.¹⁶ It is a single account dealing with money raised and spent when the parish of Bridgwater (Somerset) cast a new bell in 1318.¹⁷ It is not part of a sequence, and there is no mention that those involved in the event are called churchwardens, but the form and content are similar to later documents. It is unclear exactly when lay responsibility for the church and its fabric became widespread in England. Certainly, Cox is inaccurate when he states unquestioningly that churchwardens were appointed by the first canon of the Council of London in 1127.¹⁸ The constitution of Archbishop William of York (1153) later defined lay responsibilities within the church: 'Ea primum occasione laici ad fabricas Ecclesiarum vocati sunt'.¹⁹ Collections organised by lay congregations were probably in existence by the twelfth century, but there was no permanent structure at this stage, and it is unclear to what extent these divisions were adhered to.²⁰ Various synodal statutes from the thirteenth century suggest that there was a division of responsibility between

¹⁵ Heath 1984, 212.

¹⁶ Sheenan, M.M., *The Will in Medieval England from the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto 1963, 5-106; Hobhouse, B., ed., *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, Pilton, Yatton, Tintinhull, Morebath and Saint Michael's, Bath, Somerset Record Society*, Vol. 4, London 1890. The 1349 collection of documents relating to Saint Michael's church in Bath is usually considered to be the first set of churchwardens' accounts.

¹⁷ French, K.L., *Local Identity and the Late Medieval Parish: The Communities of Bath and Wells*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota 1993, 18.

¹⁸ Cox, C.J., *Churchwardens' Accounts: From the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1913, 1.

¹⁹ Kumin, B., *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c. 1400-1560*, Aldershot 1996, 17.

²⁰ Drew, C., *Early Parochial Organisation in England: The Office of Church Warden*, London 1954, 14.

the rector and the parishioners.²¹ The provision of ornaments and liturgical books became the second main communal responsibility in English Canon Law from about 1250, and this was reiterated in 1305 in a long list of items supposedly drawn up by Archbishop Winchelsey (sometimes attributed to Archbishop Reynolds).²² The Church also suggested ways to distribute communal responsibility, and made reference to the recording of parochial activity in the statutes of Exeter, recorded by Peter Quivel (Bishop of Exeter) in 1287:

We admonish concerning the stock of the churches themselves, the fit to be elected custodians will come forthwith before rectors or vicars of the churches of parochial chaplains and five or six trustworthy parishioners and they should render every year to those same rectors, vicars or chaplains, a faithful account. And it should be recorded in writing, which writing we order to be presented to the archdeacon of the place when he should visit.²³

For the ecclesiastical authorities, a well-run church would help to assure proper worship for the greater glory of God, and written records, reviewed annually by the archdeacon, provided a way of checking and monitoring parochial compliance.²⁴ However, the clerics involved in the Synod of Exeter did not envisage the later system of accounts run by administrators for the communal funds of the parish. Church endowments and gifts gradually started to be entrusted to special lay representatives from this time (possibly as a result of the Synod), and a separate and *ad hoc* common fund began to be administered by members of the parish.²⁵ At the end of the thirteenth century, the occasional use of the phrase ‘*communitas parochianorum*’ is employed. Three references to such an office in the records of the visitation of Kent made during the vacancy of the see by the commissary of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury between 1292 and 1294.²⁶

²¹ Cheney, C. R., Powicke, F. M., eds., *Councils and Synods, 1205-1313*, Vol. 2, Part. 2, 128, 379.

²² Kumin 1996, 18.

²³ *Councils and Synods* (Vol. 2, Part. 2), 1008; Drew 1954, 7; for the English translation see: French 1993, 17.

²⁴ French 1993, 79-80.

²⁵ Kumin 1996, 22; Drew 1954, 19.

²⁶ Drew 1954, 7, 20.

Churchwardens' Accounts as Evidence for Devotional Practice

Churchwardens' accounts and vestry books (the latter including ecclesiastical as well as civil records) can be informative as to the presence of images, altars, aisles, guilds, lights, and associated commodities concerned with visual depictions. On occasion, they make reference to the manner in which images were employed. The churchwardens' accounts of Saint Margaret's church in Westminster, for instance, illustrate how each year the patronal figure was adorned with jewels on Saint Margaret's Day (July 19th).²⁷ However, Kumin has astutely warned that 'To construct too precise a chronology of local life and ritual on the basis of churchwardens' accounts is to tread on thin ice indeed'.²⁸ There are certainly a number of drawbacks to using churchwardens' accounts (as there are for any type document relating to parochial activity in the medieval period). Such sources are by no means comprehensive records of image function, and thousands of images exist today that are simply not listed in the accounts of the church. Where records do exist, they tend to document events and issues that were directly concerned with the finances of the parish church. As a significant proportion of images appear to have been provided for by one or more of the parishioners (rather than the church officials), they simply were not noted in the accounts of the church.²⁹ When images are mentioned, accounts rarely make direct allusions to the manner in which imagery operated in the church. For instance, extensive documentation survives for the parish of Lambeth concerning the income, debts and expenses of the brotherhood of Saint Christopher.³⁰ Although one of the payments is concerned with the construction of a Saint Christopher image, it is not clear what its function was, or indeed what form (wall painting, sculpture, panel painting) the image took.³¹ Other references are even less extensive (though nevertheless informative). The churchwardens' accounts for Yatton (Somerset) suggest that the parishioners were satisfied with the painting of the Virgin, but were

²⁷ Rosser, G., *Medieval Westminster, 1200-1540*, Oxford 1989, 271-273.

²⁸ Kumin 1996, 102.

²⁹ Gill 2002, 103, Plate 1.12. At Trotton (Sussex), for example, a series of fourteenth and fifteenth-century wall paintings survive (including a Saint Christopher). The fact that both the Camoys coat-of-arms and a depiction of Thomas Camoys kneeling at his desk are portrayed, suggests that the family were responsible for commissioning the images (see Chapter Three).

³⁰ Drew, C., ed., *Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts, 1504-1645 and Vestry Book, 1610*, Part 3, Surrey Record Society, London 1943, 196-204.

³¹ *Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts* (Part 3) 1943, 199.

less pleased with one of Saint Christopher.³² The artist appears to have repainted the latter in 1469, and in 1470 the old churchwardens had to reimburse the parish for the cost of the original Saint Christopher image.³³ The accounts do not specify the reason for their dissatisfaction, but it is possible that they were unhappy with the style or iconography of the painting (see Chapter Four).

Few churchwardens' accounts survive from before the late fifteenth century, and many of the smaller parish churches simply did not record income and expenditure before the mid-sixteenth century.³⁴ There is also an irregularity in source survival, and much of the evidence is biased towards the decades immediately preceding the Reformation, and to the southern part of the country (particularly Bristol, London and Somerset).³⁵ The majority of accounts come from cities or towns (although York only has one surviving account, and Norwich none). Bristol and London taken together constituted just two percent of the total population of England around 1500, yet they yield some thirteen percent of the surviving accounts.³⁶ Many accounts are incomplete, selective and fragmentary, and it is quite usual to find large gaps in entries that span many years. In the Bethersden (Kent) records, for example, the chronological order of the accounts is disturbed in places, and in one instance, it jumps from 1512 to 1522 to 1524-1525 in the space of two pages.³⁷ Moreover, two loose sheets from the seventeenth century have been inserted at the end of the 1572 accounts, one being a contract concerning the casting of a bell, and the other a Church Brief for Virginia!³⁸ The intricacies of parish management are not adequately reflected by the surviving evidence. Although by the late fifteenth century many parishes had put their accounts into books, the rolls and loose parchments that were used prior to this time were very easily lost.³⁹ Originally, accounts would have been more than just single pieces of parchment, and would have consisted of comprehensive files filled with receipts, notes and bills.⁴⁰ There may even have been

³² *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 104, 105.

³³ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 104, 105; French, K.L., *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*, Pennsylvania 2000, 73.

³⁴ French 1993, 12.

³⁵ Kumin 1996, 69.

³⁶ Kumin 1996, 69.

³⁷ Mercer, F. R., ed., *Churchwardens' Accounts at Bettrysden, 1515-1573*, Kent Records, Vol. 5, Part 3, Ashford 1928, 60-61.

³⁸ Mercer 1928, 146-149.

³⁹ French 1993, 12.

⁴⁰ Kumin 1996, 94.

separate records or books for different responsibilities in some parishes, rather like the book for the gathering of the clerks' wages at Lambeth and Saint Andrew Hubbard in London.⁴¹

It also should be considered that very few churchwardens wrote their own accounts, and that scribes were very often hired on an annual basis to do the work.⁴² Scribes may have been clerical or (and this increasingly seemed to be the case from the late fifteenth century) lay professionals.⁴³ It is not unusual to find the name of the scribe mentioned in the accounts as an employee of the church, as at Yatton where John Thurbane was hired in the late 1460s.⁴⁴ However, a figure who was potentially an outsider to the parish and the issues involved in running the community, may well have been more prone to inaccuracies than an individual familiar with the environment. A scribal error is evident in the Yatton accounts, where volume three opens with the date 1530 instead of 1540.⁴⁵ A variety of scribes also means a variety of hands and formats, which can be frustrating and confusing for a modern-day editor or researcher. Some records also appear to have been very hastily and carelessly written, with little detail, as in the case of the Chedzoy accounts (Somerset). The fact that the spelling is so obscure in relation to other accounts of the period, and that they are written on the back of fourteenth-century manorial accounts, has led French to conclude that they may be drafts, or simply an example of parishioners attempting to complete their accounts without scribal aid.⁴⁶ The quality and detail of accounts can also vary from year to year, reflecting the skill and thoroughness (or otherwise) of the individual churchwarden or scribe. At Bethesden, the 1556 accounts include an uncharacteristically long list of individuals who bequeathed money to the church.⁴⁷ This almost certainly indicates a change of churchwarden or scribe, for the same types of entries are found in the following years, alongside unexpectedly long expenditure accounts.⁴⁸ Frustratingly, no information about the nature or quantity of the receipts or donations is included.

⁴¹ Kumin 1996, 92.

⁴² Kumin 1996, 86. The churchwardens wrote their own accounts at Banwell (Somerset) in the 1530s.

⁴³ Kumin 1996, 85-86; French 1993, 24.

⁴⁴ French 1993, 24.

⁴⁵ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 154.

⁴⁶ French 1993, 33.

⁴⁷ *Churchwardens' Accounts at Betrysden* 1928, 104-105.

⁴⁸ *Churchwardens' Accounts at Betrysden* 1928, 110-114.

3) Sermon-Related Literature

It has occasionally been necessary to turn to sermon-related material, prayers, and Church liturgy and edicts in the absence of evidence relating to specific churches. The rubric of the *Sarum Rite*, for instance, provides evidence for how images may have been utilised during services. It specifies, for example, that the altar and related image should be censed on feast days. On Saint Catherine's Day: 'Dum versus canitur, thurificet sacerdos altare, deinde imaginem beatae Katharinae, et postea dicat sacerdos versum'.⁴⁹ The *Golden Legend* (c.1260) is an invaluable source for ascertaining the functions of individual saints.⁵⁰ However, the text does not generally provide evidence for the images of saints, or their varying roles within the church environment. There are also a number of problems associated with using documents which record general practice. It is virtually impossible to know whether texts, prayers and liturgy were ever employed in a particular church, or whether the congregations had knowledge of their context. Even if it could be proved that a church was in possession of (or that the laity were familiar with) a text, it cannot be established that the material was delivered or read word for word, or whether parts were extracted, altered or removed to suit the congregational needs.⁵¹ More significantly, the content of such texts was not necessarily a reflection of how congregations or individuals viewed or perceived the function of images in their specific church. Unlike wills, they give little evidence of personal devotion, and in most cases they do not indicate whether or not the liturgy was used in conjunction with images. However, these more 'general' sources do provide an approximate guide to how images might have functioned in such environments.

⁴⁹ Henderson, W.G., ed., *Processionale ad Usum Insignis ac Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum*, Leeds 1882, 161; Dickinson, F.H., ed., *Missale Ad Usum Sarum*, Farnborough 1969, v. The *Sarum Use* was collated in the eleventh century by Bishop Osmund of Salisbury. It is probable that most churches used this liturgy. Other Rites, such as those of Hereford, Lincoln and Durham, were largely based upon it.

⁵⁰ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, (Vol. 1) 1993, xii.

⁵¹ Leith Spencer, H., *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, Oxford 1993, 9.

4) Other Written Sources

It is rare to find other types of records relating to individual churches in the medieval period. An exceptional survival is the series of historical documents relating to the destruction of images and confiscation of goods at Long Melford (Suffolk) between 1529 and the 1590s.⁵² These texts take the form of churchwardens' accounts and related financial documents, a list of church goods compiled in 1529, and a description of the pre-Reformation church in the early sixteenth century.⁵³ References to church imagery are also present in later documentation, such as the *Journal of William Dowsing*, compiled between 1643 and 1644.⁵⁴ The Parliamentary visitor, commissioned to supervise the destruction of altars and imagery, recorded visitations to about 250 parishes in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk. Although these texts occasionally make reference to imagery, they do not generally provide evidence for the function of visual depictions within the church environment.

For the majority of medieval churches there are no surviving documents relating to image function and reception. As a result, it has also been necessary to employ sources which describe the role of visual depictions from a more general (rather than a particularistic) angle. It is occasionally possible to find oblique references to imagery in sermon-related literature such as John Mirk's *Festial* (1382-1390) (see below).⁵⁵ The text is essentially a vernacular cycle of sermons for the major feast days. Although the author based much of the work on the church at Lilleshall (Shropshire) where he was a canon (and later Prior), the work was intended for a more general clerical audience.⁵⁶ Lollard (and anti-Lollard) tracts, which emerged from the end of the fourteenth century as a result of accusations of idolatry, can also be invaluable sources for assessing image function. The most relevant works include Reginald Pecock's *Repressor Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, compiled between c.1449 and c.1455.⁵⁷ Pecock was Bishop of Chichester, and his text is essentially a defence of the

⁵² Dymond, D., Paine, C., eds., *The Spoil of Long Melford Church: The Reformation in a Suffolk Parish*, Ipswich 1989.

⁵³ *Spoil of Long Melford Church* 1989, 24.

⁵⁴ Cooper, T., ed., *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, Bury St. Edmunds 2001.

⁵⁵ Mirk, *Festial* 1905.

⁵⁶ Mirk, *Festial* 1905; Ford, J.A., *John Mirks' Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy and the Common People in Fourteenth Century England*, Woodbridge 2006, 10.

⁵⁷ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vols. 1 and 2) 1860.

clergy against perceived unjust aspersions by Lollards.⁵⁸ The anonymous *Dives and Pauper* text, which takes the form of a dialogue on the Ten Commandments between a rich layman and a well-read mendicant friar, is also a relevant source (c.1405-c.1410).⁵⁹ Although these texts are frequently infused with Lollard exaggerations of the abuses of ‘popular’ religion (and anti-Lollard protestations against Lollard behaviour), most are at least partially concerned with image function in the church environment and with more ‘popular’ religious tradition.

The works of writers such as Chaucer, Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe have also been consulted when source material relating to specific churches and individual interaction and response is absent.⁶⁰ The encounters of the two women in particular are probably unreflective of society at large, and it is certainly clear that the sobbing, crying and violently physical reactions of Margery Kempe, astonished everyone she encountered.⁶¹ Yet such texts do provide a rough guide to how certain individuals may have interacted with images in the medieval period, and therefore should not be ignored.

5) Ecclesiastical Records

More formal records compiled by the Church and ecclesiastical authorities sometimes allude to the existence of images in churches. Chantry certificate returns (a result of the Chantries Act of 1545, informing us about the founder, priest and chantry value) are important sources for the dedication of chantries, guilds, lights and altars. However, a systematic examination of these documents has revealed that they do not generally discuss images or image function.⁶² For instance, there is just one fleeting

⁵⁸ Pecock, *Repressor*, (Vol. 1) 1860, xxii.

⁵⁹ Barnum, P.H., ed., *Dives and Pauper*, Vol. 1, Part 1, EETS, Original Series, Vol. 275, Oxford 1976, ix.

⁶⁰ Colledge, E., Walsh, J., eds., *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*, Vol. 2, Toronto 1978; Stanley, L., ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Kalamazoo 1998; Benson, L.D. ed., Chaucer, *The House of Fame (The Riverside Chaucer)*, Oxford 1998.

⁶¹ Kaminer 2002, 145; Stanley 1998, 166.

⁶² For example; Graham, R., ed., *The Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire and the Edwardian Inventories of Church Goods for Oxfordshire*, Alcuin Club, Vol. 23, Oxford 1920; Graham, R., ed., *Chantry Certificates and Inventories of Church Goods for Oxfordshire*, Oxfordshire Record Society, Vol. 1, 1919; Snell, L.S., ed., *The Chantry Certificates for Cornwall*, Exeter 1953; Snell, L.S., ed., *The Chantry Certificates for Devon and the City of Exeter*, Documents Towards a History of the Reformation in Devon, Exeter 1960; MacLean, J., ed., ‘Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire’,

reference to the ‘chaplain for the fraternity of the Holy Trinity and St. Mary the Virgin’ within the Hackney returns, and no further information about the dedication is supplied.⁶³

The Edwardian inventory returns for parish churches (the enquiries into the goods of churches ranging in date from 1546 to 1553) are slightly more revealing about the nature of images.⁶⁴ Yet they are largely formulaic, and tend simply to list moveable goods held by churches (including candlesticks, bells and chalices), rather than fixed images such as wall paintings. Some scholars have also used Episcopal visitation documents and Bishops’ Registers as evidence for the medieval parish church.⁶⁵ However, after methodically examining a selection of Registers from the Diocese of Bath and Wells, it soon became clear that the records are far more concerned with the appointment of rectors and the settlement of disputes than with interaction between the Church and parishioners at a local level.⁶⁶ Fabric Rolls for cathedrals and abbeys

Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Association, Vol. 8, 1883-1884, 229-308; Kitching, C., ed., *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates, 1548*, London Record Society, Vol. 16, London 1980.

⁶³ *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates* 1980, 67.

⁶⁴ For example; King, W.H., ed., ‘Inventories of Essex Church Goods’, *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, Vol. 4, 1869, 197-234; Vol. 5, 1873, 116-135, 219-242, 273; 280; New Series, Vol. 1, 1877, 5-32; New Series, Vol. 2, 1884, 165-188, 223-250; New Series, Vol. 3, 1889, 36-63; New Series, Vol. 10, 1909, 228-236; New Series, Vol. 11, 1911, 90-210, 310-320; Lomas, ed., *Edwardian Inventories for Huntingdonshire*, Alcuin Club, Vol. 7, London 1906; MacLean, J., ed., ‘Inventories and Receipts for Church Goods, Gloucestershire and Bristol’, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Association*, Vol. 12, 1887-1888, 70-113; Raine, J., ed., *Wills and Inventories from the Registry of the Archdeacon of Richmond*, Surtees Society, Vol. 26, Durham 1853; Walters, H.B., et al, ‘Inventories of Norfolk Church Goods, 1552’, *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. 26, 1935-1937, 245-270; Vol. 27, 1938-1940, 97-144, 263-289; Vol. 28, 1942-1945, 89-106, 133-180; Vol. 30, 1947-1952, 75-87, 160-167, 213-219, 370-378; Vol. 31, 1955-1957, 200-209, 233-298; Tymms, S., ed., *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissioner of Bury Saint Edmunds*, Camden Society, Vol. 49, London 1850; Daniel-Tyssen, J.R., ed., *Inventories of Goods and Ornaments in the Churches of Surrey in the Reign of King Edward VI*, London 1869; Roberts, R., ed., ‘Further Inventories of Goods and Ornaments of the Churches of Surrey Temp. Edward VI’, *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 24, 1911, 1-39; Walcott, M.E.C., ed., ‘The Inventories of Westminster Abbey at the Dissolution’, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, Vol. 4, Part 3, August 1873, 313-364; Snell, L.S., ed., ‘The Edwardian Inventories of Middlesex’, *London and Middlesex Archaeological Transactions*, Vol. 25, 1974, 295-302; Draper, F.W.M., ed., ‘The Edwardian Inventories of Middlesex’, *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions*, Vol. 20, Part 2, 1960, 88-93.

⁶⁵ For example: French 1993.

⁶⁶ For example: Maxwell-Lyte, H.C., Dawes, M.C.B., eds., *The Register of Thomas Beckynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443-1465*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 99, London 1934; Maxwell-Lyte, H.C., Dawes, M.C.B., eds., *The Register of Thomas Beckynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443-1465*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 100, London 1935; Maxwell-Lyte, H.C., ed., *The Registers of Thomas Wolsey, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1518-1523; John Clerke, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1523-1541; William Knyght, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1541-1547; Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1554-1559*, Somerset Record Society Vol. 105, 1940; Holmes, T.S., ed., *The Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1407-1424.*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 29, London 1913.

were also considered as potential sources for patronage of images. These are essentially accounts of building and fabric-related activity within the building, to a certain extent fulfilling the role that churchwardens' accounts perform in churches. They provide evidence for the creation and painting of images, and the purchase of raw materials such as nails and wood, and goods such as candlesticks, books and surpluses. Longer documents and indentures describe the necessity for building work, and its progress when it gets under way. The Register of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster is included in a modern edition of fabric roll documents dating from the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶⁷ It reads:

A corporax, wt a case to halffe, of tawny damaske with Saint Christofer upon the one side...a tabyll wt Sanct Christofer of yt...a hyngyng afore the altar of our Lady, Sanct John and Sanct Cristofer; a hyngyng abowne the alter of the lyffe of Sanct Cristofer of it...a payntit clothe wt a crucifix and Sanct John and Sanct Cristofer of ytt.⁶⁸

This extract, dating from 1520-1521, is part of a longer document that appears to be an inventory of moveable goods referring to the chantry of Saint Christopher in the Minster. It was founded in 1426 by the warden and brethren of Saint Christopher's guild in York to pray for the soul of Richard II and his Queen, Archbishop Arundel, the late Earl of Northumberland and the late Earl of Westmorland, as well as for the good of their own souls.⁶⁹ According to White, the cloth hanging above the altar depicting the life of Saint Christopher, and a 'table' or picture of the saint at the guild altar were in existence in 1543.⁷⁰

Holmes, T.S., ed., *The Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1407-1424.*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 30, London 1915; Hobhouse, E., ed., *Calendar of the Register of John de Drokensford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1309-1329*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 1, London 1887; Holmes, T.S., ed., *The Registers of Walter Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1265-1266*; Henry Bowett, *Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1401-1407*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 13, London 1899.

⁶⁷ Raine, J., ed., *York Minster Fabric Rolls with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents*, Surtees Society, Vol. 35, Durham 1858.

⁶⁸ *York Minster Fabric Rolls* 1858, 280.

⁶⁹ *York Minster Fabric Rolls* 1858, 279; *Churchwardens' Accounts of Saint Michael, Spurriergate, York* (Vol. 1) 1997, 10; Cross, C., ed., *York Clergy Wills, 1520-1600: 2 City Clergy*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, Vol. 15, York 1989, 9.

⁷⁰ White, E., *The Saint Christopher and Saint George Guild of York*, Borthwick Papers, No. 72, 1987, 1-28, 8.

6) Inscriptions in Imagery

Imagery can also be indicative of its own function, particularly if it contains a donor figure or an inscription. The fragmented wording in the Three Living and the Three Dead mural at Wensley (North Yorkshire) reads: 'We are now...the... / shal you[?] be... / B[?]ewar w...'.⁷¹ This is an extract from the traditional verse that the three cadavers address to the kings, warning them (and therefore congregations) about the transitory nature of earthly life.⁷² Inscriptions in stained-glass are rather more common, and often reflect the anticipated function of the window. A lost inscription in the glass at Beeston-next-Mileham (Norfolk) implored viewers to pray for members of the Guild of the Glorious Virgin Mary. It also specified that prayers should be said for living benefactors and deceased souls of the Guild, and for the souls of independent financiers. The Guild was responsible for financing eight windows in the church in 1410:

Orate specialiter p. salubri statu fratrum et soror. Gilde gloriose Virginis Marie, cujus honori haec dedicatur eccl'ia et omnium viventium benefactor. Eorund et p. a'ab; omnium fratum et soror. Defunctor. Ejusd. Gilde, ac etiam p. a'aiab' defunctor', benefactor. Eorund. Qui proprijs expensis et pecunijs eidem gilde habende largitis has octo fenestras vitro fieri devote curaverunt A. 1410.⁷³

The brass of the Rector George Rede at Fovant (Wiltshire) consists of a devotional scene in which he is depicted as a kneeling donor figure, together with the Angel Gabriel and the kneeling Virgin. The wording on the prayer scroll suggests that Rede understood the image of the Virgin to have an intercessory function: 'O blessid modre of pite pray to thy sone for me'.⁷⁴ The inscription at the foot of the brass entreated viewers to pray for his soul:

⁷¹ Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website:

www.paintedchurch.org/wens313d.htm

⁷² BL. Arundel 83 I, folio 127; British Library Website:

www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=472 A similar verse (in Middle French) describes the meeting of the Three Living and the Three Dead in the De Lisle Psalter (c.1310-c.1320).

⁷³ Woodforde, C., *The Norwich School of Glass Painting in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford 1950, 72.

⁷⁴ Monumental Brass Society Website: www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/pic_lib/March2003.htm

Orate pro anima domini Georgij Rede quondam Rectori
ecclesie de ffovant Tempore Edificacionis nove ture (sic.)
ibidem Anno domini MCCCClxxxij Cuius Anime propecietur
Deus Amen.⁷⁵

The remainder of this chapter will analyse the primary and secondary literature relating to image function in the medieval church, and demonstrate that many of the theories would have been irrelevant to the more ‘ordinary’ churchgoer.

⁷⁵ Monumental Brass Society Website: www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/pic_lib/March2003.htm

Part Two: Image Function in the Medieval Church

Introduction and Background

Image reception and function is a central issue in the study of the medieval church. Church images (which include wall and panel painting, sculpture and numerous other visual depictions), were an important, personal and daily means by which the viewer could establish contact with God.⁷⁶ Scribner has highlighted the fact that ‘for people of the later middle ages, worship was an intensely visual experience’.⁷⁷ Yet the precise role of the image within the church setting is still an under-researched field.⁷⁸ Part of the reason for this predicament is that academics have tended to adopt a very general approach to the subject of image function, incorporating the whole of Western Europe and entire medieval period, focusing on all iconographical forms, and embracing all media from sculpture to illuminated manuscripts.⁷⁹ They have therefore sometimes neglected to appreciate the extent to which the function of an image very often depended on factors such as medium, the subject depicted, and location within the church building. For instance (as will be demonstrated below), a Doom mural was almost certainly approached and experienced in a rather different manner from a Saint Christopher painting. Researchers are beginning to recognise the importance of examining specific examples, including Lentes, who has recently argued that ‘those studying devotion to images must examine each individual case carefully’.⁸⁰ This particularistic approach is also problematic, however, because it is certainly likely that each person experienced and interpreted visual representations in a subtly or significantly different manner. Evidence does not suffice to assess individual impact, and we can therefore provide only a partial and rather generalised

⁷⁶ Aston 1988, 20.

⁷⁷ Scribner, B., ‘Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late Medieval and Reformation Germany’, *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 15, No. 4, December 1989, 448-469, 456.

⁷⁸ Authors who are beginning to examine the function of images specifically in a church environment include: Nilsen, A., ‘Man and Picture: On the Function of Wall Paintings in Medieval Churches’, in Bolvig, A., Lindley, P., eds., *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology*, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, Vol. 5, Turnhout 2003, 323-340; Aston 1984.

⁷⁹ For example: Camille 1996.

⁸⁰ Lentes 2006, 365.

account of the personal experience of image viewing and response through the examination of as many sources as possible.⁸¹

Most researchers investigating image function, intention and reception have tended to focus on sources that emanate from the Church (including liturgical practice and edicts), and complex semiotic sense theories propounded by leading theologians such as Thomas Aquinas.⁸² Yet as Scribner has accurately pointed out, there was another tradition of image function: the more ‘popular’ conventions embodied in the views of the more ordinary members of the congregation, and local practices and customs.⁸³ The case of the Foston Virgin demonstrates that such religious practices and perceptions of image function could persist even when the Church was hostile towards them.⁸⁴ What appears to have been a miracle-working image was the subject of an ownership controversy between John Poynton (the parson of Foston), the vicar of Carnaby, and the Prior of Bridlington.⁸⁵ The image was frequently moved from church to church, and according to William Greenfield (Archbishop of York) in 1313, when the Virgin was placed in the church at Foston, it was venerated as if ‘something of divinity appeared more in this image than in other similar images’.⁸⁶ Greenfield forbade its worship, ordered an inquisition, and threatened excommunication to those who continued to venerate it.⁸⁷ The fact that the Archbishop had to issue a second prohibition in 1314 suggests that the churchgoers and even the clergy of the churches concerned took little notice of his requests, and that the Church did not have the power to stop the cult’s momentum.⁸⁸ Scholars such as Kamerick and Aston are clearly aware of such ‘popular’ customs, but they have been neglected by the majority of academics interested in the nature of medieval religious practices.⁸⁹ It is therefore necessary to examine sources which relate as directly as possible to the function and

⁸¹ Nilsen 2003, 331; Gill, M., ‘“Reading Images”: Church Murals and Collaboration between Media in Medieval England’, in *Collaboration in the Arts from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Bigliuzzi, S., Wood, S., eds., Aldershot 2006, 17-31, 19.

⁸² For example: Camille 1996; Yates 1966.

⁸³ Scribner 1989, 457; Scribner, R.W., *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*, London and Ronceverte 1987, 17-18.

⁸⁴ Aston, M., *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion, 1350-1600*, London 1993, 13.

Caviness, M.H., ‘Biblical Stories in Windows: Were they Bibles for the Poor?’ in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Art and Literature*, Levy, B.S., ed., Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vol. 89, New York 1992, 103-147, 105; Kamerick 2002, 107-108.

⁸⁵ Kamerick 2002, 108-110.

⁸⁶ Kamerick 2002, 108.

⁸⁷ Kamerick 2002, 108.

⁸⁸ Kamerick 2002, 110.

⁸⁹ Kamerick 2002, 111; Aston 1993, 1.

use of images in their specific church environments, such as wills, churchwardens' accounts and church inventories.

Research has traditionally focused on the question of whether medieval images were used for didactic purposes, and how they operated as mnemonic aids.⁹⁰ These issues are still valid when examining visual depictions in churches, but the evidence needs to be reassessed.

1) The Image as a Didactic Tool

The extent to which images functioned in a pedagogic manner within the church milieu has been exaggerated by researchers in the past, many of whom traditionally portrayed visual depictions (wall paintings in particular) as 'The Biblia Pauperum, or Poor Man's Bible'.⁹¹ Some academics suggested that images were independently didactic, and saw medieval attitudes towards them as unchanging from the time of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) to the sixteenth century.⁹² Male, for example, observed that:

To the Middle Ages, all art was didactic. All that was necessary that men should know...all these were taught them by the windows of the church or by the statues in the porch.⁹³

Ringbom also claimed that 'Narrative pictures in ecclesiastical decoration were, as we know, based on the authority of Saint Gregory the Great who epitomised the didactic arguments.'⁹⁴ He went on to argue that as well as acting as a recipient for prayer and supplication (and as an occasion for pity and delight when the beholder was of a certain psychological state of mind), devotional images could provide viewers with

⁹⁰ For example: Male, E., *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, 3rd Edition, Nussey, D., transl., London 1961; Yates 1966.

⁹¹ For example: Clive Rouse 1996, 13.

⁹² For arguments against this approach see: Chazelle 1995, 202-203.

⁹³ Male 1961, viii; see also: Kendon, F., *Mural Paintings in English Churches During the Middle Ages: An Introductory Essay on the Folk Influence in Religious Art*, London 1923, 6.

⁹⁴ Ringbom, S., *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth Century Devotional Painting*, Abo 1965, 11.

edification and guidance.⁹⁵ However, such opinions rely too heavily on the sixth-century writings of Gregory the Great, and it is implausible to assume that attitudes towards imagery usage did not change over the 900-year period up to the Reformation.⁹⁶ Indeed, by the thirteenth century, the prescriptions laid out by Gregory the Great had long been supplanted by attitudes and conditions in which images were more legitimate and powerful.⁹⁷ Gregory's dictum was written as a response to the iconoclastic activities of Bishop Serenus of Marseilles. The first letter, dated July 599AD, maintained that pictures were the books for the illiterate:

For a picture is provided in churches for the reason that those who are illiterate may at least read by looking at the walls what they cannot read in books.⁹⁸

A second letter from Gregory (October 600AD) reads:

For the worship of a picture is one thing but learning what should be worshipped through the story in a picture is something else. For what writing provides for readers, this a picture provides for uneducated people looking at it, for in it the ignorant see what they should follow and they read the same from it. Thus a picture serves as a text, especially for pagans.⁹⁹

Subsequent medieval writers also found support in Gregory the Great's work for their views about image function.¹⁰⁰ The author of the twelfth-century St. Alban's Psalter, for example, wrote that:

⁹⁵ Ringbom 1965, 12-13.

⁹⁶ Aston 1988, 24-25.

⁹⁷ Hamburger, J., 'The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions', *Viator*, Vol. 20, 1989, 161-182, 163.

⁹⁸ Norberg, D., ed., *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum*, Vol. 1, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 140, Turnout 1982, Book 9.209, 768; for the English translation, see: Martin, J.R.C., ed., *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, Vol. 2, Toronto 2004, 674.

⁹⁹ *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum* (Vol. 1) 1982, Book 11.10, 874; for the English translation see: *Letters of Gregory the Great* (Vol. 2) 2004, 745.

¹⁰⁰ Chazelle 1995, 181-215. The eighth-century *Libri Carolini*, completed for Charlemagne in 793, rejects the use of images outright on the basis of Gregory the Great's work. On the other hand, a letter from Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne (793) states that worship of an image was an expression of the viewer's love for the prototype, and that it caused the viewer to contemplate and repent.

The picture is for simple men what writing is for those who can read, for those who cannot read see and learn from the picture the model which they should follow. Thus pictures are, above all, for the instruction of the people.¹⁰¹

Until recently, these commentaries were taken as a literal interpretation of the function of all images throughout the medieval period. Chazelle has done much to move the academic focus away from Gregory the Great, arguing that there is no reason to believe that the Pope's words were reflective of the more general attitude towards artwork in the sixth and seventh centuries.¹⁰² She maintains that Gregory was writing to Bishop Serenus to chastise him for his destruction of images, and that the emphasis on the value of artistic depictions to the illiterate may have been a passing comment intended as a strategy to change his mind, with little thought about the very specific and complex ways in which images functioned.¹⁰³ She has also analysed the vocabulary of the two letters, and suggested that it is possible to challenge the idea that Gregory believed an image capable of teaching an entirely new body of information to its viewers.¹⁰⁴ The phrase 'scientiam historiae colligere' is ambiguous in the first letter, as it could denote the acquisition of a greater knowledge about something already learned from another source, or something that has to be learned from scratch.¹⁰⁵ It is also possible that the following statement in the second letter has been misinterpreted: 'For the worship of a picture is one thing but learning what should be worshipped through the story on a picture is something else.'¹⁰⁶ The point here may be that a picture inspires its viewers to a more general awareness of God, not that it educates its viewers about the subject. This view is echoed by the anonymous author of the English *Pictor in Carmine* (c.1200), who claims that 'pictures' in churches 'can suggest divine things to the unlearned, and stir up the learned to the love of Scriptures'.¹⁰⁷ Nowhere in Gregory's work is it suggested that

¹⁰¹ Dodwell, C.R., Pächt, O., Wormald, F., *The St. Albans Psalter*, London 1960, 138; for the English translation see: Camille, M., 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1985, 26-49, 26.

¹⁰² Chazelle, C.M., 'Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles', *Word and Image*, Vol. 6, No. 2, April-June 1990, 138-153, 139.

¹⁰³ Chazelle 1990, 139, 148.

¹⁰⁴ Chazelle 1990, 141.

¹⁰⁵ Chazelle 1990, 141.

¹⁰⁶ *Letters of Gregory the Great* (Vol. 3) 2004, 745; Chazelle 1990, 141.

¹⁰⁷ James, M.R., ed., 'Pictor in Carmine', *Archaeologia*, Vol. 94, 1951, 141-166. For the English translation see: Chazelle 1990, 141.

the ignorant are capable of gleaning from images anything other than the subject-matter depicted, and, as Chazelle points out:

Nothing indicates that the remark was meant to imply that a picture, by itself, could teach its subject to someone completely unfamiliar with the things represented in it.¹⁰⁸

An image cannot independently instruct or teach a man, woman or child about the meaning of a visual representation if they have no notion of what the image is portraying or representing in the first place. In the later medieval period, awareness of visual depictions and their varying function was dependent upon the degree of knowledge possessed by an individual (which in turn came from an interlocutor or educator, or a book). This view was held by Abbot Suger, who believed that his new Abbey church at Saint-Denis in Paris could not be understood by viewing alone:

And because the diversity of the materials (such as) gold, gems and pearls is not easily understood by the mute perception of sight without a description, we have seen to it that this work, which is intelligible only to the literate, be set down in writing.¹⁰⁹

Even a series of narrative paintings depicting a story in a number of scenes, or more explicit and diagrammatic images such as the Seven Deadly Sins, would make little sense to a viewer who did not know who the characters were or what the symbols represented.¹¹⁰ In this sense, images do not function like the books or texts that they were traditionally likened to, because the written word can introduce a reader or listener to a completely new topic. Academics are slowly beginning to accept that this is the case, and in a major reconsideration of the relationship between text and image, Hamburger has recently stated that images are not ‘illustrations of text, any

¹⁰⁸ Chazelle 1990, 142.

¹⁰⁹ For the English translation see: Panofsky, E., ed., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint Denis and its Art Treasures*, Princeton 1979, 63.

¹¹⁰ Nilsen 2003, 330. Nilsen argues that some very basic images in parish churches, such as the Seven Deadly Sins or the Wheel of Life, needed no intermediary to be understood. This is clearly not the case, for even these images types would need a certain degree of background knowledge in order to be appreciated or interpreted.

more than the texts are seen simply as commentaries on the images'.¹¹¹ This view is supported by Caviness in her study of Biblical scenes in twelfth and thirteenth-century stained-glass in England and on the Continent.¹¹² She has searched for patterns that might have been effective in teaching the 'ignorant laity', and concludes that narrative windows did not function like books.¹¹³ They were often read from the bottom upwards (perhaps proceeding to heaven and redemption), and might even be arranged in a star composition which encouraged non-linear readings.¹¹⁴ The scenes in the windows were also frequently an expansion on the original Vulgate text, and depicted Apocryphal events such as the Life of Saint Joseph.¹¹⁵

Edification through Sermons

In theory, any image could be used as an instructional tool if a preacher or priest (or family member) were to explain its significance to a congregation or individual (or if the latter were literate enough to grasp the meaning from an explanation in a book). Surviving sermon literature suggests that priests may not have employed images in a didactic manner to the extent that some scholars have assumed, but it is still possible to find references to visual symbolism in texts.¹¹⁶ The pedagogical role of images has traditionally been assessed through sermon literature, exegesis and theological commentaries.¹¹⁷ More recently, however, a volume of articles edited by Hamburger and Bouche, which claims that academic approaches to theology are currently in flux, has aimed to redress this reliance of researchers on such literature.¹¹⁸ They claim that the emphasis should be on the method of 'how they used images and conceptions of the visual as instruments of argument and demonstration.'¹¹⁹ Yet this intention need not detract from the employment of sermon literature and related sources as evidence for how images functioned (if used with caution). Such sources are often confusing

¹¹¹ Hamburger, J.H., 'Introduction', in Hamburger, J.F., Bouche, A., eds., A., *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 2006, 5.

¹¹² Caviness 1992, 122-145.

¹¹³ Caviness 1992, 122-145.

¹¹⁴ Caviness 1992, 122-145.

¹¹⁵ Caviness 1992, 126-128.

¹¹⁶ Nilsen 2003, 326, 331.

¹¹⁷ For example: Owst, G.R., *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to the Sermon Manuscripts of the Period, c.1350-1450*, Cambridge, 1926.

¹¹⁸ Hamburger 2006, 5.

¹¹⁹ Hamburger 2006, 5, 6.

as their primary concern is rarely with imagery, and most simply make passing references to artwork when addressing some other matter. This means that it is necessary to piece together scattered evidence from a restricted body of sources in order to create as comprehensive a picture as possible.

The reliability of sermon-related literature as a source for image function is also questionable. The relationship between surviving sermons and the actual delivery is unclear on a number of levels, and it is probable that preaching in churches did not occur on a regular basis.¹²⁰ The parish priest had two opportunities to deliver sermons on Sundays and feast days. Preaching might occur between the creed and the offertory (or after the latter) at Mass, and a second sermon might be preached if an afternoon service were held (though it appears that this service was optional in many of the smaller rural churches).¹²¹ In reality, however, sermons appear to have been delivered on very few occasions. The Peckham Constitutions of 1281, which remained the basis of all preaching legislation until the Reformation, only required parish priests to preach sermons four times a year (once in every quarter).¹²² An entry in the Grandisson Foundation Statutes (1342) referring to the collegiate church of Ottery St. Mary (Devon), records that Sundays for ‘sermon ad populum’ only took place on the first and third Sundays in Advent, Septuagesima, and the first, third and fifth Sundays in Lent.¹²³ The survival of over two hundred pre-Reformation pulpits may suggest a growth in the importance of preaching by the fifteenth century, but on the whole it appears as though it was something of an event, and that congregations may not have been wholly familiar with the content of sermon literature.¹²⁴

It should also be considered that not all sermons were intended for preaching (some may have been read privately), and it is impossible to know, without a direct textual reference, if a sermon was ever actually delivered. It is unclear whether priests took texts into the pulpit, simply memorised them, or delivered sermons without consulting the available body of works. Some texts may have been composed as a guide for priests about what to include in sermons, but were never intended to be repeated

¹²⁰ Leith Spencer 1993, 9.

¹²¹ Owst 1926, 144-145.

¹²² Owst 1926, 145.

¹²³ Owst 1926, 145.

¹²⁴ Duffy 2005, 57-58; Owst 1926, 144-145.

word-for-word in the pulpit, and priests may have extemporised on the text to suit the specific needs of the congregation. Eight of the twelve extant manuscripts of Mirk's *Festial* have a prologue that maintains that the work was intended for priests who were not sufficiently educated to compose their own sermons, and that the anticipated audience was ordinary and unexceptional men and women who Mirk worked with on a day-to-day basis as a rural canon.¹²⁵ The text, which was probably the most widely read and utilised vernacular sermon collection in the late medieval period, also includes instructions for priests on how to deal with awkward questions from congregations.¹²⁶ Leith Spencer also discusses the potential barrier between the administration of the sermon and the reception by the audience. She includes examples of reluctance to listen, fatigue, deliberate interruption, overwrought piety, and even hecklers.¹²⁷ The presence of the Warning to Gossips image in churches, where the devil Tutivillus pushes together the heads of the gossiping women, suggests that certain members of the may have been guilty of non-attention during services or sermons.¹²⁸ On a more technical level, scribal errors, textual contamination and deliberate revision should also be taken into account.¹²⁹

Even when it can be proved that sermons were actually delivered to congregations, it is questionable whether the texts were actually used in conjunction with extant images within the church setting. Three sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (d.1389) mention the Wheel of Fortune, likening the turning circle to the troubles and luck of life.¹³⁰ There is a possibility that he had in mind the mid-thirteenth-century wall painting that survives on the choir wall in Rochester Cathedral.¹³¹ Yet we do not know whether the sermon was ever delivered in the Cathedral, and indeed if it were, whether the preacher made specific reference to the painting. Nilsen has also astutely

¹²⁵ Ford 2006, 2, 10-12; Powell, S., 'John Mirk's *Festial* and the Pastoral Programme', *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series, Vol. 22, 1991, 85-93, 85.

¹²⁶ Mirk, *Festial*, 1905, 124. For hyt ys of[t] ysene þat lewde men þe wheche buþe of mony / wordys and proude in hor wit, woll aske prestes dyuerse questyons / of þynges þat towchen to seuyce of holy chyrche, and nam;ly of þys / tyme, and gladly suche prestys as con not make a grayþe vnsvar / so, forto put hom to aschame, wherfor I haue tytuld here dyuerse / poyntys which þat byn nedfull to yche prest to know.

¹²⁷ Leith Spencer 1993, 92.

¹²⁸ Gill 2002, 235. There is a mid-fourteenth Warning to Gossips wall painting image in the Lady Chapel at Slapton (Northamptonshire) (see Chapter Three).

¹²⁹ Leith Spencer 1993, 274.

¹³⁰ Gill, M., 'Preaching and Image: Sermons and Wall Paintings in Later Medieval England', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, Muessig, C., ed., Leiden 2002, 155-180, 160.

¹³¹ Park 1987, Figure 95.

pointed out that it may not have been feasible for priests to use paintings as an effective pedagogic tool during preaching.¹³² The conditions of the medieval church were such that the nave would have been crowded and badly lit, and visual depictions may have been too far away or high up for the preacher to refer to or for congregation to view successfully.¹³³

It is occasionally possible to find sermon material that describes and explains the behavioural and moral significance of images and their symbolism, and which use visual depictions in a didactic manner. This suggests that (despite the complexities surrounding reception) congregations may have been aware of at least some of the spiritual meanings and functions attached to church imagery. Mirk illustrates the symbolism associated with Saint Margaret:

Herfor Margaret ys payntyd opur coruen wher scho ys with a
dragon vnder her fete and a cros yn her hond, schowyng how
by uertu of þe cros scho gate þe victory of þe fende.¹³⁴

Saint Margaret is commonly depicted in this manner in medieval imagery (an example being the fourteenth-century wall painting in the chancel at Hailes [Gloucestershire]), and it is probable that Mirk based his description on a depiction with which he was familiar.¹³⁵ He uses Saint Margaret as a behavioural role model, and instructs people to employ her as an exemplar when fighting their own battles against the devil. He also describes the imagery, symbolism and significance of the Virgin to those who ask why a lily and a wine pot stand between her and the angel Gabriel at the Annunciation. He explains that the stalk of the lily, which brings forth a white flower without any craft of man, represents the conception of the Virgin in the same manner. The Jew (who is part of the narrative) responds by promising that when he sees the lily springing out of the pot, he will love and not err.¹³⁶ This narrative is prescriptive of behaviour, and didactic in the sense that Mirk intends his listeners to be morally edified by a particular image, to absorb the narrative into their memory, and to love like the Jew. However, edification does not appear to have been

¹³² Nilsen 2003, 326, 331.

¹³³ Nilsen 2003, 326, 331.

¹³⁴ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 201.

¹³⁵ Sacred Destinations Website: www.sacred-destinations.com/england/hailes-church.htm

¹³⁶ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 108-109.

wholly thorough or complete.¹³⁷ Camille astutely suggests that a semi-literate audience might be able to recognise minimal or constantly repeated schema (as used by Romanesque artists), such as Joseph, Child, Virgin and animals = Nativity.¹³⁸ He also argues that the constantly repeated and limited letters of Latin may have been partially understood by the laity when displayed in artwork.¹³⁹ There are a significant number of examples that suggest that congregations may also have misinterpreted images. Mirk makes reference to a popular error in relation to the symbols of the Evangelists: ‘For Marke a lyon, for Mathew a man, for Luke a calfe, and for Ion an eron. Wherefor mony lewd men wenen þat þay wern suche bestys and not men’.¹⁴⁰ Yet it is clear that these ‘lewde’ (meaning unlearned or ignorant) men were not so uninformed that they were not aware of the existence of the symbols of the Evangelists (even if they did believe them to be beasts), and that they were almost certainly in possession of the most basic doctrines of the Christian Church.

2) Image and Memory

All images are mnemonic in that they serve to remind viewers of their desire for salvation, and ultimately God. This role has been alluded to in theological texts since the time of Gregory the Great. The Pope wrote to the Abbot and Historian Secundinus in 599AD to remind him that:

By means of the image remember as having been born,
having suffered, or as sitting on the throne. And by taking us
back to the memory of the Son of God, the image, like the
Scripture, delights our mind with the Resurrection, or
caresses it with the Passion.¹⁴¹

The link between image and memory is also apparent in the writings of Saint Bonaventure (1221-1274), who argued that sight is an aid to memory ‘introduced on

¹³⁷ Ford 2006, 8.

¹³⁸ Camille 1985, 29-30, 34-35.

¹³⁹ Camille 1985, 29-30, 33.

¹⁴⁰ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 261.

¹⁴¹ Migne, J.P., ed., *Sancti Gregorii Papaei Cognomento Magni Opera Omnia*, Paris 1849, Letter 52, Column 990. For the English translation see: Ringbom 1965, 12-13.

account of the transitory nature of memory, because those things which are only heard fall into oblivion more easily than those things which are seen'.¹⁴² Richart de Fournival (a canon at Amiens Cathedral in 1240 and Chancellor in 1246), also made a connection between memory and image, and described memory as having two gates of access called sight and hearing: 'To each of these doors there is a path by which one can reach them; those paths are painting (painture) and speech (parole). Painting serves the eye, speech the ear.'¹⁴³ For Fournival, both channels were a means of access to the 'house of memory' which holds all human knowledge of the past.¹⁴⁴ *Painture* includes not only painted pictures, but also mental images heard or read aloud.¹⁴⁵ The written word has a visual shape (painture), but also calls to mind its sound (parole).¹⁴⁶ Memory systems and methods were examined in detail by theologians such as Boncompagno da Signa, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas, who based many of their theories on the new Latin translation of Aristotle's *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*.¹⁴⁷ The definition of memory was far more extensive and complex than the modern sense of simply recording and recalling information, and (as will be demonstrated below) was probably far removed from how the more ordinary churchgoer perceived the effect of an image in church on his or herself. Aquinas argued that memory is located in both the intellectual and sensitive parts of the soul.¹⁴⁸ The intellectual section makes sense of and interprets the image, while the sensitive part (which also contains the imagination), takes in impressions of the world through the senses.¹⁴⁹ For Aquinas, memory is far more susceptible to the physical than the spiritual world:

¹⁴² For the English translation see: Duggan 1989, 232.

¹⁴³ For the English translation see: Lewis, S., *Reading Images: Narrative, Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth Century Illuminated Apocalypse*, Cambridge 1995, 244.

¹⁴⁴ Carruthers 1990, 223.

¹⁴⁵ Carruthers 1990, 223.

¹⁴⁶ Carruthers 1990, 224.

¹⁴⁷ Spiazzi, R.M., ed., Aquinas, *In Aristotelis Libros de Sensu et Sensato. De Memoria et Reminiscentia Commentarium*, Turin 1949, 93; Gaudentio, A., ed., Boncompagno da Signa, *Rhetorica Novissima*, Vol. 2, Bologna 1892, 225; Borgnet, A., ed., Albertus Magnus, *De Anima*, Opera Omnia, Vol. 5, Paris 1890-1899; King, R.A.H., ed., Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, Darmstadt 2004. Yates 1966, 70.

¹⁴⁸ Yates 1966, 81-82; Lewis 1995, 242.

¹⁴⁹ Yates 1966, 81-82.

It is that we remember less easily those things which are of subtle and spiritual import; and we remember more easily those things which are gross and sensible. And if we wish to remember intelligible notions more easily, we should link them with some kind of phantasms, as Tullius teaches in his Rhetoric.¹⁵⁰

Theologians also made a distinction between natural and artificial memory, both of which were discussed by classical authors such as Martianus Capella (c.430).¹⁵¹ According to Boncompagno da Signa, natural memory comes solely from nature without the aid of an artifice.¹⁵² Artificial memory on the other hand assists natural memory, but is exercised and improved by external influences such as art, hearing and reading.¹⁵³ Theologians were also interested in the different types of memorisation, and make the Aristotelian division between simple memory (or remembering), and reminiscence.¹⁵⁴ Aquinas argues that whereas animals have a simple memory, or an ability to remember past events, reminiscence is unique to humanity because of its superior and partly rational nature.¹⁵⁵ The latter often proceeds through associative order (rather like a syllogism in logic) from a physical place or location starting point where something was said or done. Men and women ‘imagine a certain order of places upon which images (phantasmata) of all those things which we wish to remember are distributed in a certain order.’¹⁵⁶

It is unlikely that the majority of church-goers in later medieval England would have been aware of or familiar with the mnemonic theories of the leading theologians and academics working in universities and moving in the highest intellectual circles. Church imagery served to remind the viewer of what he or she already knew, and to recall what was in the mind (and ultimately God himself). This opinion was expressed by Pecock in his *Repressor*. The text deals directly with the relationship

¹⁵⁰ Aquinas, *In Aristotelis Libros de Sensu et Sensato* 1949, 93; For the English translation see: Yates 1966, 81-82.

¹⁵¹ Yates 1966, 70, 73.

¹⁵² Boncompagno, *Rhetorica Novissima* (Vol. 2) 1892, 225; Yates 1966, 70.

¹⁵³ Yates 1966, 85.

¹⁵⁴ Yates 1966, 79.

¹⁵⁵ Yates 1966, 79, 83.

¹⁵⁶ Aquinas, *In Aristotelis Libros de Sensu et Sensato*, 1949, 107. For the English translation see: Yates 1966, 82.

between viewers and artwork in churches, and as a clergyman, it is likely that Pecock was aware of how visual depictions functioned in the parish environment. He claimed that images remind viewers of ‘God, and of hise benefetis, and of his holi lijf and passioun, and of Seintis and of her holi conuersacioun’ (as well as angels in heaven and moral governance on earth).¹⁵⁷ For Pecock, they were ‘seable rememoratijf’ or ‘rememoratijf visible signes’, and:

In biholding bi si3t of i3e upon manye dyuerse stories or ymagis...a man schal in a litil while be remembrid now upon the passioun of Seint Laurence, and now upon the passioun of Seint Steuen, now anoon aftir vpon the passioun of Petir, and so forth of manye chaungis.¹⁵⁸

Pecock’s focus is not on the scientific explanation of how memory functioned as forwarded by the great theologians, but rather on the far less erudite and less complex manner in which images can act as signs to remind the viewer of God. The language, terminology and examples he uses are also far more accessible, and reflect how parish church images functioned. He gives the analogy of a merchant who has a task to perform, and who might remind himself of it by a ‘seable rememoratijf signe and tokene forto mynde and remember him upon the same errand’.¹⁵⁹ He might prompt himself to do the deed by making a ring of rush and putting it on his finger, by drawing a visible cross on the wall of his chamber or hall, by hanging up a hood, girdle or staff in a visible place, or by tying a knot on his girdle.¹⁶⁰ Pecock likens these actions to images and other visual signs:

A man make and vse seable rememoratijf signes (as ymagis and othere seable thingis or deedis), into this eende, that he thereby the oftir thenke on Goddis worthinesse, Goddis benefetis, and hise punyschingis, and on vertues of hise lawis.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 172.

¹⁵⁸ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 166, 167, 213.

¹⁵⁹ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 166.

¹⁶⁰ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 166.

¹⁶¹ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 166.

Pecock maintains that although images should not eclipse the reading or hearing of the word of God (all of which come directly from God), they have certain mnemonic advantages over hearing other men read or preach, hearing one's own reading, or creating images in one's own mind.¹⁶² He also illustrates how images are often more effective than books when attempting to recall information stored in the memory. If, for example, someone wished to bring to mind the Passion or holy life of Saint Paul, Peter or Nicholas, he or she could read about it in a book, but it would be spread over six or seven pages and he or she might remember little of what they have read.¹⁶³ It is far less laborious and painful to view a piece of artwork than to recall a long narrative presented in word form.¹⁶⁴ The viewer may remember more 'bi si3t of the i3e in beholding an ymage coruen with purtenancis sett aboute him, or in beholding a storie openly ther of purtreied or peintid in the wal or in a clooth'.¹⁶⁵ Thus Pecock argues that if 10,000 books on the life of Saint Catherine were produced in London, the minds of the city would not turn the city to the mind of Saint Catherine. Yet the sight of the yearly pilgrimage to the college of Saint Catherine beside London (and anyone who has ever seen this will testify that this is the case), causes people to recall the saint.¹⁶⁶

Pecock focuses on the manner in which a viewer can recall information already in his or her head from viewing an image, but does not consider the initial absorption of information into the mind to be a feature of the mnemonic system. This element is discussed by researchers in relation to artwork utilised by monastic and learned audiences. Carruthers, for example, argues that decoration and visual or mnemonic diagrams in medieval books 'can have either (or a combination) of two functions: they can serve as 'fixes' for memory storage, or serve as cues to start the recollective process.'¹⁶⁷ Certainly, theological images such as Hugh of Saint Victor's 'De Arca Noe' or the 'Tree of Vices and Virtues' are often organised in such a way so as to help the student or viewer retain the information presented in them.¹⁶⁸ Camille also suggests that certain illuminations, including the initial A from Saint Jerome's

¹⁶² Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 273-274.

¹⁶³ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 212.

¹⁶⁴ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 213.

¹⁶⁵ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 214-215.

¹⁶⁶ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 2) 1860, 215.

¹⁶⁷ Carruthers 1990, 253.

¹⁶⁸ Carruthers 1990, 232-234, 254.

Commentary on the Old Testament (the first in a long list of those beginning with the same letter) are structured for memorisation, and encourage the learned, monastic user of the text to learn through the oral repetition of lists in alphabetical order.¹⁶⁹ The figure in the initial actually chews the tendrils of the sprouting A, and the letters AB and C issue from the figure's mouth, while the bear repeats the first letter.¹⁷⁰ These images are pedagogical in the sense that they were used by monastic scholars who had some awareness of how diagrams and illuminations functioned for the initial learning and absorption of information into the mind. Yet church images were generally not didactic in function (unless aided by a preacher or handbook). In the same manner, it is also unlikely that the meaning of an image could have been committed to memory and fully understood if the viewer did not possess prior knowledge of the significance of the image.

¹⁶⁹ Camille 1985, 29-30.

¹⁷⁰ Camille 1985, 29-30.

Part Three: The Relationship between Image and Viewer

Medieval Vision Theories

Medieval theologians and academics held a number of ‘scientific’ theories concerning the mechanism of vision, and how images were processed by the human mind. Robert Grosseteste (c.1169-1253), Bishop of Lincoln, argued that every object in the universe innately acts on its surroundings through the emanation of its likeness or ‘*species*’. This radiation, or intromission, is conveyed to the eye, mind or soul of the viewer, and in turn interacts with a visual spirit made of the same nature as the Sun’s light that emanates from the eye (known as extromission).¹⁷¹ Peter of Limoges turned these intromissionist theories of vision into moral and spiritual arguments, arguing that the objects we see with the eyes of our body affects our moral formation, and therefore the degree of spiritual sight or blindness.¹⁷² Sight and vision were believed to be so potent that they left their imprint on matter, a view expounded by Gerald of Wales: ‘Their interior minds are excited and Christ’s Passion and death on behalf of humankind are inscribed on the membrane of their hearts’.¹⁷³

Medieval theologians were also fascinated by different types of vision and methods of seeing. Prior Richard of Saint Victor (d.1173) claimed that there were four distinct levels of sight.¹⁷⁴ Corporeal vision was divided into two modes: first, the opening of one’s eyes and perception of figures and colours; secondly, the viewing of both the outward appearance and its mystical significance.¹⁷⁵ The third stage was spiritual perception and the discovery of the ‘truth of hidden things ...by means of forms and figures and the similitude of things’.¹⁷⁶ The fourth and highest level was a mystical mode which involved ‘the pure and naked seeing of divine reality’, a kind of last

¹⁷¹ Tachau, K.H., ‘Seeing as Action and Passion in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries’, in Hamburger, J.F., Bouche, A., eds., *In the Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 2006, 336-359, 340; Camille 1996, 19, 22. Camille discusses the active power of the image and the ability of eyesight to access phenomena beyond the scope of the physical world (including spiritual vision, portents and Elevation of the Host).

¹⁷² Kameron 2002, 151-152.

¹⁷³ For the English translation see: Kessler, H.L., ‘Turning a Blind Eye: Medieval Art and the Dynamics of Contemplation’, in Hamburger, J.F., Bouche, A., eds., *In the Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 2006, 413-439, 430.

¹⁷⁴ Camille 1996, 16.

¹⁷⁵ Camille 1996, 16.

¹⁷⁶ Camille 1996, 16-17.

revelation in the same way that Saint John viewed God as a dim reflection face-to-face (Corinthians 1, 13:12).¹⁷⁷ This distinction between different forms of internal visual experience is also found in the writings of Margery Kempe. Her first encounter is mental and formed with her spiritual eye in her mind (Hamburger has called this ‘imageless devotion’) whereby she visualises the Passion and engages in dialogue with Christ or the Virgin: ‘Than sche beheld in the syght of hir sowle owr blissful Lord Crist Jhesu coming to hys passyonward’.¹⁷⁸ The second type results from her viewing a physical object with her bodily eye, which in turn inspires a visualisation of the spiritual (in this case a Pieta in Saint Stephen’s church in Norwich): ‘Thorw the beholding of the pete hir mende was al holy occupyed in the Passyon of owr Lord Jhesu Crist and in the compassion of owr Lady, Seynt Mary’.¹⁷⁹ The biography of Gertrude of Helfa, the mystic from Saxony, also describes how she experiences two forms of seeing, the physical and the visionary (or spiritual) in the imagination. She tells of how she engaged a certain person to pray to God everyday before a Crucifix (probably in a prayer book): ‘O most loving Lord, by Thy pierced Heart So that nothing earthly may remain therein, and that it may be entirely filled with the strength of Thy divinity.’¹⁸⁰ She then records that there followed:

A remarkable prodigy which Thou didst show me in the image of Thy crucifixion. After I had received the Sacrament of life and had retired to the place where I pray, it seemed to me that I saw a ray of light like an arrow coming forth from the wound of the right side of the crucifix, which was in an elevated place, and it continued, as it were, to advance and retire for some time, sweetly attracting my cold affections.¹⁸¹

The initial stimulation for this step-by-step contemplative devotional approach is provided by the Crucifix, and a second Crucifix appears as the culminating vision. This distinction between bodily and spiritual (or ghostly) vision is also made by Julian of Norwich when a priest holds up a Crucifix when she believed herself to be dying: ‘In this same tyme that I saw this sight of the head bleidyng, our good lord shewed us

¹⁷⁷ Camille 1996, 17; Lewis 1995, 236.

¹⁷⁸ Stanley 1998, 179; Hamburger 1989, 166.

¹⁷⁹ Stanley 1998, 145; Hamburger 1989, 166.

¹⁸⁰ For the English translation see: Hamburger 1989, 172.

¹⁸¹ Hamburger 1989, 172.

a gostly sight of his homely louyng'.¹⁸² The bodily and spiritual sights worked concurrently, but eventually the bodily vision ceased and the spiritual vision and understanding of the soul's relation to God 'dwellth in my vnderstondyng'.¹⁸³

As with mnemonic theories, it is unlikely that parishioners would have been familiar with vision theories of leading theologians and mystics authors, and they must have remained remote to most viewers. Basic elements of sight theory are found in the work of Pecock, who writes that:

The i3e (eye) si3t schewith and bringith into the ymaginacioun
and into the mynde withynne in the heed of a man myche mater
and long mater sooner, and with lasse labour and traueil and
peine, than the heering of the eere dooth.¹⁸⁴

Yet there is little else in his work that suggests that parishioners were expected to be aware of academic ideas, let alone to employ them in the church environment. As Aston astutely points out, most worshippers were far more concerned with practices specific to their own parish churches than with remote and irrelevant theological dogma.¹⁸⁵

Image Contact and Gesture

The terms 'devotion' and 'veneration' have been used by academics such as Marks to indicate some form of relationship or interaction between the image and the viewer in the medieval church.¹⁸⁶ Yet this is hazy terminology, and does not explain exactly how viewers approached images, and what type of gestures and postures they adopted. The most common form of contact between the individual and sacred artwork probably took the form of prayer (to intercede to God to reduce the time their souls spent in Purgatory, to invoke a particular saint for the cure of a particular ill, to

¹⁸² *Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich* (Vol. 2) 1978, 294-318.
Kamerick 2002, 136.

¹⁸³ *Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich* (Vol. 2) 1978, 294-318.
Kamerick 2002, 136.

¹⁸⁴ Pecock, *Repressor*, (Vol. 1) 1860, 212-213.

¹⁸⁵ Aston 1993, 3-5, 13.

¹⁸⁶ Marks 2004, 13, 78.

request forgiveness, mercy or purification, or for the preservation of existing order in the community). The *Salve Regina* was often said or sung before images of the Virgin, and other prayers might be addressed to favoured images.¹⁸⁷ A Northamptonshire testator, for instance, instructed his widow to say the *Ave*, *Pater Noster* and Creed every Sunday before the image of Saint Augustine in the church at Daventry (Northamptonshire).¹⁸⁸ References to the precise physical gestures adopted when praying are occasionally found in other texts. Pecock touches on the nature of physical prayer gestures: ‘It is also also leeful and expedient a man forto knele to God, preie to God, and holde vp hise hondis to God, and make a vowe to God bfore a preest, or an other man’.¹⁸⁹ He also specifies the physical positioning an individual might adopt when approaching images and altars (though he is careful to specify that this is only acceptable if directed towards God rather than the image):

Men knele bfore hem, or preie bfore hem...what euer vertuose
gouernaunce mai be do to God or to a Seint bfore a bare wal, mai
be do to God or to a Seint bfore a wal peintid with the passioun of
God or with the passioun of God or with the passioun of a
Seint...¹⁹⁰

An anonymous treatise on the methods of prayer used by Saint Dominic (c.1260-c.1288) mentions bowing, holding out the hands, extending the arms in the form of a cross, and crossing oneself.¹⁹¹ Durandus (Bishop of Mende from 1296) describes this latter action in his *Rationale*, a text dealing with the symbolism of church buildings, ceremonies, fixtures and fittings, and with the function of images: ‘Wherefore he that entereth into a church fortifieth himself with the sign of the cross’ to drive away evil spirits.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ Marks 2004, 171.

¹⁸⁸ Sergeantson, R.M., Isham Longden, H., eds., ‘The Parish Churches and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire: Their Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights’, *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 70 (2nd Series, Vol. 20), 1913, 217-452, 310.

¹⁸⁹ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 1) 1860, 170.

¹⁹⁰ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 1) 169, 170.

¹⁹¹ Tugwell, S., ed., *The Nine Ways of Prayer of Saint Dominic*, Dublin 1978, 15, 30, 33, 46.

¹⁹² Neale, J.M., Webb, B., eds., *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum Written by William Durandus, Sometime Bishop of Mende*, London 1843, 38.

Those who could afford prayer books may have used them in conjunction with images in the church. Lentes highlights the ‘devotional pose’ found so often in manuscript illuminations, where the kneeling lone worshipper holds his or her hands together in prayer, an open prayer book on the table before him, and an image above the altar in front of him.¹⁹³ The anonymous author of *Dives and Pauper* suggests that it is often priests who adopt this posture (presumably because they are more likely to have access to books):

PAUPER: Often þu seeist þat þe preist in chirche hat3 his book
aforn hym on þe deske. He knely3t, he stary3t, he loky3t on his
book, he heldy3t vp hese hondys and for deuocioun in caas he
wepy3t and maky3t deuowte preyerys.¹⁹⁴

Prostration before images was fairly common, and is also mentioned by Durandus:

Anyone who passes the effigy of Christ, honour by prostrating
yourself. Yet do not adore the effigy, but that which it
signifies...For it is not God or man, the image which you
presently see, but he is God and man, whom the sacred image
figures’.¹⁹⁵

Pecock also mentions that ‘It is leeful and expedient a man knele to God orto a Seint, (3he, and ligge prostrate to God or to a Seint) before an auter’.¹⁹⁶

Occasional references are found in texts to genuflection before images, such as the case of Alice Hignell of Newbury, who admitted to calling people fools for offering lights to sculptures of Saint Leonard or the Virgin, and threatened to take an axe and turn the images into firewood.¹⁹⁷ As part of her penance she was forced to genuflect before images of the Crucifix and the Virgin, saying the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostle’s

¹⁹³ Lentes 2006, 363. Lentes bases his description is on an image in a Book of Hours from Ghent, c.1500-c.1520: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome. MS Lat. 3769, folio 66v; Kamerick 2002, 179. Kamerick bases her description on the following manuscript image: BL. Add. MS 35313, folio 237. A pope kneels before a table on which rests an open book. His hands are raised in prayer and he gazes at a picture of the Virgin hanging on the wall.

¹⁹⁴ *Dives and Pauper* 1976, 86.

¹⁹⁵ Durandus 1843, 53.

¹⁹⁶ Pecock, *The Repressor* (Vol. 1), 1860, 169, 170.

¹⁹⁷ Kamerick 2002, 126-127.

Creed and five Hail Maries.¹⁹⁸ Other images, including representations of Saint Christopher, were generally glanced at in passing, and the positioning of his image opposite the main door to the church building ensured that he was visible on entering and leaving the church. This was also the case with Fra' Angelico's 'Annunciation' at the entrance to the dormitory of San Marco, which the monks passed in procession when entering and leaving the dormitory. The inscription within the image instructs the passer-by: 'Virginis intacte cum veneris ante figuram pretereundo cave ne sileatur ave'.¹⁹⁹ It is unclear whether viewers would have used physical prayer gestures before such images, or whether the interaction was purely visual.

Sight and Sound

Camille has argued that the five senses were used in the exchange between viewer and image, and that a 'Man of Sorrows with Angels' panel by Meister Francke (c.1420) would have been 'a powerful tool for communicating not theological ideas, but sensations'.²⁰⁰ For Camille, hearing is implied through the IHS symbol, repeated in the gold background in a mantra-like fashion, and the sweetness of taste by two small teeth (a trope found in contemporary love lyrics).²⁰¹ Touch is indicated by the manner in which the angels hold up Christ's flesh as a kind of garment that the viewer wishes to feel, and smell through the decoration of the inner frame of the panel with five-petal gilded open roses.²⁰² Yet it seems unlikely that the more commonplace church-goer would have ordinarily experienced imagery through senses other than sight and touch (and occasionally sound).²⁰³ Physical contact appears to have been relatively usual, especially in the case of saints' cults. At Saint George's Chapel in Windsor, for instance, pilgrims are recorded as kissing and licking the alabaster Virgin behind the

¹⁹⁸ Kamerick 2002, 127.

¹⁹⁹ Lenten 2006, 366, Figure 3.

²⁰⁰ Camille, M., 'Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion in the Later Middle Ages: A Double-sided Panel by Meister Francke', in MacDonald, A.A., Ridderbos, H.N.B., Schluseman, R.M., eds., *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, Groningen 1998, 183-210, Plate 1.

²⁰¹ Camille 1998, 197.

²⁰² Camille 1998, 197-202.

²⁰³ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 1) 1860, 162. Pecock refers to certain objects, including the ointment used by Mary Magdalene to anoint Christ and church incense, as smellable 'rememoratijs signes'. However, he does not relate this concept specifically to pictorial artwork.

high altar.²⁰⁴ Pecock also claims that the process of touching occurs not only invisibly through the eyes, but also physically through the hands and mouth:

To have vnto his visage or i3en or mouth the touch of Cristis
feet or of his mouth or of his hond or breste bi meene of the
touche which the hond getith fro hem and vpon hem
immediatli.²⁰⁵

Evidence indicates that some viewers may occasionally have believed images capable of creating sound. Certain images (albeit more usually sculpture than painting) were considered by some to have the miraculous ability to talk. Mirk, for instance, describes a knight who forgave his enemy in church on Good Friday, and was verbally praised by Christ as a result:

When thys kyyght com crepyng to the cros and kyssud the fete,
the ymage lossyd his armes, and clyppd the knyght about the
necke, and kyssd hym, and sayde thus that all the chyrch herd:
"I foryeue the, as thou hast foryeuen for me".²⁰⁶

This phenomenon that was attacked by Lollards from the end of the fourteenth century, and condemned as idolatrous by texts such as *Dives and Pauper*, which is keen to remind readers that images do not see or hear: 'Make þin / preyere aforþ þe ymage but nought to þe ymage, for it seeith the nought, it hery3t the nought, it vnderstondy3t the nought'.²⁰⁷ The very fact that this is mentioned however, suggests that certain individuals actually did believe images to be miraculously empowered with the gift of speech.

²⁰⁴ Marks 2004, 220.

²⁰⁵ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 1) 1860, 271; Walker Bynum, C., *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1987, 115. Walker Bynum also draws attention to the way in which food was central to female spirituality in Europe. She gives the example of Mary of Oignes, who often experienced the taste of honey in her mouth at Mass, and felt sensations of being full or tasting sweetness when she received spiritual advice.

²⁰⁶ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 123-124; Wakelin, M.F., 'A Note on Preaching: "Roodes and Othyr Ymages" in Mediaeval England', *Downside Review*, Vol. 103, 1985, 76-86, 76.

²⁰⁷ *Dives and Pauper* 1976, 85, x. Barnum argues that *Pauper* is neither an apologist for the shortcomings of the clergy nor an advocate for Wycliffite reform, but rather something between the two.

Texts also indicate that certain viewers might occasionally have understood images to be actual embodiments of the figures they represented. An anonymous Wycliffite author writing at the turn of the fourteenth century complains of pilgrims and travellers:

strokande and kyssand these olde stones and stokkis, laying
doun hore grete offryngis, and maken avowis right there to thes
dede ymagis to come the nexct yer again, as yif thei weren
Crist and oure Lauedy and Ion Baptist and Thomas of
Caunterbery and siche other.²⁰⁸

Mirk also provides a number of narratives that highlight more ‘popular’ beliefs concerning the interactive and reciprocal nature of the relationship between image and viewer.²⁰⁹ We are told of a woman whose son has been captured and thrown in prison. She enters a church, speaks to the image of the Virgin, and eventually takes the Christ Child home with her. As a kind of burial motif, she wraps him in white clothes and places him in a ‘cofur’, and tells the Virgin she will keep Christ (her son) until her own son is returned to her. The Virgin releases the son that very night, and the woman restores the Christ Child to his mother.²¹⁰ Two informative conclusions regarding belief in image function can be drawn from this story. First, there is a strong superstition attached to the image of the Virgin, and the woman uses it as a talismanic device to ensure the return of her son. Secondly, Mirk gives the impression that the woman sees the image as the Virgin herself, not just as a statue or representation. It is the image, not the saint, which is working the miracle. The woman also refers to the Christ Child as ‘your son’ and makes a direct equation between him and her son. What is significant here is that Mirk uses the incident as an acknowledgement of the miracles of the Virgin and not as a criticism of attitudes towards imagery. This standpoint is found elsewhere in the *Festial* where he tells of another woman who burns a candle before an image of the Virgin in a church before she dies. Despite her lack of good works, she is returned to life on the strength of this

²⁰⁸ Hudson, A., ed., *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, Cambridge 1978, 87; Wakelin 1985, 76.

²⁰⁹ For more examples of interaction between viewers and images see: Camille 1998, 183-185. Oakes indicates that the images of the Virgin could operate in significantly different fashions to those of other saints (and should therefore be examined separately). Oakes, C., *Ora Pro Nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion*, Turnhout 2008, 13.

²¹⁰ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 248.

one action: ‘Scho fonde a serge befor me brennyng and wold euer whyll scho had lyued; þen wyll I be as kind to hur as scho was to me’.²¹¹ It is also significant that the Virgin refers to the image as ‘me’, an indication that the image and the saint are almost synonymous.

²¹¹ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 62.

Part Four: Image Function

The Passion and Related Images

When attempting to assess the role of images in the medieval church, it is necessary to examine exactly what each type was intended to recall, and in what manner this might have occurred. It is only then that we can begin to make a distinction between the different functions of different kinds of pictorial representations. (Image categories are not entirely watertight - a Doom painting, for instance incorporates the Rood, so can be classified as both a Passion and a moralistic image). Researchers are hampered by the fact that there are very few sources that serve to illuminate reactions to images. Responses were always personal and individual, and could be affected by specific contexts such as location in public or private space, or the state of mind or intent of the beholder.²¹² Nilsen points out that if individuals were not aware of the role or meaning of a particular image, then these functions could not operate.²¹³ Yet it should also be considered that, to a certain extent, image function was prescribed to congregations by priests through preaching and sermon-related literature (as discussed above).

It is possible to find references in texts to the manner in which the viewer should approach the Crucifix, the mental disposition he or she should possess, and the effect the image should have on the beholder. The anonymous fifteenth-century treatise on the *Decalogue* (which focuses on the Second Commandment) includes a commentary on the role of the Rood, and how men and women should move towards the Cross:

²¹² Swanson, R.N., 'Passion and Practice: The Social and Ecclesiastical Implication of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages', in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, MacDonald, A.A., Ridderbos, H.N.B., Schluseman, R.M., eds., Gronigen 1998, 1-30, 11.

²¹³ Nilsen 2003, 323-340, 331.

And so whenne we cometh into eny churche, mekelyche we
scholde knele upon the ground...and whanne thou seyst the
cros, thenke with grete sorowe and compunccioun of heorte
what dethe he suffrede for mankynde; and so byfore the cros
that meveth the to devocion worschepe thou Crist with al thy
my3t.²¹⁴

All Passion-related images were intended to create a very direct, personal and interactive relationship with the crucified Christ in appreciation of the suffering he endured.²¹⁵ Pecock describes how viewers engage in physical interaction with the Cross in order to get further into love and good affection:

Thei kessiden the feet of the ymage; not as that the feet of the
ymage weren al that thei there kissiden, but that ther with thei
kessiden the feet of Crist whom thei ymagineden to be there in
bodili maner present.²¹⁶

The Franciscan *Meditationes Vitae Christi* text suggests that the reader should imagine him or herself following Christ within the narrative: 'With your whole mind you must imagine yourself present and consider diligently everything done against your Lord'.²¹⁷ The Cross essentially functioned as a mnemonic trigger so that the viewer could recall and physically and emotionally re-enact or imitate the Passion and ultimately, Christ's suffering for Mankind.²¹⁸ The author of the *Dives and Pauper* text urges viewers to take heed of every detail of the crucified Christ image, and 'Qhanne þu seeist þe ymage of þe crucifix, thynke on hym þat deyid on þe cros for þin sake and thanke hym of his endeles charite þat he wolde suffryn so mechil for the'.²¹⁹ Mirk also urges congregations to enter into and experience for themselves the events of Christ's life by using images as ritual props:

²¹⁴ Owst, G.R., *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, Oxford 1961, 142.

²¹⁵ Swanson 1998, 14.

²¹⁶ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 1) 1860, 270.

²¹⁷ Green, R.B., Ragusa, I., ed. and transl., *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, Princeton 1961, 333.

²¹⁸ Swanson 1998, 204; Camille 1998, 183-210, 204.

²¹⁹ *Dives and Pauper* 1976, 83.

Soo we worschip þis day þe cros yn our procescyon, þrys
 knelyng to þe cros yn worschip and in mynd of hym þat was
 for vs don on þe crosse, and welcoming hym wyth songe into
 þe chirch, as þay welcomet hym syngyng into þe cyte of
 Ierusalem.²²⁰

Texts also suggest that the Crucifix might have had a number of more specific functions, including the provision of cleansing, forgiveness, intercession and protection. Instructions from a late medieval prayer book emphasise how the Crucifix could cleanse the viewer's soul:

If you are saddened, go and stand before a crucifix or kneel
 before it and repeat the Psalm Ad te Levavi (I raise my eyes to
 you). Then say: "Lord and my Saviour, see my sadness...and
 cleanse me of my sin...through your most noble suffering and
 countenance upon the cross".²²¹

The concluding words of a hymn sung in Holy Week also highlight the power of the Cross to provide forgiveness: 'O cros, the oon hope in this tyme of passioun, encrece thou ri3twisnes to piteful men and 3eue for3euenes to gilty men'.²²² Pecock describes the intercessory role of the Crucifix at the Feast of the Invention of the Cross (May 3rd), whereby a response and an anthem are sung, and many speeches made 'to the cros being a creature'. Thou, which barist the Lord, make the patrour (that is to seie, Crist) forto be to vs inclinable or boweable or redi to here us'.²²³ Another anthem, sung at the second evensong in the Feast of the Exultation of the Cross (September 14th), asks for protection against enemies: 'O sweete stok, bering sweete nailis and bering sweete birthens (that is to seie, the bodi of Crist and his parties,) be thou to us a ward a3ens the dartis of the enemy'.²²⁴ A sequence sung in the same festival includes the lines: 'O Cristen medicyn, saue thou hool men, and hele thou sike men!'.²²⁵

²²⁰ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 115.

²²¹ For the English translation see: Lentes 2006, 362.

²²² Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 1) 1860, 200.

²²³ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 1) 1860, 200.

²²⁴ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 1) 1860, 201.

²²⁵ Pecock, *Repressor* (Vol. 1) 1860, 201.

Images of Christ and the Virgin also invoked and recalled a kind of emotional intimacy, as well as sympathy and compassion for the suffering of humanity. This was increasingly the case in the late medieval period as depictions of Christ became progressively more emotional and naturalistic in form.²²⁶ The *Pieta* symbolised the agony of the Passion and the salvation of mankind through Christ's sacrifice. The sorrow provided a form of emotional identification with which viewers could empathise and experience the Passion of Christ for themselves. This is suggested by John Lydgate (1370?-1449) in his poem *On the Image of Piety*: 'Rewe on that peyne, remembringe here vpon / Pray to that queen, that moder is, and mayd.'²²⁷ The Virgin's tears of maternal grief and lament reflect her participation in Christ's Passion (as well as her role as mediator for mankind).²²⁸ Lydgate also maintains that contemplating the pity image could help the viewer avoid sin: 'Emprynt thes wordes myndly thy hert within / Thyнк how thow sest Cryst bledyng on þe tre / And yf thow steryd or temptyd to be syne / and shall sone sese and pase a-way from the'.²²⁹ By performing this action, the individual will ultimately 'putte þe fend to flight / And safe hym-selffe in sole and body sure'.²³⁰

Yet as with all medieval images, the context very often determined the function of an object, and there are cases in which the physical closeness of a *Pieta* image to the altar suggests that it may also have had a Eucharistic role. At Thame in Oxfordshire, the *Pieta* mural is painted on the south-east crossing pier facing the congregation, and almost certainly originally stood above an altar.²³¹ The Mass itself was a liturgical recounting of the Passion whereby the devout could participate in and experience in their minds the events recalled, and witness the sacramental body of Christ held aloft

²²⁶ Marks 2004, 13; Nilsen 2003, 332; Areford, D., 'The Passion Measured: A Late Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ', in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, MacDonald, A.A., Ridderbos, H.N.B., Schlusemann, R.M., eds., Gronigen 1998, 211-238, 211.

²²⁷ MacCracken, H.N., ed., *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Part 1, EETS, Extra Series, Vol. 107 (Original Series, Vol. 192), London 1911, 297.

²²⁸ Marks 2004, 123, 129, 137. Marks argues that a mood of emotional restraint is indicated by the iconographical characteristics of many English alabasters. Rather than reflecting the agony of the Passion, Christ's body lies in repose, displaying his wounds to viewers, and the Virgin gazes into the distance in a reflective manner. Her participation in the Incarnation and Redemption is emphasised by the manner in which she often holds her veil in her left hand. In texts such as *Mediationes Vitae Christi*, the Virgin's veil is said to have provided Christ's clothing at birth and his loincloth at the Passion.

²²⁹ *Minor Poems of John Lydgate* 1911, 298.

²³⁰ *Minor Poems of John Lydgate* 1911, 298.

²³¹ Marks 2004, 123, 129, 137, Figure 87.

in the priest's hands.²³² The *Pieta* also seems to have functioned as a moralising tale about personal conduct and behaviour. The fifteenth-century wall painting at Corby Glen in Lincolnshire, located on the north wall of the north aisle, depicts the tearful Virgin sitting with the limp body of a grown Christ lying piteously across her knee as she wrings her hands in grief.²³³ This forms part of the 'Warning to Swearers' scheme, and seven young men, dressed in fashionable attire, each taunted by a devil, swear on parts of Christ's body. Their unacceptable actions have in effect dismembered him and thereby caused his Passion.

Moralistic Images and the Doom

Certain images were more specifically moralistic than emotional in purpose, prescribing, describing and reminding viewers of suitable and unsuitable behaviour, and prompting spiritual development. These include motifs such as the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Corporeal Works of Mercy. Such images became more prevalent from the fourteenth century onwards, perhaps following the preaching and catechetical concerns of the period as found in the *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* (the product of Archbishop Pecham's Council of Lambeth in 1281).²³⁴ *De Fructibus Carnis et Spiritus*, an early twelfth-century monastic treatise which functioned as a gloss and introduction to allegorical and spiritual significance, suggests that these images could be used as a pedagogical aid by instructors:

²³² Rhodes, J.T., 'The Body of Christ in English Eucharist Devotion, c.1500-c.1620', in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A.I. Doyle*, Beadle, R., Piper, A.J., eds., Aldershot 1995, 288-419, 390.

²³³ Clive Rouse 1996, 62, Figure 70.

²³⁴ *Councils and Synods* (Vol. 2, Part. 2) 1964, 900-905.

It is good to represent the fruits of humility and pride as a kind of visual image, so that anyone studying to improve himself can clearly see what things will result from them. Therefore we show the novices and untutored men two little trees, differing in fruits and in size, each displaying the characteristics of virtues and vices, so that people may understand the products of each and choose which of the trees they would establish in themselves.²³⁵

Yates also argues that church images illustrative of virtuous or immoral conduct were often 'didactic', and were sometimes arranged in a diagrammatic form as a kind of 'memory system', an initial aid to storing information for future recall.²³⁶ Naturally, the initial process of absorbing information could only occur if there were a teacher or guide to explain the significance of an image (or if the viewer was literate enough to have read about the meaning of the image or the function of medieval art). Yet the systematic arrangement of an image might also serve as a mnemonic aid for recalling information already stored in the mind. The diagrammatic nature of some moralistic images can be demonstrated by examining the Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Corporeal Works of Mercy mural scheme at Trotton (Sussex) (which forms part of a west-wall Judgement image).²³⁷ The painting is made up of three constituent parts: Christ in Judgement in the centre with Moses beneath, the Seven Deadly Sins to the left (on the south side), and the Seven Corporeal Works to the right (on the north side). The two morality scenes stand in direct contrast to each other, not only in ethical significance, but also in diagrammatic arrangement. The rather chaotic composition of the Seven Deadly Sins (the figures of sin are placed on seven twisted branches which emerge from the body and head of a central semi-naked figure), suggests unsteadiness, and ultimately recalls the turmoil of hellish torments. In contrast, the Seven Works of Mercy are exemplified by a figure dressed in clerical robes, surrounded by seven roundels containing depictions of the Works. The composed, rhythmical, and symmetrical nature of this image, the regular ordering of the solid roundels, and the central figure standing in tranquil prayer with his eyes raised in supplication towards heaven, suggest a kind of strength and perfection

²³⁵ Migne, J. P., ed., *Saeculum XII. Hugonis de S. Victore. Opera Omnia*, Vol. 2, Paris 1854, Column 997. For the English translation see: Caiger-Smith 1963, 50.

²³⁶ Yates 1966, 90, 104.

²³⁷ Clive Rouse 1996, Plate 76.

associated with God. Christ is seated on a rainbow in the centre of the composition, and two angels stand on a kind of cloud promontory below, addressing two naked souls. The soul on the south side turns away from God, as if cast out of heaven for the misdeeds he has performed, a specific warning against the dangers of indulging in the Deadly Sins. In direct contrast on the north side, the soul turns to face the angel who welcomes him to heaven with arms outstretched in supplication and submission, a theme which reflects the Seven Corporeal Works below. The eye of the viewer is drawn away from the confusion of the Seven Deadly Sins to the order of the Corporeal Works, and thence upwards to Christ in Majesty seated on a rainbow, his arms outstretched in greeting towards the beholder. The entire composition is mnemonic in the sense that it serves to remind the viewer of the sins that should be avoided and the works that must be carried out if he or she is to obtain salvation.

Doom or Judgement paintings can also be described as moralistic (although the fact that the Doom was often integrated into the Crucifix or Rood highlights the fact that these groupings are not entirely sound). The Doom functioned as a powerful reminder of Christ's impending Judgement. The frequent east-wall location served as a physical barrier or obstacle and reflected the separation of the chancel from the nave. It reminded congregations of the Judgement through which they must pass in order to enter the chancel or sanctuary of God (though this ordeal was always mediated by the Passion in the form of the Rood).²³⁸ The scheme also operated as a warning against and an endorsement of certain types of behaviour and conduct. For instance, in the late fifteenth-century (restored) wall painting at Saint Thomas' Church in Salisbury, souls (including a bishop and two crowned figures) are chained together and dragged into the gaping jaws of hell by a devil figure.²³⁹ Images of the damned were usually very striking, and therefore more likely to remain in the memory and create internal 'invisible pictures'.²⁴⁰ These horrific tortures imprinted themselves on the minds of the terrified viewers who were confronted by the scheme as they faced east, reminding them of how they should behave. A Spanish Apocalypse colophon by Maius suggests that this may have been the case in the early medieval period, at least

²³⁸ Ashby, J.E., *English Medieval Murals of the Doom: A Descriptive Catalogue and Introduction*, Unpublished M. Phil. Thesis, University of York 1980, 23

²³⁹ Ecclesiological Society Website: www.ecclsoc.org/wenhaston/thomas_top.jpg

²⁴⁰ Yates, 86, 87, 102-109, Plate 9a. According to Aquinas, four precepts, including a devotional atmosphere and frequent repetition and meditation, were required to make an image memorable.

in illumination: 'I have also painted the miraculous events and stones in a series so that those who know them will be terrified by the future judgement and the passing of the World.'²⁴¹

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The Saints

From the thirteenth century onwards, the growing number of images of saints, particularly in the church nave, acquired and performed numerous and varied functions.²⁴² Owst (despite his sometimes belittling and simplistic attitude towards the people and the concepts he describes) accurately maintained that saints were not misty haloed figures, but a crucial element of day-to-day life, created of flesh and blood, 'vivid and familiar to common English folk of the Middle Ages'.²⁴³ Julian of Norwich likened them to kind friends who sympathised and understood:

All the helpe that we haue of speciall sainctes and of all the
blessed companie of heauen, the dere worthie loue and the
holie endles frinshipe that we haue of them, it is of his
godnes.²⁴⁴

The principal function of saints was to act as an approachable intercessor between Man and God, a visual and physical link or channel in the chain between heaven and earth. Through this process, sins could be forgiven and ultimately salvation gained after death.²⁴⁵ The *Sarum Rite* contains verses which stress the mediatory role of saints: 'Concede ut omnes qui martyrii eorum merita veneramur, eorum intercessionibus ab aeternis gehennae incendiis liberemur.'²⁴⁶ In his *Festial*, Mirk often closes his saint feast days with an instruction to pray to the particular saint, whom he describes as a mediator:

²⁴¹ For the English translation see: Caviness 1992, 105-106.

²⁴² Marks 2004, 87.

²⁴³ Owst 1961, 124, 114.

²⁴⁴ *Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich* (Vol. 2) 1978, 305.

²⁴⁵ Kessler 2006, 432-433.

²⁴⁶ *Missale Ad Usum Sarum* 1969, 824.

Now 3e scull knele adowne, and make your prayer to þis holy
apostoll, Seynt Andrew, þat he be your mediator bytwyð God
and you, prayng hym to 3yue you grace suche a lyfe to lede
here, þat hit be plesyng to hymselfe, and to our lady, and to all
þe company of Heuen.²⁴⁷

Mirk also stresses that the patronal saint (whose image was usually located on the north side of the high altar), also acted as a kind of intercessor between the congregation and God:

Kepte his pareschons prayng for hom bysyly to God nyght and
daye; for by hor mayne swynke holy chyrche ys holden vp and
Goddys seruice þeryn mantaynet. He also takyþe al þe prayers
of Goddys seruantes þat byn yn his chyrch and offerþe hom vp
befor þe high mageste of God.²⁴⁸

The positioning, setting and location of images were (to a certain extent) reflective of the function they performed. The intercessory role of saints in the medieval church, and their position in the hierarchical scheme, is suggested by representations on roodscreens.²⁴⁹ At Southwold (Suffolk), eleven Apostles and Saint Paul are painted on the screen dado, making them physically accessible and visible to churchgoers.²⁵⁰ In striking contrast, the less directly-approachable Crucifix bearing Christ would have hung above.

²⁴⁷ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 11.

²⁴⁸ Mirk *Festial* 1905, 241-242; *Councils and Synods* (Vol. 2, Part. 2) 1964, 1006. At the end of the thirteenth century, Bishop Quivel of Exeter (1280-1291), basing his legislation on the sanctions of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), specified that congregations were responsible for providing images to accompany the altar. The fourteenth-century statue of Mary Magdalene from the church at Cobham (Kent) almost certainly stood to the north of the high altar as a patronal figure; Marks, R., 'Altarpiece, Image and Devotion: Fourteenth Century Sculpture at Cobham, Kent', in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, Binski, P., Noel, eds., Stroud 2001, 417-444, 427, Figure 9.

²⁴⁹ Duffy 2005, 158-160.

²⁵⁰ Pevsner, N., Radcliffe, E., *Suffolk*, 2nd Edition, Revised, Buildings of England, London 2002, 432. Saints on the screen include: Saint Philip, Saint Matthew, Saint James the Less, Saint Thomas, Saint Andrew, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint John the Evangelist, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Jude and Saint Simon.

²⁵⁰ Mirk 1905, 11, 55.

Saints were also regarded as figures to be imitated and emulated. Mirk suggests that saints might inspire viewers to live a virtuous life:

For þagh a man oþer woman haue don neuer so moch a synne
or lyued so curset a lyfe, yf he woll taken ensampull of Seynt
Paule, þat ys, leue pryde and be meke, leue synne and be bysy
to amende.²⁵¹

Other evidence also indicates that images of saints could function in this manner. A Cambridgeshire painter who created a Saint Christopher image for his pew, obviously perceived the figure as emulative (as well as meditative), for he wished to use it ‘to learne to be a right Christopher’.²⁵² The image of Saint Anne teaching the Virgin to read may also have served as an exemplary and imitative model for women raising their children, and could have been intended to stress the importance of teaching children to pray.²⁵³ A fifteenth-century alabaster from the Victoria and Albert Museum, where Saint Anne appears with the adult Virgin and Christ Child, may have an additional meaning and function, based on the concept of family and lineage.²⁵⁴ Saint Anne still holds a book and pointer, but gazes towards the Christ Child (rather than the Virgin), perhaps emphasising that warm relationships across generations should be emulated by the congregation.²⁵⁵ Kamerick has also suggested that virgin saints (such as Margaret of Antioch, Catherine of Alexandria, Dorothy and Barbara) operated as symbols of freedom from the maternal and domestic responsibilities that confined most women in late medieval society, serving as visual reminders of the strong, virtuous and sanctified nature of womanhood.²⁵⁶ The appearance of Saint Catherine in household books of well-to-do families also implies that she may have functioned as a model of conduct for the upwardly mobile.²⁵⁷

²⁵¹ Mirk 1905, 11, 55.

²⁵² Turner, W., *A New Booke of Spirituall Physik for Dyverse Deseases of the Nobilite and Gentlemen of England*, Rome 1555 (BL MS Notes), fol. 20v-21.

²⁵³ Marks 2004, 149.

²⁵⁴ Marks 2004, 150, Plate 107; V & A. Inv. No. 99-1946.

²⁵⁵ Marks 2004, 150.

²⁵⁶ Kamerick 2002, 88-91; See also: Miles, M., *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*, Boston 1985, 63-73, 88-89.

²⁵⁷ Lewis, K.J., *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England*, Woodbridge 2000, 184; Stanbury, S., ‘The Vivacity of Images: Saint Katherine, Knighton’s Lollards, and the Breaking of Idols’, in *Images, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England: Textuality and the Visual Image*, Dimmick, J., Simpson, J., Zeeman, N., eds., Oxford 2002, 131-150, 150.

Another major function of the saints was to provide help in time of hardship and need. Such roles were generally not recommended in sermon literature (perhaps because it was often connected with Lollard criticism of idolatry), but it is clear that people were attuned to the various responsibilities of different saints. Saint Barbara and Saint Catherine were invoked in childbirth and against unprepared death.²⁵⁸ The avoidance of the latter was particularly significant as it was necessary to be shriven of sin (shrift) and to receive a final communion (housel) if one wanted to limit time spent in purgatory and avoid the pains of Hell. Other saints were called upon by tradesmen to assist with or improve their daily proceeds. Saint Eligius (or Loye), the seventh-century Gaullish boy goldsmith apprentice who became Bishop of Noyon in 641, was invoked by metalworkers.²⁵⁹ In 1492, the goldsmiths, locksmiths and bladesmiths gathered under his banner in the Ipswich Corpus Christi procession.²⁶⁰ He was also valued for his command over horses, and when attempting to sell an animal in 1479, the wool merchant Richard Cely wrote: 'The horse ys fayer, save hym and Send Loye'.²⁶¹

Certain saints provided protection against illness, harm and disease. The image of Saint Christopher had many roles by the fourteenth century, but several wall painting inscriptions suggest that seeing the figure would save the viewer from hurt, illness or sudden death that day. The Anglo-Norman speech scroll inscription is still visible in the fourteenth-century mural at Woodeaton (Oxfordshire) (Plate 10). It reads: 'Ki cest image verra le jur de male mort ne murra'.²⁶² Saint Appollonia, said to have been martyred by having her teeth extracted, is frequently portrayed on rood screens (as at Ludham [Norfolk]) with a pair of pincers clasping a large tooth.²⁶³ The promises associated with Saint Erasmus, often confirmed in texts of short prayers or indulgences besides his image, included protection from enemies, tribulation and disease. Below the lost mural of his martyrdom in the parish church in Cirencester, a text once affirmed that any man or woman who worshipped the saint every Sunday

²⁵⁸ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 1) 1993, 370.

²⁵⁹ Ellis, F.S., ed., *The Golden Legend of Master William Caxton Done Anew*, Vol. 2, London 1892, 544-545.

²⁶⁰ Rubin, M., *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1991, 262.

²⁶¹ Marks 2004, 105.

²⁶² He who sees this image shall not die an ill death this day. For the English translation see: Tristram 1955, 115.

²⁶³ Duffy 2005, 180, 167, Plate 73.

with a *Paternoster* and an *Ave Maria*, or lit a candle or gave alms to the poor, would receive five gifts from God:

The first is he schall have reysouabil gode to hs lyves ende.
The seconde is that hys enmyes schall have no pour to do
hym no bodily harme or dysese. The iii. is what reysonabil
thyng that he will aske of god & that holy seint ht shall be
graunt'. The iiii. that he schall be onbournd of all his
tribulacion & dysese. The v. is that in his laste ende have
schrift & houssill and grete repentance, & sacramente of
annewntinge & the may he come to that blysse that never hath
ende. Amen.²⁶⁴

The patronal saint was also regarded as an earthly protector, a quality discussed by Mirk, who explains that the church has two patrons: 'On yn erpe and anoþer yn Heun: on forto defende her from bodily enmys, and anoþer forto defende from gostly enmys'.²⁶⁵ This theme is echoed by the actions of parishioners such as John Marten, who described the five-foot high Saint Nicholas alabaster in the church of Thannington (Kent) as 'my patron'.²⁶⁶ Images (particularly saints) could also be penitential in function, providing individuals with earthly forgiveness for sins committed. In the early fifteenth century at South Creak (Norfolk), for instance, a man was ordered to say the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* as penance before Our Lady of Pity (although he actually refused because he insisted it should only be done before God at the high altar).²⁶⁷

Saints were also employed for self or collective promotion within the medieval church. Donor figures, like the diminutive clergyman accompanying the patronal alabaster of Saint Peter from Flawford (Nottinghamshire) (now in Nottingham Castle Museum), were included within images for a number of reasons.²⁶⁸ Not only did they associate the patron with the saint and invite the viewer to share his devotion, they

²⁶⁴ Fuller, E.A., *The Parish Church of Saint John Baptist, Cirencester*, Cirencester 1882, 66.

²⁶⁵ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 240.

²⁶⁶ Hussey, A., ed., *Testimenta Cantiana: A Series of Extracts from Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Wills Relating to Church Building (East Kent)*, Archaeologia Cantiana, Extra Volume, London 1907, 340.

²⁶⁷ Tanner, N. P., ed., *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428-31*, Camden Society, 4th Series, 30, 1977, 89-90.

²⁶⁸ Marks 2004, 181, Plate 54.

also reminded the viewer of the importance of the donor in the community. Collective financing of images of saints could also serve to promote groups of individuals, and at Saint Matthew's church in Ipswich, members of the Erasmus Guild probably had themselves painted on the roodscreen.²⁶⁹ Marks has also highlighted the fact that saints could function as a binding force or 'social glue' within the parish community.²⁷⁰ Patronal festivities often involved processions in which the saint (or its replica) was taken outside the church and into the town or village. At Saint George's in Canterbury, for instance, the congregation, clergy, civic dignities and their wives all accompanied the image of Saint George in the patronal day procession.²⁷¹

Images of saints could also be employed for wider, political ends outside the medieval church environment, a factor demonstrated by the case of Elizabeth Barton, the 'Holy Maid of Kent', which begun in 1525. Elizabeth claimed that she had been cured from a trance-like state by praying to the image of Our Lady in the chapel at Court-at-Street (Kent).²⁷² A sermon composed against her by Nicholas Heath (amended by Thomas Cranmer), and preached in 1533, describes her experience: 'And, after mass, she kneeled before the image of Our Lady of Court-at-Street and said that she was made perfectly whole'.²⁷³ Elizabeth began to make prophecies based on visions in which the Virgin spoke to her and through her.²⁷⁴ From 1528, she protested against the King's attempt to dispose of Katherine of Aragon, and became a major weapon and agent of those opposed to Anne Boleyn (including John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester).²⁷⁵ She recanted after Anne married Henry VIII, but she was eventually executed as a traitor in 1534.²⁷⁶

²⁶⁹ Duffy 2005, 163.

²⁷⁰ Marks 2004, 77-78, 82.

²⁷¹ Marks 2004, 83.

²⁷² Neame, A., *The Holy Maid of Kent: The Life of Elizabeth Barton, 1506-1534*, London 1971, 70-71.

²⁷³ Whatmore, L.E., 'The Sermon against the Holy Maid of Kent and her Adherents', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 58, 1943, 463-475, 466.

²⁷⁴ Neame 1971, 179.

²⁷⁵ Neame 1971, 129-130.

²⁷⁶ Neame 1971, 270, 283, 331.

Images and Liturgy

There is very little evidence to suggest exactly how images were utilised during church services. The fact that the text and structure of the Mass and canonical hours were established long before pictorial representations flourished in churches means that rituals involving images do not figure prominently in service book rubrics.²⁷⁷ The *Sarum Rite* specifies that priests were expected to cense the image of the Virgin at the high altar on feast days.²⁷⁸ Altars dedicated to saints, as well as their images, were also censed on the vigil of their feast day after first vespers. On Saint Nicholas' Day, for instance, the *Sarum Rite* rubric dictates the following: 'Dum versus canitur, thurificet sacerdos altare, deinde imaginem Sancti Nicolai, et postea dicat versiculum sic'.²⁷⁹ Evidence relating to specific churches occasionally highlights how images were utilised during services. According to the churchwardens' accounts of Saint Margaret's in Westminster, the patronal figure was adorned with a pearl-clasped coral rosary on the eve of the feast day (July 19th), a bonfire was lit in front of the church door, and a vigil was observed by the parishioners until dawn. A Mass was said the following morning, followed by a procession of maidens from the parish, and the performance of a Saint Margaret play.²⁸⁰

Images were also used to remind onlookers of the ceremonies performed, and to create a dramatic sense of reality during services. This is illustrated by the case of Saint Mary de Crypt church in Gloucester, where an elaborate sculpted triple sedilia and piscina survive on the south wall of the chancel, and a single sedile and Easter sepulchre on the north.²⁸¹ Nineteenth-century accounts reveal that an elaborate Resurrection scene was painted on the recess above the sculpted Easter sepulchre.²⁸² The shadowy remains of three painted figures standing in niches, almost certainly representing Christ and the Three Maries who were part of the Easter Sepulchre ritual, are barely decipherable today.²⁸³ As Gill has pointed out:

²⁷⁷ Marks 2004, 83, 159-160.

²⁷⁸ Frere, W.H., ed., *The Use of Sarum: The Sarum Customs*, Vol. 1, Cambridge 1898, 114.

²⁷⁹ *Processionale ad Usus Insignis ac Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum* 1882, 137.

²⁸⁰ Rosser 1989, 271-273.

²⁸¹ Bayley, M.W., Brazington, D.A., Pugh, A.P.G., *St. Mary de Crypt Church, Gloucester* (Church Guide), Undated, 10.

²⁸² Gill 2006, 25.

²⁸³ Brooks, A., Verey, D., *Gloucestershire 2: The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, 3rd Edition, Revised, Buildings of England, London 2002, 453.

These paintings would have functioned as a permanent reminder of the annual ceremony, while the ritual itself would have drawn attention to the painting and brought its context to life in the form of religious drama.²⁸⁴

Images also served to illustrate, characterise or reinforce liturgy. When discussing the wall paintings in Eton College Chapel, Williamson concluded that:

The miracle paintings illustrated the benefits which came to those who prayed to the Virgin Mary and, in doing so, they affirmed the doctrinal validity and salvific potency of the votive antiphon which was sung daily within the space they defined.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Gill 2006, 25.

²⁸⁵ Williamson, M., 'Pictura et Scriptura: The Eton College Choir Book in its Iconographical Context', *Early Music*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 2000, 359-380, 371, Figures 1-3. Eton College MS 178. Williamson argues that the *Golden Legend* was a source for both Robert Wylkynson's *Salve Regina* in the Eton Choirbook, and for the Assumption mural on the nave south wall in the College Chapel.

Part Five: Image Function, the Living and the Dead

Candles, Gifts and Oblations

Individuals and collective bodies frequently provided or paid for lights (usually in the form of tapers or candles) to burn before images in churches, both during their lifetime and after death. They were most commonly lit during Mass, although the major images may have had lights burning before them permanently.²⁸⁶ The fraternity of Saint Peter at Bardwell (Suffolk), for instance, bestowed five lights for each image of the Virgin at every Principal feast day of the Virgin, to be burnt when an antiphon was sung in her honour.²⁸⁷ Candles illuminated images and provided dramatic lighting so that devotees could view pictorial representations in dark churches.²⁸⁸ Lights also had apotropaic powers to banish demons, as the first prayers of the blessing in the ritual for Candlemass demonstrates:

Wherever it shall be lit or set up, the devil may flee away in
fear and trembling with all his ministers, out of those
dwellings, and never assume again to disquiet your servant.²⁸⁹

Gifts or oblations were also bequeathed to images, and in 1524 at Crediton (Devon), the Rood was inundated with coins, with different coloured coats, with ninety-three rings, and with a collection of plate, girdles, buckles, pendants, broaches, crucifixes and beads.²⁹⁰ In some cases, animals or land were donated to sustain lights. In 1397, for example, John Ketintone left four sheep to the church at Adisham (Kent), to maintain lights before the image of the Virgin and the High Cross.²⁹¹ Churchwardens usually sold the animals to provide money for the purchase of more wax, or else kept them and sold their produce. Land was donated for the same purpose, as in the case of William Smelt, who bequeathed four acres called Martinesdown to the wardens of Seasalter (Kent) in 1472. His will specified that the rent of the land should provide a

²⁸⁶ Marks 2004, 162.

²⁸⁷ Marks 2004, 138.

²⁸⁸ Kamerick 2002, 98; Whiting 1989, 22.

²⁸⁹ For the English translation see: Duffy 2005, 16. The Feast of the Purification of the Virgin or the Presentation of Christ in the Temple was celebrated forty days after Christmas.

²⁹⁰ Whiting 1989, 53.

²⁹¹ Duncan, L.L., ed., *Testamenta Cantiana: A Series of Extracts from Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Wills Relating to Church Building and Topography (West Kent)*, Archaeologia Cantiana, Extra Volume, 1907, 1.

torch of wax worth 3s 4d and 5lbs of wax to burn before the sepulchre.²⁹² It is occasionally possible to find parishioners paying for reparation or construction of images in wills. In 1482, for instance, John Bulling left 20d to the reparation of the image of the Virgin at Saint Martin, Canterbury.²⁹³ Similarly, Richard Lambsfield of Hythe (Kent) specified in his will of 1487 / 1488 that:

Thomas Church shall make for me one Image of St John the Baptist like that made and painted at Bilsington, which image I give to the Chapel of St Leonard of Hythe, and the same Thomas for carving that Image have 12 /- when it is made.²⁹⁴

Donating lights and gifts to images had the economic purpose of raising money for the upkeep of the church and other related expenses. It is common to find testators acquitting outstanding material debts in wills, such as William Beesby of Wispington (Lincolnshire) who left xijd 'To the high awter of the same for tithes and offrynges negligently forgotten' in 1522.²⁹⁵ Bestowing lights and gifts on an image also encouraged others to worship it, and reminded the living parishioners (and Christ) of the donor's devotion. *Post-mortem* bequests suggest a form of reverence and honour to the figure depicted, and acted as a final call for the help of intercession from the image, a means of shortening the soul's time spent in Purgatory, and of acquitting any outstanding spiritual debts.²⁹⁶ This is made clear in the 1512 will of Richard Hall of Bucknall (Lincolnshire) who left a sheep worth 20d to his parish priest 'that he maie dispose of it for the helthe of my soule as I have shewed him in confesson'.²⁹⁷ Testamentary gifts were most usually bequeathed to images of the Virgin, a figure who was particularly associated with intercession at the time of death in the afterlife. She is often depicted with Saint Michael, who was believed to weigh souls on the day of death and on the Day of Judgement and ensure eventual entry into heaven or hell. In the fourteenth-century wall painting in the nave at Kempley (Gloucestershire),

²⁹² *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)*, 1907, 300.

²⁹³ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)*, 1907, 54.

²⁹⁴ Hussey, A., ed., 'Hythe Wills', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 50, 1938, 87-121, 110-111.

²⁹⁵ Foster, C.W., ed., *Lincoln Wills Registered in the District Probate Registry at Lincoln, 1271-1526*, Vol. 1, Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 5, 1914, 113.

²⁹⁶ Kameron 2002, 98; Whiting 1989, 22; Duffy 2005, 355, 362.

²⁹⁷ *Lincoln Wills* (Vol. 1) 1914, 50.

Saint Michael is depicted holding the scales of judgement.²⁹⁸ To his left stands the Virgin, holding a rosary and offering prayers on behalf of the living and the dead. Mirk also associates the Virgin with intercession after death when he recounts a version of the Dives and Lazarus story. He tells of a rich man who refused to give money to beggars, but would often throw food at them. When he died, although fiends initially took him to Hell, the Virgin made a supplication to Christ to send him back to earth because he had actually fed the beggars (albeit against his will): ‘Then went our lady to hyr sonne, prayng him to graunt þe soule to goo a3eynys to þe body, forto loke, 3yf he wold amend hym’.²⁹⁹

The Image, the Living and the Dead: Burial Practices, Tombs and Brasses

With the exception of brasses, academic interest in parochial image function has largely neglected the role of artwork in relation to death and burial practices.³⁰⁰ Yet burial next to or near to an image was common practice in the later medieval period. At Cuxton (Kent), for instance, John Absolon (will dated 1524) requested ‘To be buried in the churche of Cokston before ye ymage of Sainte Petur’.³⁰¹ Even those consigned to the graveyard could choose to be interred in close proximity to images, and Joan Freborne of Ipswich specified burial in the cemetery of Saint Lawrence next to the window of Saint Christopher.³⁰² Burial before or near to the patronal image was a common request, particularly from clergy and those of gentry rank. In a will dated to 1483, Christopher Conyers, rector of Rudby (Yorkshire), specified that five candles were to be lit above his tomb (which stood between the high altar and the patronal image) on the day of his burial. He also stipulated that thereafter three candles were to burn in the church before the image of All Saints’ and two before the Virgin.³⁰³ It was also common practice to bequeath money in wills for the

²⁹⁸ Babington, C., Manning, T., Stewart, S., *Our Painted Past: Wall Paintings of English Heritage*, London 1999, 50 (Illustration).

²⁹⁹ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 104.

³⁰⁰ For a very brief discussion see: Marks 2004, 13. For images and their function on brasses and tombs see: Badham 1996; Bertram 1983.

³⁰¹ Duncan, L.L., ed., ‘The Parish Churches of West Kent, their Dedications, Altars, Images and Lights’, *Transactions of the Saint Paul’s Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. 3, 1895, 241-298, 263.

³⁰² Kamerick 2002, 100.

³⁰³ Raine, J., ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, Vol. 3, Surtees Society, Vol. 45, 1864, 110.

construction or reconstruction of images. In a will of 1485, At Elham (Kent), William Sym of Adison (where he was buried) left:

13s 4d to have an Image of St. George in the Parish Church of Elham, and if the parish of Elham will have an Image of St. George of more value, then the parish have the said 13s 4d, or else my ex'ors make an Image of that value.³⁰⁴

It was also customary to depict images (particularly saints) on tombs and brasses. A resurrected Christ, for example, is painted on the canopy of the Clopton tomb at Long Melford (Suffolk) (c.1480), and Saint Catherine and the Trinity were represented on the c.1510 brass of William Lawnder at Northleach (Gloucestershire).³⁰⁵

It is likely that those who requested burial near to images, or specified the depiction of images on their funerary monument, desired guidance and protection from a particular saint or image at the time of death or during their long stay in Purgatory.³⁰⁶ Thomas Hanchich (d.1509), for instance, specified in his will that he wished to be buried in the chancel of Saint Paul's Church in Bedford 'Under the keeping and protection of Saint Paul the Holy Apostle'.³⁰⁷ Testators were eager for supplication or intercession by the saint or image in order that they might gain ultimate salvation in the afterlife. The Latin text on the scroll on a brass of an early fifteenth-century incumbent at Upper Hardres (Kent) reads: 'Clavng' celor' & paule doctor populae interceder' p'me dignei' ad regem angelor'.³⁰⁸ The mechanics of intercession are depicted on the brass of William Lawnder at Northleach. He prays to the Virgin, who in turn passes the prayer on to the Trinity above.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁴ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 112.

³⁰⁵ Pevsner and Radcliffe 2002, 347.

Simpson, F.S.W., *The Church of Holy Trinity, Long Melford*, Gloucester 1957, 27 (Plate).

Badham 1996, 444; Monumental Brass Society Website: www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/brasses_slabs.htm

³⁰⁶ Duffy 2005, 303; Bertram 1983, 322-323; Badham 1996, 443.

³⁰⁷ McGregor, M., ed., *Bedfordshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1383-1548*, Bedford Historical Record Society, Vol. 58, 1979, 86-87.

³⁰⁸ Marks 2004, 79.

³⁰⁹ Badham 1996, 443.

In certain cases, monumental inscriptions offer spiritual reward for those who pray or perform pious works on behalf of the deceased (and thus assist with their ultimate salvation).³¹⁰ At Macclesfield (Cheshire), for example, the brass of Roger Legh and his family (1506) granted an indulgence to anyone praying for his soul: ‘The pardon for say / ing of v pater noster / & v aues and a cred / is xxvj thousand / yeres and xxvj / dayes of pardon’.³¹¹ Inscriptions occasionally serve to prompt priests (and congregations) to include the commemorated in obits and parish bede rolls. Part of the incised wording on the tomb of Avery Cornburgh (d.1480) at Saint Edward the Confessor in Romford (Essex) contains the following reminder:

Moreover this call to your remembrance anon, That in the
beadroll of usage every Sunday reed; The souls of this Avery,
Beatrice and John Be prayed for is speciall; se that ovr will be
spedd And that the curate of this church curtesly be ledd And
for his labor have in reding of that roll Forty pens to pray for
them and every Christian soul.³¹²

Although the theoretical purpose of the medieval tomb monument was religious, many were intended to promote the power, wealth, status and pedigree of a family, and to commemorate the worldly achievements and position (or even occupation) of an individual.³¹³ Funerary monuments also served to remind the living of the piety, virtues and devotion of the deceased and their family, and to prolong the presence and memory of the dead in the community.³¹⁴ Some expressly remind the living of the gifts and works carried out by the commemorated in the church or parish. At Cobham (Kent), for instance, Sir John de Cobham (d.1408) is depicted on his brass of c.1367

³¹⁰ Bertram 1983, 322; Binski, P., *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, London 2001, 113-114. Badham 1996, 434-440.

³¹¹ Norris, M., *Monumental Brasses: The Craft*, London and Boston 1978, 62; A Scrapbook of Cheshire Antiquities Website: www.thornber.net/cheshire/imagefiles/04iton/maccstmich08.jpg. The brass includes a depiction of the Mass of Saint Gregory.

³¹² Duffy 2005, 336; King, H.W., ed., ‘Ancient Wills’, *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, Vol. 4, 1869, 2-24, 16-17; Powell, W.R., ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Essex*, Vol. 7, Oxford 1978, 84-85; Morant, P., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, Vol. 1, London 1763-1768 (Republished Wakefield 1978), 75. The chapel of Saint Edward the Confessor was consecrated in 1410, but was entirely rebuilt in 1850. The modern church contains a number of funerary monuments from the old chapel. Avery Cornburgh also founded a chantry in the chapel. The chantry priest was to say masses for his own soul and the souls of his friends, to keep an obit of 20s, and to preach at least twice a year in the surrounding parishes.

³¹³ Badham 1996, 414-427; Norris 1978, 58.

³¹⁴ Bertram 1983, 322..

holding a church.³¹⁵ This edifice represents the chantry college of five priests that he founded to the south of the church in 1370.³¹⁶ Monuments could function as a solace for the living. They helped to speed the process of grieving, and acted as a lasting memory to families of the deceased.³¹⁷

Certain forms of images on funerary monuments functioned as a *memento mori*, a reminder of the transitory nature of life, and a warning that death will come to all, and that the pending Last Judgement must be faced. By the late fifteenth century, these warnings often took the form of skeletal figures wrapped in shrouds. The cadaverous figure of Ralph Hamersterley (d.1518) at Oddington (Oxfordshire), for example, is being consumed by worms.³¹⁸ This is also the case on the brass of John Brigge in the church at Salle (Norfolk) (d.1454) where the wording addresses the viewer directly: ‘So freindis fre whatever ye be: pray for me y yow pray / As ye me se in soche degre: so schall ye be nothir day’.³¹⁹ The tomb of Alice de la Pole in Ewelme church (Oxfordshire) (c.1470-c.1475) is a double-effigy monument. The upper section is a tomb chest with a supine full-length effigy, but below is a second cadaver portrait of Alice as a withered corpse wrapped in a shroud. Above the half-closed eyes of this second effigy is a painting of the Annunciation scene, and over the feet are depicted Saint John the Baptist and Saint Mary Magdalene.³²⁰ These images are almost certainly a reflection of Alice de la Pole’s personal devotion. Saint John and Saint Mary Magdalene were both popular patrons of the almshouse which she established at Ewelme, and the Annunciation may well represent the humility of the patron.³²¹ What is most significant about the images above Alice’s feet, is that they are reversed, as if to be viewed by the cadaver. For the patron, death is simply a continuation of life, not a morbid fear or obsession, and even in death the cadaver can contemplate the paintings and recall and contemplate the events of God’s plan while awaiting the Day of Judgement.

³¹⁵ Badham 1996, 430; Norris 1978, Figure 38.

³¹⁶ Saul, N., *Death, Art and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300-1500*, Oxford 2001, 38.

³¹⁷ Norris 1978, 59; Badham 1996, 414.

³¹⁸ Platt, C., *King Death: The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late Medieval England*, Toronto 1997, 153, Figure 63.

³¹⁹ Platt 1997, 154; Norris, M., ‘Later Medieval Monumental Brasses: An Urban Funerary Industry and its Representation of Death’, in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*, Bassett, S., ed., Leicester 1992, 184-209, 184, Plate 13.1.

³²⁰ Goodall 2001, 187. Plates 86 and 87.

³²¹ Goodall 2001, 189.

Conclusion

This chapter has served to demonstrate that a particularistic approach to the issue of image function and use must be undertaken if a realistic picture of the role of visual depictions in the medieval church building is to be gleaned. The more traditional academic approaches concerning the didactic and mnemonic function of images are still relevant. Yet images did not have pedagogical roles when used independently, and it is probable that priests did not generally use images in the manner which academics once assumed. All images are mnemonic (in the sense that they recall what is already in the mind), but it is also clear that each type of depiction functioned in a number of different and diverse manners. Passion-related imagery acted as a mnemonic trigger to recall the suffering of Christ, the Virgin recalled emotional intimacy and sympathy with the mother of Christ, and the Doom reminded viewers of Christ's impending judgement. Images of saints could function as aids to intercession, and were figures to be emulated. They also provided protection and help in times of hardship, and could be used as objects of self and collective promotion, as a kind of social glue in the community, and (outside the church environment) as political tools. Function was also dependant upon a number of factors such as image context and location, and individuals could turn them to their own or more 'popular' uses rather than the uses prescribed by the Church and by leading theological texts.

The role of imagery after death had some rather different functions to those bestowed by the living. Donating candles and gifts, or requesting to be buried near an image indicated reverence and honour, but also suggested supplication for intercession, protection and guidance in Purgatory, and acquittal of spiritual debts. The depiction of saints and other images on tombs and monuments could also operate as a prompt to the living to pray for the souls of the dead, as a *memento mori* for the living, and as a depiction of the status and power of the deceased.

The following chapters will apply these methods to the study of Saint Christopher wall paintings in order to demonstrate the precise role of the saint in the medieval period, and the types of devotion associated with the saint. Because images almost certainly worked in slightly different ways for different people, sources relating to individual churches (such as wills and churchwardens' accounts) must be examined

where possible. The drawbacks to using these sources (as discussed at the beginning of the chapter) means that they have to be augmented with sermon-related literature, liturgy and records which relate to more ‘popular’ devotional practices (such as Mirk and Pecock).

CHAPTER TWO: THE ROLE OF THE IMAGE OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER IN THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

Introduction and Background

The image was the main medium through which the various functions of Saint Christopher were performed and experienced in the medieval church. Yet the exact roles played by visual representations of the saint have never been considered with the seriousness and depth they deserve. It cannot be denied that the catalogues compiled by wall painting specialists such as Tristram, Keyser and Caiger-Smith are invaluable to the modern-day researcher.¹ However, the former touch loosely on the function of Saint Christopher, but are generally more concerned with other aspects of the cult, such as the interpretation and origins of the legend (Rushforth), or the symbolism and allegorical implications of the wall paintings (Tristram).² Other authors, including Keyser, have been content to compile lists simply of existing and lost depictions of the saint.³ In the few cases where they do discuss image function, researchers have generally replicated the opinions voiced by previous studies. This is especially the case regarding the question of Saint Christopher's role as patron saint of travellers. As will be demonstrated below, there is little primary evidence to suggest that this particular function was especially important in medieval England. Yet in the 1920s and 1930s, Brindley, Whaite and Salmon all dwelt at length on its significance.⁴ Tristram, who relied heavily on their work, emphasised that Saint Christopher images were primarily used by wayfarers.⁵ Even the more modern-day researchers are dependent upon previous investigations, including Marrow, who is still convinced of the connection between Saint Christopher and travellers.⁶ A complete reassessment of the various roles of Saint Christopher and his image in the church setting, as well as the nature of individual supplication, is therefore long overdue.

¹ Tristram 1955; Bardswell, M., Tristram, E.W., *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Vol. 1: Catalogue, Oxford 1950; Bardswell, M., Tristram, E.W., *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century*, Vol. 2: Text, Oxford 1950; Keyser 1883 (B); Caiger-Smith 1963.

² Rushforth, G. M., 'The Baptism of Saint Christopher', *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 6, 1926, 152-158; Tristram 1955, 119-120.

³ Keyser, C.E., 'Saint Christopher as Portrayed in England during the Middle Ages', *The Antiquary*, 2nd Series, Vol. 7, 1883, 193-200.

⁴ Brindley 1924, 230; Whaite 1929, 8; Salmon 1936, 80.

⁵ Tristram 1955, 118-119.

⁶ Marrow (Forthcoming), 4.

This study will focus primarily upon the function of Saint Christopher wall paintings. It was in this medium that the saint was most commonly represented in churches, and around 370 Saint Christopher murals (both extant and non-extant) have been located so far in the course of this study. However, because primary sources do not always specify the type of image referred to, and because there is so little evidence relating directly to wall paintings, the function of Saint Christopher imagery in other media (including glass, brass and sculpture) must also be considered. Altars, lights, guilds and chapels dedicated to the saint will also be analysed in order that a holistic view of the saint's role within the later medieval church building is achieved. It should also be considered that it was not always necessary for an image of Saint Christopher to be present for his powers to operate, for example, in the case of liturgy and prayer. His role in society outside the immediate environs of the church will therefore be examined.

Part One: Primary Sources Relating to the Role of Saint Christopher

When considering the various roles of Saint Christopher in the medieval church, it is necessary to assess and examine the perceptions of those who sought relationships with the saint, and how they considered the saint would respond to their supplication. The main obstacle to addressing the issue of image functionality in the later medieval period is that images almost certainly operated in different ways for different people, and were utilised and approached in very individual and personal fashions. Evidence does not usually allow for an assessment of private perceptions, meaning that it is often necessary to draw more general conclusions from the few sources available. Information concerning the role of Saint Christopher is limited, but is by no means restricted to a handful of documents and sources. Obviously, it is impossible to personally examine all forms of late medieval records with the hope that a single reference to an image of Saint Christopher might be found. However, a systematic exploration of parish-related material such as wills and churchwardens' accounts is an adequate method for locating a sufficient number of images and dedications on which to base a methodical study of the role of the saint.

Written Sources Relating to Saint Christopher

It has already been demonstrated (see Chapter One) that wills and churchwardens' accounts, if used with caution, can be used to assess the function of images in the medieval church. It is these records which form the basis of the examination of the functions of Saint Christopher. Other parochial-related records are occasionally enlightening as to the presence or roles of Saint Christopher images in churches. The list of goods relating to Long Melford records an image of Saint Christopher in the church, although it does not specify the form.⁷ Likewise, Dowsing's visit to Christ's College, Cambridge between 1643 and 1644 involved the destruction of what appears to have been a stained-glass image of the saint.⁸ Sermon-related literature, prayer and church liturgy relating to Saint Christopher have also been examined. These records not only tend to give an official Church view as to how images of Saint Christopher

⁷ *Spoil of Long Melford Church* 1989, 24.

⁸ *Journal of William Dowsing* 2001, 189.

were believed or expected to operate, they also suggest ways in which saints might have functioned separately from his image. Other types of records are also illuminating as to the presence of images of Saint Christopher outside the church environment, and these are helpful when attempting to assess the wider function of the saint in medieval society. References tend to be infrequent, however, and often occur in the most unusual and unexpected places. A *National Archives* document dealing with the arrest of Roger Mortimer, the favourite of Edward II, lists an ivory depicting Saint Christopher. It belonged to Joan Mortimer and was left at Wigmore Abbey after Roger Mortimer's capture in 1322.⁹ The chamberlain's account book for the city of York (1554) also makes reference to what was probably a wooden image of Saint Christopher, belonging to the Saint Christopher and George guild and in need of repair. It may have been originally carried in the city procession on July 25th, the feast day of Saint Christopher.¹⁰ Literature can also help to explain the function of the Saint Christopher outside the church environment. In his *Colloquies* (1522), for example, Erasmus describes how Saint Christopher (and his image) was used for the purposes of protection (see below).¹¹

Saint Christopher Images

Images, particularly wall paintings, are important sources for assessing the function of Saint Christopher and his relationship with congregations. Yet it should be remembered that a very large percentage of medieval imagery has been destroyed, which generally means that the context within the church building has also been lost. As Gill points out, wall paintings were only one strand of a complex visual and non-visual culture, and an image might be changed by its relationship to other images, or even the text of liturgy and sermons, or even by acts of private devotion performed in its presence.¹² Inscriptions within or relating to visual depictions can sometimes indicate the role an image performed, and the relationship between it and the congregation. These are seldom found in Saint Christopher wall paintings, however,

⁹ NA. E163/4/48, membrane 5d. Transcripts of Inquisitions and other Documents Relating to the Lordships of Wigmore, Hereford, and Ludlow, Salop, and the Castle of Wigmore. I am grateful to Dr Paulus Dryburgh for this information.

¹⁰ White 1987, 16.

¹¹ Thompson, C.R. ed. and transl., Erasmus, *Colloquies*, London 1965, 14, 355.

¹² Gill 2002, 49.

and those that do exist (or which are recorded) tend to be fragmentary and difficult to interpret. This is the case in the mural at Hardwick (Norfolk), where rapid deterioration has led to the virtual disappearance of the textual scrolling which was far more prominent in Whaite's reproduction (1927).¹³ There is now no trace of any lettering that might have once been present. Inscriptions can also be misleading as evidence for image function, and should always be used in conjunction with other forms of evidence. The wording frequently represents only one aspect in which the image is utilised (in the case of Saint Christopher, the protective and curative roles) and does not consider the other functions associated with the image (such as intercession and emulation). Architecture can also occasionally indicate ways in which images were utilised. A niche to the east of the Saint Christopher wall painting at Corby Glen (Lincolnshire), for instance, may well have held a candle, a factor which indicates that lights were offered to the saint (Plate 8).¹⁴

¹³ Whaite 1929, Plate 4.

¹⁴ Barton, M., Whitmarsh, M.W., *St. John the Evangelist Church, Corby Glen, Lincolnshire* (Church Guide), Undated, 3.

Part Two: Manifestations of Sainthood in Medieval England

There is a fairly large body of secondary literature concerned with the cult of saints in medieval England. One of the most informative and influential works on the subject is Finucane's *Miracles and Pilgrims*.¹⁵ Finucane was one of the first researchers to use numerical analysis to draw conclusions about the function of saints and their shrines, and in this sense his work was a pioneering achievement. He focuses upon upon what he refers to as the 'major' miracle-working shrines of celebrated saints (including Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury, Saint Frideswide at Oxford and Saint Thomas Cantilupe at Hereford).¹⁶ However, his work does not consider the images of saints in the parish church and their varying roles. His new 'legions of spiritual helpers' were also represented to a certain extent in the form of images, altars and guild dedications throughout the country.¹⁷ By c.1340, for instance, a wall painting of Saint Thomas Becket had been completed in the church at South Newington (Oxfordshire), probably at the behest of the Gifford family whose arms feature in the adjacent painting of the Annunciation.¹⁸ On the north wall of the nave at Barton (Cambridgeshire), there is a fourteenth-century mural of Saint Thomas Cantilupe (whose shrine was at Hereford Cathedral), dressed in a mitre and holding a crozier.¹⁹ The shrine-based approach ignores the fact that these saints also functioned (perhaps in a rather different manner) through their images in the parish church setting.

For Finucane, the cult of the saints and the spiritual needs of the people were expressed through healing and miracles. Relics played an important part in the supplication of saints, and the shrine was the main focus of curative activity (even though about half of the cures recorded as miraculous occurred posthumously at home).²⁰ Yet the parish church was the setting for representations of saints who were seldom associated with miracle healing, shrines and relics in England, including Saint Catherine of Alexandria, Saint Margaret of Antioch, Saint George and Saint

¹⁵ Finucane, R.C., *Miracles and Pilgrims Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, London 1995.

¹⁶ Finucane 1995, 11.

¹⁷ Finucane 1995, 13.

¹⁸ Tristram, E.W., 'The Wall Paintings at South Newington', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 62, 1933, 144-129, 117-123, Plates 2A, 3A and 3B.

¹⁹ Tristram 1955, 137. At his feet is a small figure in supplication, almost certainly the donor and commissioner of the painting.

²⁰ Finucane 1995, 69.

Christopher. The possession of Saint Christopher relics was rare, at least in England. Westminster Abbey held several fragments of his head, which had been donated by Henry III.²¹ They are described in an inventory of relics in 1520: 'A Item a relyke of saint xpofer sylver and parcell gylte lyke the son, of Dan Xpofer Goodhappys gyfftel.'²² The obit roll of the Benedictine Abbey of Kingston St. Michael (Wiltshire) recorded the admission of John Baker of Bridgewater and his wife, probably in return for gifts that included a bone of Saint Christopher clothed in a cloth of gold (1498).²³ Sources do not reveal any miracle cures associated with either relic, and there is no evidence to suggest that they became the focus of any form of pilgrimage or shrine-worship.

Unlike the shrine-related cults, the cult of Saint Christopher in medieval England was largely an image-based phenomenon, closely associated with physical depictions of the saint. Although the saint was represented in other media, it was with wall painting that he was principally associated in the later medieval period. This was almost certainly connected to the necessity of being able to see and view the Saint Christopher image (as discussed below). Wall painting is a public and visible medium, and would have been easily recognised by those who wished to view the saint's image. Murals were also very cheap to produce, especially those of inferior artistic quality that are often found in the smaller churches in England. Pigments in such places were usually very simple iron ores (red and yellow ochre), and the painters were probably local craftsmen.²⁴ A large and conspicuous Saint Christopher image could therefore be produced at relatively little cost. Saint Christopher murals also appear to have been far more ubiquitous than those of other saints (with the exception of the Virgin). The majority of churches with existing murals include a depiction of Saint Christopher, and it is clear from descriptions and illustrations that the saint was usually included within the wall painting arrangement of a church.

²¹ Binski 1995, 171.

²² Westlake, H.F., ed., *Westminster Abbey: The Church, Convent, Cathedral and College of St. Peter, Westminster*, Vol. 2, London 1923, 501. I am grateful to Dr Guy Sumpter for this reference.

²³ Brown, A. D., *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1500*, Oxford 1995, 33.

²⁴ Caiger-Smith 1963, 120-123. Staple pigments used in less artistically advanced wall paintings included yellow ochres and red earth (sinoper). They both came from natural deposits of iron oxides formed by the weathering of iron ores in England.

Saint Christopher was not a saint who had much association with official Church liturgy. It was largely the Apostles and the Church Doctors (Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome) who served the catechetical mission of the Church. Most Church liturgy is dedicated to these saints, compared with the near absence of references to Saint Christopher. The ordinal in the *Sarum Use*, undoubtedly the most widely used rite in England, includes a very short prayer of seven lines, *Secreta* and a post-communion supplication to Saint Christopher.²⁵ James the Apostle shares the feast day, and in striking contrast, it is to him that most of the service is dedicated.²⁶ Saint Christopher's primary function was fundamentally different to that of the Apostles and the Church Doctors. They were often depicted on the rood screen (as at Bramfield [Norfolk]) below the principal and focal Crucifix, their position reflecting their role in the hierarchical scheme and their intercessory function.²⁷ Saint Christopher, although acting as an intercessor at times, was less of an official doctrinal saint, and more of a talisman, a 'supernatural' protector against worldly tribulations and illness.²⁸

It is also rare to find churches dedicated to Saint Christopher. Salmon speculated that about fifteen medieval churches were dedicated to the saint, but includes just ten in his list: Saint Christopher le Stocks in London (Threadneedle Street), Aylesbeare (Devon), Baunton (Gloucestershire), Ditteridge (Wiltshire), Lympsham (Somerset), Pott Shringley (Cheshire), Willingale Doe (Essex), Winfrith Newburgh (Devon), Panfield (Essex) and a lost church in Norwich.²⁹ In fact, it appears that the church at

²⁵ *Missale Ad Usum Sarum* 1969, 823-824; *Use of Sarum* (Vol. 1) 1898; *Use of Sarum* (Vol. 2) 1901. Dickinson bases his edition on a text which appeared c.1487 and c.1555. The earlier 'old' ordinal is used by Frere, who bases his edition on fourteenth and fifteenth-century manuscripts. The Saint Christopher entry in this latter source reads very simply: 'Memoria de martribus Christofo et Cucufato'. If this was the usual text for the fourteenth century (and before), it appears as though the importance of Saint Christopher in liturgy may have increased by the end of the medieval period. Saint Cucufas or Cucufat was a fourth-century legionnaire in the Roman army. He became a missionary in Barcelona, and was eventually decapitated for his beliefs.

²⁶ *Missale Ad Usum Sarum* 1969, 822-824.

²⁷ Duffy 2005, 159, Plates 83 and 84. At Bramfield (Norfolk) the Church Doctors and the Apostles are depicted with scrolls containing clauses from the Apostles' Creed.

²⁸ Thomas, K., *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England*, London 1991, 29.

²⁹ See also: Arnold-Foster, F., *Studies in Church Dedications of England's Patron Saints*, Vol. 1, London 1899, 180. Arnold-Foster lists just eight churches dedicated to Saint Christopher; Williamson, P., 'Incised Slab' in *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, Alexander, J., Binski, P., eds., London 1987, 289-290, 290; Salmon 1936, 82-83. Salmon states that the church of Saint Christopher le Stocks was destroyed in 1871; Cuming, H.S., 'Saint Christopher', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. 34, 1878, 127-131, 130. Cuning puts the date as 1781, and

Baunton was actually originally dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene, and that the dedication was changed when the building was restored and the Saint Christopher wall painting discovered in 1876.³⁰ Salmon argued that Saint Christopher had few dedications to his credit because most parish churches were founded before 1300, when he was a little known figure.³¹ Yet churches and religious buildings did change their dedications in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and often embraced more recently martyred saints such as Thomas Becket (South Cadbury [Somerset], for instance).³² It is more likely that Saint Christopher was not generally adopted as a dedicatory saint because of the nature of his principal function in medieval England. Mirk suggests that the patronal saint was not only an intercessor between the parishioners and God, but also a defender, a keeper of peace among the parishioners, and a witness to ensure congregations did their labour without the disturbance of ‘pagans’.³³ The primary roles of Saint Christopher were rather different to the functions associated with patronal saints.

Saint Christopher, Pilgrims and Travellers

Since the nineteenth century (and before), it has been understood that medieval Saint Christopher images were inherently associated with travellers and pilgrims.³⁴ Salmon, for instance, without questioning the notion or providing evidence, claimed that when a long and hazardous journey had been brought to a safe conclusion, the traveller would burn a taper before Saint Christopher.³⁵ More recently, Marrow also suggested that Saint Christopher murals in medieval churches were viewed by passing travellers.³⁶ In one sense, the manner in which Saint Christopher images were utilised (they were generally glanced at and passed by [see below]),

Williamson as 1780; For Pott Shringley, see: TASC - The Transnational Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults: www.le.ac.uk/users/grj1/database/dedwale.xls

³⁰ GRO. P39 IN 4/1. Extract from: *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard*, December 1876; Verey, D., *Gloucestershire 1: The Cotswolds*, 3rd Edition, Revised, Buildings of England, London 1999, 163. The dedication has since been restored to the original Saint Mary Magdalene.

³¹ Salmon 1936, 83.

³² Pevsner, N., *South and West Somerset*, Buildings of England, London 1997, 291.

³³ Mirk, *Festial* 1905, 240-241.

³⁴ In modern times, Saint Christopher is associated with travel, particularly in Europe and South America.

³⁵ Salmon 1936, 81.

³⁶ Marrow (forthcoming), 2.

immediately associates the figure with movement and travel. However, there is very little indication that such images of Saint Christopher were employed by pilgrims, at least in England and Wales. Most images appear to have been funded and employed by individuals in the insular community of the parish, and there seems to have been little appeal to individuals or groups from outside the neighbourhood. It is unclear exactly when Saint Christopher was adopted as the patron saint of travellers in England, but there is little evidence to connect the saint exclusively with this group in the medieval period. The protective role played by the saint may have meant that travellers and pilgrims were more likely to invoke Saint Christopher because of the dangerous and uncertain nature of their pursuit, but references to the saint in such contexts are usually circumstantial. The allusion to a Saint Christopher medal in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, for example, does not explicitly link the item to the concept of pilgrimage. Although the yeoman wears ‘A Cristofre on his brest of silver shene’, Chaucer does not specify that the medal is a particular mark of a pilgrim or traveller.³⁷ He mentions the item because he believes it to be a sign that the yeoman is over-dressed and over-equipped for his journey, and he mocks him for being equipped for every eventuality by carrying a bow, a shield, a spear, a sword, and even a hunting horn. The Saint Christopher medal is just another aspect of the yeoman’s over-preparation, worn just in case he should need to call upon the saint for protection, and there appears to be no specific link here between pilgrims and Saint Christopher. More general texts, including the *Oxford Companion to Art and Architecture*, have adopted the traveller / pilgrim theory in an unquestioning manner, thus disseminating the fabrication to the wider audience.³⁸ A universal misunderstanding of the role of Saint Christopher in imagery is therefore evident even today, with the unquestioning reliance of modern authors on the work the earlier researchers.³⁹

³⁷ Benson, L.D. ed., Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales (The Riverside Chaucer)*, Oxford 1998, 25.

³⁸ Murray, P., *Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture*, Oxford 1996, 105.

³⁹ Saint Christopher is also occasionally represented with a pilgrim or ‘tau staff’ with a t-shaped top. This is the case in the fourteenth-century wall painting at Willingham (Cambridgeshire). The saint is also depicted with a wide-rimmed pilgrim hat at Stoke Dry (Rutland). However, far from indicating Saint Christopher’s association with pilgrims and travellers, this attire appears to be linked to his legend and the concept that he himself was a traveller.

There are a number of medallions or pendants depicting Saint Christopher that survive from the late medieval period. It is not clear how common or widespread these medallions were, or what types of people might have worn them. One such item (housed in the British Museum) is a small pilgrim badge of lead alloy, measuring approximately 4cm in length. The relief engraving shows the saint carrying the Christ Child on his right shoulder.⁴⁰ Another pendant (c.1500) of silver gilt, a fifteenth-century gold brooch (diameter 2.5cm), and four fifteenth-century gold rings depicting Saint Christopher, are held in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴¹ One of the rings is inscribed on the inside with black lettering 'De bon cor'.⁴² This could be a reminder or confirmation that whoever wears the ring will be safeguarded against harm. The existence of these objects has led researchers (including Salmon), to conclude that they were worn by travellers or pilgrims for protection.⁴³ However, there is no evidence to suggest that it was specifically such people who wore the adornments. The rings in particular are of exceptional quality, and may well have been worn by far more affluent members of society.

The connection between Saint Christopher and water has also been exaggerated by researchers.⁴⁴ Certainly, there was some kind of association in the medieval period, for there was a fraternity of Saint Christopher of the water bearers who met in the Austin Friars church in London from 1497.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Erasmus mentions in one of his *Colloquies* that 'When a sailor is in danger, he calls on Christ's mother or Christopher or some other saint sooner than Christ'.⁴⁶ What is less convincing however, is the frequent claim that the Saint Christopher's image was frequently located near to rivers or the sea.⁴⁷ Marrow has argued that the late fourteenth-century

⁴⁰ BM. Reg. No. 1856, 0701.2100. Pilgrim Badge.

⁴¹ V & A. Inv. No. 507-1903. Silver Gilt Pendant; Keyser 1883 (B), 197; V & A. Inv. No. 2280-1855. Gold Brooch; Anon, *Victoria and Albert Museum: Exhibition of English Medieval Art*, London 1930, 144; V & A. Inv. No. M240-1962. Gold Ring; V & A. Inv. No. M239-1962. Gold Ring; V & A. Inv. No. 692-1871. Gold Ring.

⁴² V & A. Inv. No. 692-1871. Gold Ring.

⁴³ Salmon 1936, 81.

⁴⁴ Tudor-Craig, P., 'Painting in Medieval England: The Wall-to-Wall Message', *History Today*, Vol. 31, Issue 11, November 1987, 39-45, 45; Farmer, D, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Oxford 1997. Farmer argues that Saint Christopher was especially invoked against water.

⁴⁵ Barron, C. M., 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London', in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. H. Boulay*, Barron, C.M., Harper-Bill, C., eds., Woodbridge 1985, 13-37, 23.

⁴⁶ Erasmus 1965, 355.

⁴⁷ Keyser 1883 (B), 194. Keyser suggests that representations of Saint Christopher were positioned on houses near to fords on the Continent.

sandstone Saint Christopher statue at Runcorn Priory (Cheshire) was likely to have been commissioned by the religious house for the benefit of wayfarers.⁴⁸ He bases his claim upon the fact that the religious house is situated three miles from the Runcorn Gap, the major crossing point of the River Mersey between Birkenhead and Warrington. He concludes that 'Saint Christopher had borne Christ over a river, and offered special protection against sudden death which had an obvious appeal for travellers at that time'.⁴⁹ Certainly, it is possible that this particular statue may have been invoked for protection when crossing the water, but it is clear most Saint Christopher images were not specifically located near rivers or water. Such a large proportion of medieval artwork has been destroyed or lost that it is dangerous to establish any kind of theory based on the geographical location of images. Stone statues were common in churches throughout the country, and certainly in areas or positions that were not especially associated with pilgrims, travellers or river crossings. At Terrington St. Clement (Norfolk), for example, a fifteenth-century statue still stands at the west end of the south aisle (c.1340).⁵⁰ Another stone figure depicting Saint Christopher, taken down when the new aisle was begun in 1535, is recorded at Nettlecombe (Somerset).⁵¹ The fact that most churches would have had a wall painting of Saint Christopher from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, means that it is unrealistic to make a connection between location and water.

⁴⁸ Marrow (Forthcoming), 2.

⁴⁹ Marrow (Forthcoming), 4.

⁵⁰ Salmon 1936, 90; Pevsner, N., *North-West and South Norfolk*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1962, 339; CL. Ref. 478008.

⁵¹ French 2001, 205.

Part Three: The Protective and Curative Functions of Saint Christopher

Protector against Unprepared Death

Keyser and Brindley suggested that those who observed the image of Saint Christopher would be saved from a violent death that day.⁵² However, neither author cites any evidence to support this claim, and wall painting inscriptions and sermon-related literature clearly indicate that it was more specifically a sudden or ill death that Saint Christopher protected against. At Woodeaton (Oxfordshire), for instance, a scroll emerges from the wall painting as if offering itself and its contents to the viewer (Plate 10). The wording suggests that those who viewed the image would avoid an ill death on that particular day: ‘Ki cest image verra le jur de male mort ne murra’.⁵³ A similar sentiment is found in the inscription at the base of the Buxheim Saint Christopher woodcut (c.1450): ‘Cristofori faciem die quacunque mens / Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris’.⁵⁴ Ill death can almost certainly be equated with sudden or unprepared death, an occurrence that was particularly undesirable in the medieval period. If an individual died without being shriven of sin through confession (shrift), and without receiving final communion (houses), it was considered they would almost certainly go straight to hell.⁵⁵ The *Ars Moriendi* (or the craft of dying) guaranteed the spiritual future of the soul.⁵⁶ The theme of unexpected death is more specifically described in the *Legends of the Saints* (a sermon-related manuscript based largely upon the *Golden Legend*, but also partially on *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais).⁵⁷ The dialect of the text is Lowland Scottish of c.1400, and it is uncertain whether it was ever circulated in England.⁵⁸ Regardless of distribution and readership, it is clear that the function of Saint Christopher in this

⁵² Keyser 1883 (B), 194; Brindley 1924, 230.

⁵³ He who sees this image shall not die an ill death this day. For the English translation see: Tristram 1955, 115.

⁵⁴ JRL. MS 366 (17249). Whoever looks on the face of Christopher shall not that day die an ill death. For the English translation of the inscription see: Salmon 1936, 80; Parshall, P., Schoch, R. et al, eds., *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and their Public*, New Haven and London 2005, 153, 155.

⁵⁵ Duffy 2005, 120.

⁵⁶ Binski, P., *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, London 2001, 33.

⁵⁷ Metcalfe, W.M., ed., *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect of the Fourteenth Century*, Vol. 3, Scottish Text Society, Final Series, Vol. 23, London 1890, xviii.

⁵⁸ *Legends of the Saints* (Vol. 3) 1890, xxii. Metcalfe suggests that the *Legends of the Saints* may not have been circulated in England. He bases this on the fact that none of the distinctly English saints (such as Saint Thomas Becket and Saint Edmund) are included.

text is to protect against sudden death: ‘Þat þai one his ymage cane se... / for men sais, sudand ded þat day / he deis nocht his ymage se may’.⁵⁹

Protector against Misadventure and Harm

As well as defending against sudden or ill death, viewing the image of Saint Christopher (as Salmon pointed out) also helped to avoid misadventure and harm on that particular day.⁶⁰ Various sources, including the *Legends of the Saints*, claim that the saint was called upon in times of danger, and functioned as a general protector against worldly struggles: ‘Þat þaim ne may / ony mysawentoure fal þat day’.⁶¹ *The Militaria*, one of Erasmus’ *Colloquies*, touches on usage and function of Saint Christopher imagery outside the church setting.⁶² The text is a reprimand of the impieties of a military life, the invocation of saints, and the Catholic Church in general, demonstrated through the confessions of a soldier. Although Erasmus’ observations were largely based upon Continental practices, much of his work can also be applied to the situation in England (and Wales) at the beginning of the sixteenth century. One of the characters, Thrasy-machus, speaks of Saint Christopher, claiming that ‘I relied mainly on Saint Christopher, whose picture I looked at every day’.⁶³ He goes on to describe how he drew a picture of Saint Christopher on his tent, an action evocative of the execution of a church wall painting. The second soldier makes it clear that this was done for the purpose of guarding against misfortune, even though he has no faith in the power of the saint: ‘As protection that charcoal Christopher surely wasn’t worth a fig, as they say’.⁶⁴ One of the later *Colloquies* also refers to the protective role of Saint Christopher.⁶⁵ It was published in 1526 as *The Fish Diet*, and takes the form of a dialogue between a fishmonger and a butcher. The text is largely concerned with Christian liberty, and disapprovingly comments on how men and women are likely to invoke the protection of Saint Christopher (when they should be praying to Christ instead): ‘How many there are who put their trust in the

⁵⁹ *Legends of the Saints* (Vol. 3), 1890, 340.

⁶⁰ Salmon 1936, 80.

⁶¹ *Legends of the Saints* (Vol. 3) 1890, 340.

⁶² Erasmus, *Colloquies* 1965, 14-15.

⁶³ Erasmus, *Colloquies* 1965, 14.

⁶⁴ Erasmus, *Colloquies* 1965, 14-15.

⁶⁵ Erasmus, *Colloquies* 1965, 355.

Virgin Mother's protection, or Saint Christopher's, rather than Christ himself!'⁶⁶ The text also makes an indirect comparison between the protective powers of Saint Christopher and those of the Virgin.

Protector against Fatigue

Inscriptions sometimes imply that Saint Christopher also functioned as a defender against (or curer of) fatigue, feebleness and exhaustion. The earliest recorded Saint Christopher wall painting inscription is included in the image in the south transept at Westminster Abbey (c.1290-c.1310).⁶⁷ The fragmentary lettering above the head of the figure reads: 'Sancti Christophori speciem quicumque tuetur / Illa nempe die languore tenetur'.⁶⁸ Similar wording is recorded in at least four other images, including the lost wall paintings at Pakefield (Suffolk), Witton (Norfolk), and Bibury (Gloucestershire), and the extant mural at Creting St. Peter (Suffolk). The exact wording of some of these inscriptions is problematic as they are no longer visible, and we are reliant upon secondary sources for confirmation of their content. Researchers have often used generic wording, possibly based upon the Westminster inscription, rather than interpreting the contents of individual wall paintings themselves. In 1954, Cautley claimed that the wording on the scrolling above the heads of Saint Christopher and the Christ Child at Creting St. Peter reads: 'Christophori Sancti Speciem Quicumque Tuetur Illa Nempe Die Nullo Languore Gravetur'.⁶⁹ However, he virtually admits to 'borrowing' the wording from elsewhere, claiming that much of the lettering was illegible and that this was the 'usual' inscription accompanying Saint Christopher wall paintings.⁷⁰ Although much of the scrollwork at Creting St. Peter is still visible today, the deterioration of the paintwork since the 1950s means that the lettering is now indecipherable. Tristram also lists an identical inscription which he claims was once visible at Pakefield: 'Christophori Sancti speciem quicumque tuetur /

⁶⁶ Erasmus, *Colloquies* 1965, 355.

⁶⁷ Binski 1995, 170-171, Plate 228.

⁶⁸ Whoever sees Saint Christopher this day will not be laden with tiredness. For the English translation see: Binski 1995, 217.

⁶⁹ Whoever sees an image of Saint Christopher, he is protected on the day no tiredness be laden with. For the English translation see: Cautley, H.M., *Suffolk Churches and their Treasures* Ipswich 1954, 248, 206 (Illustration).

⁷⁰ Cautley 1954, 248.

Illa nempe die nullo languore gravetur'.⁷¹ He does not footnote this reference, so it is impossible to discern whether his information is based upon generic reasoning or historical fact. Evidence concerning the precise wording of the inscription at Bibury is more convincing. The Saint Christopher wall painting was recorded by Samuel Rudder in *A New History of the County of Gloucestershire*, published in 1779.⁷² He claimed that the image had recently been concealed with whitewash, and that nothing could be discerned except the inscription.⁷³ Although his book is largely based on a similar work by Sir Robert Atkyns (1712), Rudder is astute enough to realise that Atkyns' wording was actually grammatically inaccurate, a factor which suggests that he may have viewed the inscription himself.⁷⁴ Rudder's testimony reads as follows:

Accordingly, this figure (Saint Christopher) was opposite to the entrance at the south door of the church; but it hath lately been covered with whitewash; and nothing remains to be seen but the two following lines, incorrectly written in ancient characters under the figure: 'Xpofori sci speciem quicunque tuetur / Illo nanque die nullo langore gravetur'.⁷⁵

The inscription was obviously erased sometime after 1779, for the church was restored between 1855 and 1856, and an attempt made:

To find this figure and inscription, but it was so covered in whitewash and otherwise mutilated that nothing but a fish's head and a boat with two men in it could be discovered – it was quite useless to attempt to preserve it.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Tristram 1955, 115.

⁷² Rudder, S., *A New History of the County of Gloucestershire*, Gloucester 1799 (Reprinted Stroud 1977), 286.

⁷³ Rudder 1799 (Reprinted 1977), 286.

⁷⁴ Atkyns, R., *Ancient and Present State of Glostershire*, 1712 (Reprinted 1974). This is probably a reference to the misspelling of 'langore', which should read 'languore'.

⁷⁵ Rudder 1799, 286.

⁷⁶ GRO. P44 IN 4/4. Letter to the Vicar of Bibury with Details about the Walls and Saint Christopher Fresco in the Church at its Restoration, after 1856.

Curer of Disease

It is probable that Saint Christopher's protection against sudden death and tiredness also extended to the cure of disease. Surviving inscriptions do not suggest that this was the case for wall painting images, but a reference to invocation against illness and infirmity is found in the *Golden Legend*: 'For the saint besought your forgiveness and by his supplication obtained the cure of disease and infirmities'.⁷⁷ The author, Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, was writing at a time when images of Saint Christopher were beginning to emerge on the Continent and in England, so it is unclear whether references to Saint Christopher as a curer are based upon wall painting and image function. Granger Ryan's source for the *Golden Legend* was almost certainly composed after 1260, for Graesse (on whose 1845 version this text is based) accepted that one hundred and eighty-two legends were the work of Jacobus, and that sixty-one were added by later authors.⁷⁸ The impact of image function on text may be seen in William Caxton's edition of the *Golden Legend* (1483), a document that is partially based on an earlier English, French and Latin sources.⁷⁹ Caxton suggests that the role of Saint Christopher is 'to put away sekenes and sores fro them that remember hys passyon and figure'.⁸⁰ He may have recognised that Saint Christopher functioned as a healer in imagery, and he may have modified the saintly functions to ensure his text was reflective of practice and belief in fifteenth-century society. Caxton certainly made additions elsewhere, supplementing the text with some sixty saints of his own, and inserting his own words where he felt it necessary.⁸¹ His reference to the 'figure' of Saint Christopher is almost certainly an allusion to the prominence of the saint's image-based cult in late fifteenth-century England.

⁷⁷ For the English translation see: Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, 14.

⁷⁸ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, xiii-xiv.

⁷⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, xiv.

⁸⁰ Whaite 1929, 7.

⁸¹ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, xiv; Ellis, F.S., ed., *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints*, London 1931, x.

Friend, Helper and Exemplar

Neighbourliness and friendliness were some of the standard features of the late medieval sainthood in England, and were not exclusive or unique to Saint Christopher. Many saints were portrayed as approachable, friendly and unassuming, including Henry VI, who was said to appear to his clients unshaven and friendly-faced ‘giving...no little ground of hope and amazement’.⁸² Saint Christopher is described as a friend and helper in the *Legends of the Saints*, a figure who is close by when assistance and support is required ‘Bot prays hym hartly fore to be / Gud frend til al in necessite’.⁸³ A devotional verse prayer by Lydgate (1370?-1449) also describes how ten martyrs (including Saint Christopher) have special powers to assist and aid clients in the attainment of general and everyday wants or needs through prayer.⁸⁴ The text begins with a preface relating to all ten saints: ‘These holy seyntys folwyng ar pryvyledged of our lord Ihesu that what man or woman praieth to them rightfully shal have his bone’.⁸⁵ Like other saints, Saint Christopher was also a figure to be imitated and emulated. This is suggested by the case of John Warde, the Cambridgeshire painter, who created ‘a devout interpretacion of St. Christopher’s life...very lyvely in a table’, and placed it in his pew so he could ‘learne to be a right Christopher’.⁸⁶

⁸² McKenna, J.W., ‘Piety and Propaganda: The Cult of Henry VI’, in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies*, Rowland, B., ed., London 1974, 247; Duffy 2005, 164-165. Despite attempts by Henry VII to mobilise the cult in support of his own dynasty, Henry VI was never officially canonised.

⁸³ *Legends of the Saints* (Vol. 1) 1887, 360.

⁸⁴ *Minor Poems of John Lydgate* 1911, 120. The saints listed by Lydgate are: Giles, Catherine, Barbara, George, Denis, Blaise, Margaret, Martha, Christina and Christopher.

⁸⁵ *Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (Part 1) 1911, 120; Duffy 2005, 178. They are similar in function to the Fourteen Holy Helpers or Auxiliary Saints, a group (including Saint Christopher), who were probably invoked the Continent more than in England.

⁸⁶ Turner, *Spirituall Physik* 1555, fol. 20v-21.

Intercessor and Mediator

Intercession for forgiveness and salvation was also a generic function of medieval sainthood. The *Golden Legend* states that:

The saints intercede for us by their merits and by their goodwill. Their merits help us and they desire the fulfilment of our wishes, but this only when they know what we wish for is in accordance with God's will.⁸⁷

A standard entry indicating mediation was applied to the majority of saints and martyrs included in liturgical texts such as the *Sarum Rite*. A prayer to Saint Andrew, for example, reads:

Magestatem tuam, Domine, suppliciter exoramus, ut sicut Ecclesiae tuae beatus Andreas apostolus exstitit praedicator et rector, ita apud te sit pro nobis perpetuus intercessor.⁸⁸

The same text associates a similar intercessory function with Saint Christopher:

Deus, mundi creator et rector, qui hunc diem beatorum Christofori et Cucufati martyrum tuorum passione consecrasti; concede ut omnes qui martyrii eorum merita veneramur, eorum intercessionibus ab aeternis gehennae incendiis liberemur.⁸⁹

A similar communicative role is also affirmed in the closing lines of Caxton's edition of the *Golden Legend*: 'Thenne late us praye to Seynt Christofre that he praye for us etc'.⁹⁰ There is little sense in which these prayers and litanies are associated with images, however, and no suggestion that they might be performed in the presence of visual depictions of the saint.

⁸⁷ For the English translation see: Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, 279.

⁸⁸ *Missale Ad Usum Sarum* 1969, 660.

⁸⁹ *Missale Ad Usum Sarum* 1969, 824.

⁹⁰ Whaite 1929, 7.

Part Four: Saint Christopher and Devotional Practices

Saint Christopher and the Living

It has already been demonstrated that Saint Christopher's primary and most important functions were to provide protection against unprepared death, misadventure, fatigue and disease (as well as being employed as an intercessor, and as a figure whose life and ways should be emulated). Yet there is very little evidence to suggest exactly *how* these images were used, or just *how* Saint Christopher was invoked within the parish church setting by the living. There was a need to actually *see* the image of Saint Christopher, and the inscriptions cited above suggest that this was enough to secure the protection required, and that the image possessed a power of its own. Other types of parochial images demanded immediate action on behalf of the viewer in return for promises. A Mass of Saint Gregory wall painting in the porch at Wrexham (North Wales), for instance, is accompanied by a fragmentary text that reads: 'Before this image...XII paternosters'.⁹¹ In contrast, inscriptions associated with Saint Christopher images do not call for specific or instant conduct. Saint Christopher wall paintings were most commonly located in a prominent position opposite the main entrance to the church building (see Chapter Three). The image was immediately visible to the individuals when entering the building if they wished to secure protection or assistance, and individuals could simply glance at it in passing when entering or leaving the church. There is no firm evidence to suggest that members of the congregation made the sign of the cross or knelt in front of images as they passed (although [as demonstrated in Chapter One] viewers did perform gestures in front of certain types of imagery).⁹² However, the occasional existence of kneeling donor figures in Saint Christopher murals (Cockthorpe [Norfolk]), as well as candle niches (Corby Glen), suggest that on occasions viewers might linger, kneel and contemplate before the image.⁹³

⁹¹ Gill 2002, 358.

⁹² For a discussion of types of gesture before images other than Saint Christopher see: Marks 2004, 171; Lentes 2006, 363, 366.

⁹³ Barton and Whitmarsh Undated, 3; Pevsner, N., Wilson, B., *Norfolk I: Norwich and North-East Norfolk*, 2nd Edition, Buildings of England, London 1990, 437. The Cockthorpe painting (uncovered in 1990), dates from the late fifteenth century. The two diminutive kneeling donor figures (male and female) are visible in the lower left and lower right-hand corners of the image.

There was some form of reciprocal relationship between Saint Christopher and the parishioner, however, and references to forms of supplication appear sporadically in documents. Prayers were offered to the saint, although the evidence does not specify whether they were addressed directly to his image. The will of William Carent (1516) of Henstridge (Somerset), for example, refers to practices carried out during the testator's lifetime: 'The good saints that I have had mynde and prayers moost unto, that is, to Saint Nicholas, Saint George, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Christopher'.⁹⁴ The inscription in the lost wall painting at Stockton (Norfolk) enticed onlookers to pray for the good estate and welfare (in this life) of those 'which made this christofee'.⁹⁵ There are also occasional allusions to parishioners bequeathing candles or lights to images during their lifetime, although they rarely record the exact motivation behind the action. When John Warde created the picture of Saint Christopher for his pew in the 1530s, parishioners started to burn candles in front of it within a month.⁹⁶ It is clear that this was some form of devotional act, and candles could express gratitude for favours received from an image, act as a call for intercession on behalf of the saint, encourage others to worship, and remind individuals of the donor's devotion (and Christ).⁹⁷ Architectural evidence also signifies that lights were placed in front of Saint Christopher images, such as the small, partially ogee-arched niche positioned slightly to the east of the earlier of the two Saint Christopher wall paintings at Corby Glen (Plate 8). It has been suggested that this feature once contained an image of the Virgin, reflecting the dedication of the chapel.⁹⁸ However considering its diminutive size, it is equally possible that this may have held a candle or a light connected to the wall painting image.

⁹⁴ Weaver, F.W., ed., *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1501-1530*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 19, London 1903, 186.

⁹⁵ Keyser, C.E., 'A Day's Excursion among the Churches of South-East Norfolk', *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 64, 1907, 91-109, 109.

⁹⁶ Turner, *Spirituell Physik* 1555, fol. 20v-21.

⁹⁷ Kamerich 2002, 98; Whiting 1989, 22.

⁹⁸ Barton and Whitmarsh Undated, 3.

Saint Christopher and the Dead

The nature of later medieval documentation means that it is far easier to create a picture of the type of devotional practices that occurred after death, than to establish an impression of *pre-obit* activity. Wills are the main source for analysing parochial piety, and it is clear that images were often significant to those compiling their last testament and preparing for death. Saint Christopher was not a saint who was particularly associated with death-related practices. Burial or the bequeathing of candle was most commonly associated with images of the Virgin, a saint who was particularly connected to intercession at death, and who is often depicted with Saint Michael weighing the souls on the day of death and on the Day of Judgement. Yet references to Saint Christopher occur too frequently in wills to be treated as anomalies or personal proclivities.

1) Saint Christopher, Lights and Oblations

The type of bequest relating to Saint Christopher does not differ significantly from those associated with other saints (see Chapter One). Most references in wills take the form of very brief allusions to lights to be burnt before his image in churches. In 1511, for instance, Simon Church left to the church at Oare (Kent):

A wax taper of 2lbs for evermore before the Picture of Saint Christopher in the Church, which Light and taper shall burn every principal day, Sunday, Holydays, and the day of St. Anne, St. Margaret, St. Katherine and St. Clement.⁹⁹

Testators also contributed commodities towards the upkeep of lights or altars, and in 1512 at Middleton Cheney (Northamptonshire), J. Barrett left 'To the ly3t off Sanct Christofoe a stryke of malt'.¹⁰⁰ Requests for the restoration or commission of Saint Christopher images are also found in wills. At Ashford (Kent), Joan Poleyne left money for 'Reparation of the Image of Saint Christopher'.¹⁰¹ Information concerning

⁹⁹ *Testamenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 238.

¹⁰⁰ 'Parish Churches and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire' 1913, 364.

¹⁰¹ *Testamenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 8.

motivation for *post-obit* devotional actions is usually absent from testamentary documents. However, the fact that the majority of candles in wills are offered to Saint Christopher indicates that some form of protection was anticipated, even after death. Planning to bequeath a light to an image or to an altar (as demonstrated in Chapter One) was a form of reverence and honour to the saint depicted, probably in the hope that the latter would intercede with God and secure their soul a place in heaven. This is described in the will of William White (1473), who left one taper of two pounds of wax to burn on Sundays for one year after his death in the church at Ashford (Kent). The document indicates this was to be done ‘In honour of Saint Erasmus, Saint Christopher, and the Twelve Apostles’.¹⁰²

2) Saint Christopher, Burial, Brasses and Tombs

It is occasionally possible to find references to other forms of death-related practices involving Saint Christopher and his image. At Westwell (Kent) (1488), for instance, John Iden desired to be ‘Buried in the Church of Our Lady the Virgin of Westwell before the Image of Saint Christopher’.¹⁰³ Representations of saints on brasses and tombs are not especially prevalent, and many were mutilated or removed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Those which have survived are so worn that it is very difficult to discern the exact nature of the image. There are only a handful of surviving Saint Christopher depictions on tombs, including the alabaster panel on the tomb chest belonging to Lord Lovell at Minster Lovell (Oxfordshire).¹⁰⁴ Likewise there are around ten images of Saint Christopher on brasses, the most notable of which is the diminutive figure at Weeke (Hampshire) commemorating William and Anne Complyn (1498) (Plate 69).¹⁰⁵ The brass has no effigy figures (unusually), and

¹⁰² *Testamenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 7.

¹⁰³ *Testamenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 356.

¹⁰⁴ Pevsner, N., Sherwood, J., *Oxfordshire*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1964, 706.

Pevsner and Sherwood are not certain whether this is the tomb of William (d.1455) or John Lovell his son (d.1465); Cheetham, F., *Medieval English Alabasters*, Oxford 1984, 92; Salmon 1936, 83; Marks 2004, 177. There is also an alabaster image of Saint Christopher on the tomb of Sir William Gasgoine (d.1485) and Margaret Percy (d.1483) at Harewood (Yorkshire). Pevsner, N., *Yorkshire: The West Riding*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1967, 243-244.

¹⁰⁵ Salmon 1936, 111; Bertram, J., *Brasses and Brass Rubbing in England*, Newton Abbot 1971, 132. This brass is just 22cm high. Other examples of extant Saint Christopher brasses include: Laurence de St. Maur at Higham Ferrers (Northamptonshire), Lady Joan Cromwell at Tattershall (Lincolnshire),

consists solely of the figure of Saint Christopher, a lengthy inscription describing the monetary gifts bestowed on the church by the couple, and a plea for the forgiveness and deliverance:

Also this be 3e dedis yt 3e said will'm hath down to this Church
of Wike yt is to say frest dedycacion of ye Church xls & to
make newe bellis to ye sam Church xi also gave to ye
halloyeng of ye grettest bell vjs. Viijd. & for ye testimonyall'
of the dedicacion of ye sam Church vjs viijd. On whos soules
Ihu Have mercy Amen.¹⁰⁶

Saint Christopher is depicted in a similar manner to wall paintings, crossing the river with the Christ Child on his shoulders, holding a staff in both hands.¹⁰⁷ At Morley (Derbyshire) the saint is positioned between Saint Anne and the Virgin on the brass of Thomas Stathum (d.1470) and his two wives (Elizabeth Langley and Thomasine Curson) (Plate 70).¹⁰⁸ The inscription also incites the viewer to pray for his soul and those of his two wives, and therefore assist with their eventual salvation:

Orate p'aiabs Thome Stathum milit nup dni huius ville q' obit
xxvii die Julij A. dni MCCCCIxx Et dne Elisabeth vxis et filie
Robli Langley Armigeri ac Thomasine alterius uxoris et filie
Johis Curson Armigeri quor aiabs ppiciet dues. Amen.¹⁰⁹

John Prophete at Ringwood (Hampshire), John Strathum, Thomas Strathum and John Sacheverell at Morley (Derbyshire).

¹⁰⁶ Page, W. ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Vol. 3, London 1908, 452.

¹⁰⁷ Bertram 1971, 135.

¹⁰⁸ Norris 1978, 90.

¹⁰⁹ Norris 1978, 90.

A will, drawn up before the execution of the brass, specifies its form and composition:

Corpus meum sepeliendum in the south side of the chauncell in
the kirke of Morley at saint Nicholas Auter ende undir the lowe
wall, the said Wall to be taken downe and ther upon me leyde a
stone of marble with iij ymages of laton oon ymage made aftir
me and th other ij aftir both my wifis we all knelyng on our
kneys with eche on of us a rolle in our handis unto our Lady
saint Marye and to saint Christophore over our heedis with iiij
scochons of myn armes and both my wifis armes quarterly to
gedir and to ware on the sais stone vj marcs.¹¹⁰

Stathum's brass met his requirements in most respects, although the effigy figures are not kneeling, and Saint Anne has been added (perhaps to balance the composition).¹¹¹

The functions of Saint Christopher images on tombs and brasses do not differ significantly from those of other saints (as discussed in Chapter One). Rather like the donation of candles and gifts to an image, depictions on funerary monuments suggest a desire for the saint to provide protection and intercession with God during the time spent in Purgatory.¹¹² In the case of Saint Christopher, his function as protector against misadventure, friend and helper, and intercessor were transferred into the afterlife. This is suggested by the composition of the brass of Thomas Stathum at Morley. Prayer scrolls issue from the central figure of Stathum, and lead up to the images of the three saints above. The words on the scroll, directed towards the Saint Christopher figure, invoke mediation and assistance to ensure a safe and speedy passage through Purgatory: 'Sce Cristofere ora' p' nobis'.¹¹³ It is perhaps significant that Saint Christopher is depicted alongside Saint Anne and the Virgin & Child on both the brass of Thomas Stathum, and the brass of Joan Lady Cromwell (d.1479) at Tattershall (Lincolnshire).¹¹⁴ Visual association with these female saints of a 'higher rank' may have given Saint Christopher some kind of special efficacy. The inclusion

¹¹⁰ Norris 1978, 90.

¹¹¹ Norris 1978, 90.

¹¹² Bertram 1983, 322-323; Badham 1996, 443.

¹¹³ Fox, S., *The History and Antiquities of the Parish Church of S. Matthew, Morley*, London and Derby 1872, 6.

¹¹⁴ Medieval Brasses Society Website: www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/pic_lib/October2003_brass_of_the_month.htm

of saints on funerary monuments also reflects devotion by the deceased to the chosen saint during his or her lifetime.¹¹⁵ The fact that the brasses of Thomas Stathum, his father John (d.1453), and his eventual heir John Sacheverell (d.1485, engraved c.1525), also incorporate images of Saint Christopher with prayer scrolls, indicates that the family held the saint in special affection.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Badham 1996, 446.

¹¹⁶ Compton-Bracebridge, G., *A History of St. Matthew's Church, Morley*, Tamworth 1966, 5; Norris 1978, Plate 89; Fox 1872, 7, Plate 14; Burke, B., *The General Armoury of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales Comprising a Register of Armorial Bearings from the Earliest to the Present Time*, London 1884, 885. Henry Stathum (d.1481), brother of Thomas Stathum, had no sons. The estate of Morley consequently passed to the husband of Henry's daughter, John Sacheverell of Snitterton. John was a supporter of Richard III and was killed at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485; Monumental Brass Society Website: www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/pic_lib/Picture_Library-BOSWORTH_AND_AFTER.htm; See also: Denton, J., 'Lineage and Commemoration in Late Medieval England: The Importance of Place in Gentle Identity'. Unpublished Monumental Brass Society Conference Paper, September 2008. It is not clear why the Stathums and Sacheverells favoured Saint Christopher on their monuments, and there is no evidence of 'Christopher' being a family name.

Conclusion

The scanty nature of medieval documentary sources does not allow for a wholly comprehensive study of the role of Saint Christopher in medieval church and society. Likewise, the fact that a large proportion of medieval wall painting and other types of imagery have been destroyed, means that it is difficult to draw accurate conclusions. However, by piecing together the surviving pieces of information, it has been possible to draw together a number of conclusions about the relationship between Saint Christopher and his audience in wall paintings and other forms of imagery.

Saint Christopher was not a saint who was associated with dedication, liturgy or miracle-working shrines. His cult was largely image-based, and it was necessary to actually *see* his depiction to obtain the advantages offered. His image had a number of differing roles and functions in the medieval church. He was regarded as a protector against unprepared death, misadventure, harm and fatigue, as a curer of illness, as a friend, helper and exemplar, and as an intercessor and mediator between man and God. The traditional view forwarded by researchers since the nineteenth century that Saint Christopher was directly associated with pilgrims and travellers, and that his image was frequently positioned near water, is largely unsubstantiated by the surviving evidence. There appears to be no prescribed instant or specific conduct associated with his image, but it is clear that individuals offered prayers and candles to his image during their lifetime. Saint Christopher was not a saint who was principally associated with death-related practices. However, some *post-obit* commodities (including candles, donations and gifts) were offered to his image. Testators also left money for the restoration and creation of his image (including those on brasses and tombs), and occasionally specified burial near his likeness. Such actions indicate that parishioners considered Saint Christopher's *post-obit* function to be an extension of his lifetime role of protector and intercessor.

CHAPTER THREE: THE LOCATION AND CONTEXT OF IMAGES IN THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

Academic Background and Outline

The significance of image location in the English (and Welsh) medieval church is an under-researched area. The only way in which functions and iconographic symbolism can be fully understood is through the examination of images within the context in which they were created. Little effort has been made to deal directly with the issue of image placement within this spatial and functional framework. Williamson's examination of the context of display and how sculpture was utilised to reinforce the role of space is a useful Continental parallel, and an academic approach that needs to be adopted for the study of the English parish church.¹ Kamerick has attempted to describe the placement of imagery as part of a study of late medieval idolatry in East Anglia. However, very little attempt is made to locate and contextualize internal images:

A porch juts out from the main body of the church, its arched doorway topped by niches containing the carved images of Christ, the Virgin Mary; popular saints like St. Katherine and St. James the Greater – and the church's patron saint – perhaps Peter, Margaret, Andrew, or the East Anglian Ethelreda...Stained-glass windows of exceptional beauty, skilfully produced in fifteenth century East Anglia, filter the light. Adam and Eve mingle with the Annunciation to the Virgin. Beloved saints revel in their moments of glory and martyrdom...²

¹ Williamson, P., *Netherlandish Sculpture, 1450-1550*, London 2002, 34-5, 44-45. Williamson discusses eight bosses, four depicting the Symbols of the Evangelists and four the Church Fathers (Saints Augustine, Gregory the Great, Jerome and Ambrose). These were once located in Utrecht Cathedral on the north-east side of the library. The subject-matter would have been an appropriate reminder to visitors of the function of the space.

² Kamerick 2002, 75-76.

Binski has placed images within the framework of the church building, but he simplifies the matter by claiming that certain visual depictions will consistently be found in certain positions within the building:

St. Christopher will be visible opposite the main door; a Doom painting will preside over the main rood; and figures of the patron saint of the church or the Virgin Mary will be on the north side of the chancel's east wall or on the altar retable.³

This general-rule approach is clumsy because (as will be demonstrated in the course of this chapter) there are always some important exceptions which should not be overlooked. It is clear that although certain 'rules' of location apply to certain categories of images, these conventions were not always observed. Generalisations concerning the location of wall paintings have largely stemmed from the fact that scholars have often based their conclusions regarding image function and location on just one or two examples (often in their eagerness to find relationship patterns), thereby neglecting that fact that each church was individual and a product of its own distinct history.⁴ Each building needs to be examined as a particular case study in order to draw reflective conclusions concerning image location in the parish church.⁵ The first section of this chapter will deal with general image location patterns and context in the late medieval church, in order to justify how wall paintings and other forms of image fitted into the general system of church layout. The second part will focus on the location of individual Saint Christopher wall paintings, and address the issue of why the majority of images were located on the north side of the church.

³ Binski 1999, 14.

⁴ For example: Tristram 1955.

⁵ The most recent exceptions to the generalised approach are: Reiss, A., *The Sunday Christ: Sabbatarianism in English Medieval Wall Painting*, BAR, British Series, Vol. 292, 2000; Gill 2002; Lentz 2006, 365.

Part One: Image Location in Churches

The Nave (and Aisles)

Scholars are becoming increasingly aware of the separate functions of distinct spaces within churches. Graves, for instance, reminds us that elements such as the chancel and nave formed distinct spatial and social divisions. In terms of patronage, material upkeep, religious practice and access, the chancel was almost exclusively associated with the clergy, while the nave was utilised by the laity.⁶ Yet it is also clear that these divisions were not entirely rigid. The laity, for example, must have spent extended periods of time in the chancel during the watching of the Easter Sepulchre ritual in Holy Week.⁷ As Duffy points out:

The screen itself was...a frame for the liturgical drama, solid only to waist height pierced by a door wide enough for ministers and choir to pass through, and which the laity themselves might penetrate on certain occasions.⁸

As well as a physical distinction between the nave and chancel, it is clear that there was often an iconographic difference between the subjects depicted in these areas, a distinction that was almost certainly reflective of the distinct roles the two spaces played.⁹ Wall paintings found in the nave (or in nave aisles) included the moralistic or 'warning' images such as the Doom and the Seven Deadly Sins, which visibly reminded congregations about what they should or should not do if they wished to secure a place in heaven or purgatory. Images of the 'helper' saints, such as Saint Catherine, Saint Margaret and Saint Christopher, were also most commonly found in the nave. Their position made them easily accessible to parishioners wishing to obtain salvation through

⁶ Graves, C.P., 'Social Space in the English Parish Church', *Economy and Society*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1989, 297-322, 301. For arguments in favour of strict divisions between the nave and chancel see: Brooke, C.N.L., 'Religious Sentiment and Church Design in the Later Middle Ages', in *Medieval Church and Society*, Brooke, C.N.L., ed., London 1971, 162-182, 165.

⁷ Duffy 2005, 112.

⁸ Duffy 2005, 112.

⁹ It should be considered that chancel murals do not survive so well as nave paintings, a factor which can hamper comparative studies.

benefaction, or to invoke them through the image (see Chapter One). There are, however, a handful of exceptions to these conventions. At Wotton Wawen (Warwickshire) for instance, the Seven Deadly Sins mural was located on the south wall of the south chancel chapel.¹⁰ Likewise, the mid-fourteenth-century wall paintings of Saint Catherine and Saint Margaret are positioned in the chancel on the north and south wall window splays at Hailes (Gloucestershire).¹¹ Figurative wall painting could also be used to enhance or delineate side altars or in the nave, aisle or transepts.¹² On the north side of St. Alban's Abbey nave, for instance, there are a sequence of six painted reredoses, each consisting of a Crucifixion (upper tier) and a Marian (lower tier) subject. They span the period c.1230-c.1330, and chart the gradual encroachment of the townspeople onto the monastic nave.¹³ At Raunds (Northamptonshire), wall paintings of Saint Catherine still survive in the north aisle, and the altar in this space was formerly dedicated to the saint.¹⁴

The East Wall of the Nave

It is usual (as Binski has done) to associate the east wall and chancel arch with the Doom painting and three-dimensional rood screen cross (see Chapter One).¹⁵ The commanding setting and sheer visibility of the location meant that the worshipper or visitor, facing eastwards, would be permanently confronted with the image.¹⁶ Yet Doom paintings were by no means exclusively positioned in this spot. Of the 182 paintings (both extant and lost) examined by Ashby, 117 occupied the chancel arch position.¹⁷ At both Oddington

¹⁰ Gill 2002, 517-522.

¹¹ Verey 1999, 396-397; Sacred Destinations Website: www.sacred-destinations.com/england/hailes-church.htm

¹² Haddan, A.W., Stubbs, W., eds., *Councils and Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 3, Oxford 1971, 579-580. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) stated that each altar should be accompanied by an image or description identifying the dedicatee.

¹³ Binski 1992, 257, 260.

¹⁴ Gill 2002, 206, Plate 3.9. There are two schemes of wall painting depicting Saint Catherine in this aisle. The earlier dates from c.1430, and the latter from the early sixteenth century (painted on a larger scale over the original scheme).

¹⁵ Binski 1999, 14.

¹⁶ Ashby 1980, 21.

¹⁷ Ashby 1980, 21.

and Stowell (Gloucestershire), the Doom image is situated on the north wall of the nave.¹⁸ West-wall Dooms, possibly derived from earlier Byzantine associations between the west and death, also occur, particularly wall painting schemes from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as those at Clayton and Hardham (c.1080-c.1100) (Sussex).¹⁹ It is less common to find west-wall Judgement schemes in later images, although they do occur. Giotto's Judgement painting in the Arena Chapel in Padua (consecrated c.1305) is located in such a position, as is the fourteenth-century Judgement scene (incorporating Christ in Judgement, the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Corporeal Works of Mercy) at Trotton (Sussex).²⁰ The late fifteenth / early sixteenth-century Judgement glass also occupies the west window at Fairford (Gloucestershire).²¹ It is unclear whether there would also have been a painted Doom on the east wall in this particular case, but two fifteenth-century censuring angels painted on either side of the chancel arch, as well as niches for sculptures, suggest that some form of significant image once stood there. These cases are all exceptions to the rule, however, and it is indisputable that in the majority of cases, Doom images were located on the east wall.

¹⁸ Edwards, J., 'The Mural and the Morality Play: A Suggested Sources for a Wall Painting at Oddington', *Transactions of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, Vol. 104, 1986, 187-200, Figure 1.

¹⁹ Gill 2002, 224; Aggs, C., Wyatt, J., *The Wall Paintings at Hardham*, Otter Memorial Paper, No. 2, Chichester 1987; Park, D., 'The 'Lewes Group' of Wall Paintings in Sussex', in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, Vol. 6, Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1983, Allen, A., Brown, eds., 201-237, 201; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/clayton.htm

²⁰ Cassidy, B., 'Giotto and the Arena Chapel, Padua', in *Making Medieval Art*, Lindley, P., ed., Donington 2003, 130-139, 132-133; Tristram 1955, 259. In most west-wall Judgement paintings, the north side is associated with hell and damnation, and the south with salvation. At Trotton, however, the iconography is reversed. It is possible that the artist or patron (the latter almost certainly the Camoys family) may not have been entirely familiar with, or did not wish to observe the convention of association between redemption and the right hand of God. Perhaps they supposed (or were instructed that) heaven was generally represented on the north side of the church.

²¹ Wayment, H., *The Stained-Glass of the Church of St. Mary, Fairford, Gloucestershire*, Society of Antiquaries of London Occasional Papers, New Series Vol. 5, London 1984, 2. Wayment argues that the Lady Chapel must have been completed by January 1497 when John Tame (the likely patron of the glass) left instructions in his will to be buried there. The east end of the church was probably ready for glazing by the middle of 1497, and even if any of the rest of the church was still to be built, it would have been completed soon afterwards. The upper section of the west window, which depicts Christ seated on the rainbow, was restored between 1863 and 1864, and not a single piece of original glass was re-instated. The medieval glass was badly damaged by a storm in 1703, and had been patched up with fragments of clear sheet glass. The lower register, which contains the torments of hell and the Resurrection, is almost entirely original; Brown, S., MacDonald, L., *Fairford Parish Church: A Medieval Church and its Stained Glass*, Stroud 2007, 114, 119, Plate 15.

The North and South Sides of the Church

It has been proposed that there may have been symbolic associations between certain types of imagery and the north and south sides of the church.²² This suggestion is difficult to substantiate, partly because of the sheer amount of imagery that has been lost, and partly because an inadequate quantity of contextual cross-media research has been carried out. Medieval texts reveal little about the organisation of visual depictions in churches, and the few that make passing references are often unclear and contradictory.²³ Theological distinctions between north and south within churches occasionally occur in more complex image schemes where there is evidence of educated clerical involvement, but are rare in less erudite painting. Early-Christian symbolism connected the south side of the church with the light of the sun and warmth, and therefore the New Testament. In contrast, the sunless north side was associated with the uncertain light of the moon and sun, and thus the Old Testament.²⁴ This pattern appears to have been adhered to at Eton College, where William Waynflete undertook to fund the decoration and completion of the chapel first conceived by Henry VI.²⁵ The exceptional grisaille paintings of Netherlandish influence were probably completed by c.1487, and in its original form thirty-six fictive statues under vaulted niches were also included in the scheme.²⁶ The long scrolls held by the upper tier of statues on the north wall suggested that the latter were Old Testament prophets, while the attributes of the south-wall figures identify them as the Four Evangelists and Four Doctors of the Church.²⁷ The north-wall programme may have been connected to an earlier stained-glass scheme of twelve prophets which was installed in the church in 1445 or 1446.²⁸ The association between the Old

²² Gill 2002, 225.

²³ For a rare example of a description of imagery within a church setting see: *Spoil of Long Melford Church* 1989.

²⁴ Gilchrist, R., "'Blessed Art Thou Among Women': The Archaeology of Female Piety', *A Women is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society, 1200-1500*, Goldberg, P.J.P., ed., Stroud 1992, 212-226, 217; Ferguson, G., *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, Oxford 1961, 44; Anderson, M.D., *History and Images in British Churches*, London 1995, 89; Male 1961, 133.

²⁵ Gill, M., 'The Wall Paintings in Eton College Chapel: The Making of a Late Medieval Marian Cycle', in *Making Medieval Art*, Lindley, P., ed., Donington 2003, 173-201, 173; Williamson 2000, 363, Figures 1-3.

²⁶ Gill 2003, 173, 178.

²⁷ Gill 2003, 178; James, M.R., Tristram, E.W., *The Wall Paintings in the Eton College Chapel and in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral*, Oxford, 1929, 36.

²⁸ Marks, R., *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, London 1993, 49.

Testament and the north wall may also have influenced the west window Last Judgement glass at Fairford.²⁹ The north side of the window portrays the torture of sinful souls and the mouth of hell, and is physically linked to the north nave glass portrayals of the Persecutors and the Prophets.³⁰ The salvific south side, representing the Resurrection, is related to the Saints, the Apostles and the Latin Doctors who are featured in the glass on the south side of the nave.³¹ Yet such location propensities and patterns are rare in most wall painting schemes, and in the majority of buildings, saints and New Testament figures are found on the north wall in abundance.³² The Last Supper, the Betrayal, and the Martyrdom of Saint Peter and Saint Andrew, for instance, are painted on the north arcade at Ickleton (Cambridgeshire).³³

Evidence suggests that there is only a very slight tendency towards the placing of the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Corporeal Works, the Warning to Gossips (Tutivillus) and the Three Living & Three Dead wall paintings on the north side of the church. Of the forty-eight Deadly Sins images listed by Gill in 2002, twenty-seven are positioned on the north wall, thirteen on the south, eight in other locations, and three in unknown spots.³⁴ Just fifty-seven percent of these images are sited on the north wall, a relatively small figure when compared with the sixty-four percent of Judgement paintings positioned on the east wall. The data is rather less convincing for Corporeal Works murals, eighteen of which are positioned on the north side of churches, fourteen on the south, eight in other locations, and four in unknown sites.³⁵ Likewise, just forty-seven percent of Three Living and Three Dead paintings are found on the north side of the church, and fifty-six percent of the Warning to Gossip images.³⁶ Gill suggests that the positioning of Warning to Gossip images towards the west end of building (three are located on the west wall)

²⁹ It is not clear how much of this glass in its original position. It is possible that the windows were removed (and then replaced) at some point after the Reformation, and perhaps again in the seventeenth century. In the 1890s, the Reverend Carbonell re-collected much of the glass and put it back into what he perceived to be the original position. Brown and MacDonald 2007, 113-114, 121-122.

³⁰ Wayment 1984, Figure 1.

³¹ Wayment 1984, Figure 1.

³² Gill 2003, 173, 178.

³³ Clive Rouse 1996, 12, Plate 7.

³⁴ Gill 2002, 225, 517-522.

³⁵ Gill 2002, 225, 522-525; Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Corporal Works of Mercy Website: www.le.ac.uk/arhistory/seedcorn/findings.html

³⁶ Gill 2002, 515-517, 531-535.

may have functioned as a caution to women who might be seated there.³⁷ She also claims that the connection between the image and females is indicated by the location of the mid-fourteenth-century wall painting at Slapton in the Lady Chapel.³⁸ Yet it is not just to women that the image is directed. It is also found on a number of choir-stall misericords, all of which are sited in the chancel area, and therefore inaccessible to females.³⁹ At Ely Cathedral, for instance, one of the misericords depicts two women holding a Book of Hours. Tutivillus puts his claws around the two women, while writing down their gossip on a parchment scroll.⁴⁰ In the left supporter, he has to stretch the scroll with his teeth because it is not long enough to contain all the gossip.⁴¹ According to Grossinger, these images were positioned in such a space so that the devil could catch the misspoken or slurred words of priests trying to get through the Mass too quickly.⁴²

The northern region of the church has also been traditionally linked with the Virgin through her position at Christ's right hand in depictions of the Last Judgement (for example, in the mural painting at Attleborough [Norfolk] and Crucifixion scenes at Goxhill [Lincolnshire]).⁴³ However, there is increasing evidence to suggest that the Virgin was by no means always associated with the north. Certainly, many Lady Chapels are placed on the north side of the church (including the fifteenth-century structure at Cirencester [Gloucestershire]), but current research is beginning to reveal that although the north was the predominant side for Lady Chapel placement, it was by not means the standard location.⁴⁴ At West Grinstead (Sussex) for example, the fourteenth-century

³⁷ Gill 2002, 234.

³⁸ Gill 2002, 235. Gill's theory that the south aisle at Slapton functioned as a Lady Chapel in the medieval period is based on the presence of two murals in the space. The first depicts the Annunciation, and the second Saint Anne teaching the Virgin to read; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/slapgoss.htm

³⁹ Grossinger, C., *The World Upside-Down: English Misericords*, London 1997, 80-81.

⁴⁰ Grossinger 1997, 80-81, Plate 110.

⁴¹ Grossinger 1997, 80-81.

⁴² Grossinger 1997, 79.

⁴³ Gilchrist 1992, 219; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/attlebor.htm; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/goxhill.htm

⁴⁴ Sumpter 2008, 169. Of a total of sixty-seven Lady Chapels in Northamptonshire, Sumpter has located (with reasonable certainty) thirty are on the north side, fifteen on the south side, and the remainder elsewhere.

chapel on the south side of the nave was referred to as the Lady Chapel by 1442.⁴⁵ Furthermore, there does not appear to be any particular connection between images of the Virgin and the north side of the church. Certainly, at Ashampstead (Berkshire), the Annunciation, Salutation, Nativity and Angel appearing to the Shepherds, are located on the north wall of the nave.⁴⁶ Yet an equal number of images of the Virgin are also found on the south wall, including the Visitation in the nave at Willingham (Cambridgeshire).⁴⁷

The Chancel

Imagery placed in the chancel very often symbolically reflected the function of the area. This was the case with the image of the Transfiguration, the Biblical occurrence when Christ changed his appearance to his disciples on the mountain, and where 'His face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light'.⁴⁸ Of the five Transfiguration paintings listed by Gill, it is hardly surprising that three are positioned in the chancel.⁴⁹ The image was often associated with the conversion of Christ's body into the Host, and therefore with the chancel where the Sacrament was administered.⁵⁰ The connection is evident in the lost fifteenth-century wall painting located above the east window in the chancel at Hawkedon (Suffolk). Rays of light akin to the Biblical description of the Transfiguration once emanated from a round Host-like disc on Christ's chest.⁵¹ The depiction of the elevated Christ in the east window of the Corpus Christi Chapel at Fairford is also symbolically and physically associated not only with the altar (the site of the Elevation of the Host) directly below, but also with the dedication of the chapel itself.⁵² The subject also appears on rood screens, reflecting and reminding the lay

⁴⁵ Hudson, T.P., ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Sussex*, Vol. 6, Part 2, Oxford 1986, 102.

⁴⁶ Caiger-Smith 1963, 131; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/ashamann.htm

⁴⁷ Caiger-Smith 1963, 136; Fawcitt, A., *The Wall Paintings of Willingham*, Cambridge 1990, Plate 19.

⁴⁸ Matthew Chapter 17, Verse 2.

⁴⁹ Gill 2002, 515, 220. The location of the Transfiguration image at Ashridge College (Buckinghamshire) is unknown. The fifth image is part of a painted memorial in Chester Cathedral to Abbot Simon (1485-1493). This is positioned in the nave, and is therefore an exception to the convention. The memorial originally stood against the north face of the north-east pier of the tower crossing in the Cathedral.

⁵⁰ Gill 2002, 220.

⁵¹ Gill 2002, 220.

⁵² Marks, R., Williamson, P., eds., *Gothic: Art for England, 1400-1547*, London 2003, 405, Plate 36.

congregations of the function of the chancel. This is the case at Westhall (Suffolk), where Christ is depicted with raised hands and illuminated face, watched by Saint Anthony and Elias.⁵³ Other chancel-based depictions include patronal or titular figures. These were typically positioned on either side of the altar, and reflected the dedication of the church (see Chapter One). Yet even the placement of such images was not always wholly consistent. Exceptions are found at Little Wenham (Suffolk), where the positions of the patron and Virgin are reversed, perhaps because of the association of the Virgin (who is the patron of the church) with the north side of the church.⁵⁴ The early fourteenth-century Virgin and Child are painted on the north side and Saints Catherine, Margaret and Mary Magdalene on the south.⁵⁵

Other Factors Dictating Image Location in Churches

It is clear that there were certain conventions which governed the positioning of certain types of imagery. Yet location patterns were never entirely guaranteed, and these general principles should not be viewed as inflexible rules. Conventions could be broken, ignored, or adjusted to suit local conditions and individual church buildings, and a whole range of practical factors could influence image placement within the church building.

1) Location by Association

The positioning of wall paintings within churches may have depended upon association with other images within the building. However, to what extent such relationships between visual depictions occurred is difficult to assess. This is partly because most buildings possess only a fraction of their original painting, and partly because it is easy to impose modern symbolic links that may not have existed, or may not have been intended.

⁵³ Lillie, W.W., 'Screenwork in the County of Suffolk, Part II: Panels with Painted Saints', *Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, Vol. 21, 1931-1933, 179-202, 199; Duffy 2005, Plate 15.

⁵⁴ Gill 2002, 205; Park 1987, Figure 97.

⁵⁵ Pevsner and Radcliffe 2002, 341.

Researchers have tended to devise either associations based almost exclusively on physical proximity, or to dismiss the possibility of connections out of hand. Both approaches have led to a misunderstanding of relationships between images within the medieval church. Tudor-Craig for instance, has rather carelessly described the contemporaneous late fifteenth-century Saint Christopher and Saint Anthony paintings at Molesworth (Cambridgeshire), which are positioned opposite each other in the nave, as ‘paired’ (Plate 25).⁵⁶ Yet it is simply impossible to make these connective assertions without taking into account the wider iconographical context of the church. Although the images are stylistically similar (and therefore almost certainly contemporary in date), the walls would have been covered in murals and other images, thus rendering such a modern-day connection between two chance survivals obsolete. At the other extreme, Binski has claimed that there is no real symbolic association between wall paintings within a building, and that from the thirteenth century onwards, they are simply ‘medleys of commonplaces, freely combined in a kind of pastiche or bricolage’.⁵⁷ Yet it is clear from a number of surviving ‘sets’ of paintings that symbolic relationships could exist between schemes and individual images, and that congregations were expected to make connections and links between single paintings in many cases. At Corby Glen (Lincolnshire) for example, the contemporary late fifteenth-century figures painted on the walls between the clerestory windows depict the Magi, the Shepherds, the Virgin and Child and Herod.⁵⁸ These figures are intrinsically and physically linked, and when viewed together, reveal or refer to a systematic narrative sequence telling the story of the birth of Christ. Their precise positioning within the church is dependent upon their association with other images in the scheme. Another relationship between wall paintings, although here perhaps more associative than narrative, is evident in the heavily restored scheme of murals at Pickering (Yorkshire). Saint George, Saint Christopher and Saint John the Baptist, and in adjacent tiers in the most easterly frame, the martyrdoms of Saint Thomas Becket and Saint Edmund, are depicted on the north wall of the nave (Plate

⁵⁶ Tudor-Craig, P., ‘Wall Paintings’, in *Cambridgeshire Churches*, Hicks, C., ed., Stamford 1997, 320-339, 337.

⁵⁷ Binski 1999, 16.

⁵⁸ Caiger-Smith 1963, 154; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/corbynat.htm

20).⁵⁹ There is almost certainly a connective relationship between the five figures, for they are all saints who were specifically linked with the church at Pickering, with England, or with protection. Saint John the Baptist was the patron of the church, and thus the spiritual and earthly defender (see Chapter One). Saint George is portrayed in a similar vein in one of Lydgate's religious verses: 'Protectour and patroun / þis hooly martir, of knighthood loodsteere / To Englisshe men boope in pees and weere'.⁶⁰ Edmund and Thomas Becket were both of English origin (the former East-Anglian), and placing the two martyrdoms within the same frame draws a very close symbolic connection between the two figures, perhaps suggesting that Edmund should be regarded as a royal counterpart to the saintly Archbishop of Canterbury. Wall painting location can also be explained by its connection with other media. At Combe Longa (Oxfordshire) for instance, the top section of a painted Annunciation angel survives at the eastern end of the nave south wall.⁶¹ It is positioned slightly below and to the south of an adjacent west-wall niche that would have contained a contemporaneous fifteenth-century statue of the Virgin.⁶²

There may also have been a relationship between images and particular parts of the church. Representations of the Annunciation for instance, were sometimes associated with openings such as doorways, roodscreens and entrances, and may have represented a physical or symbolic movement from one space to another.⁶³ At Barton (Cambridgeshire) for example, two figures are located on either side of the doorway on the south of the nave. On the eastern side the Angel Gabriel holds a scroll that extends over the arch with the inscription 'Ave Maria', while to the west, the Virgin (beneath an arch) holds a book in her left hand.⁶⁴ On the fifteenth-century wooden screen dividing the Chapel of Saint Gabriel from the ambulatory in Exeter Cathedral, it is still possible to discern the outline of figures. The Annunciation, depicted on the two central panels that together form the entrance, signals not only the dedication of the chapel, but also the

⁵⁹ Ellis, C., *Saint Peter and Saint Paul Parish Church, Pickering* (Church Guide), Derby 1996, 5-10 (Illustrations).

⁶⁰ *Minor Poems of John Lydgate* 1911, 145.

⁶¹ Clarke, D.T-D., *St. Laurence, Combe Longa* (Church Guide), Abingdon 1994, 7 (Illustration).

⁶² Caiger-Smith 1963, 166.

⁶³ Gill 2003, 173-201, 179.

⁶⁴ Tristram 1955, 138.

movement from one space to another.⁶⁵ The positioning of these images may be allegorically linked to the transition from disobedience to the reparation of sin that the Annunciation represents in the Bible.⁶⁶

2) Architecture and Church Design

It is important to remember that the wall areas available for paintings were partially pre-determined by the architecture of the building, and that paintings could only be inserted into available spaces. This may be one of the reasons for the unusual north-wall positioning of the twelfth-century Judgement painting in the tiny church at Stowell. Because of the similar heights of the chancel and nave, there is very little wall space above the chancel arch to accommodate painting, and the prominent north wall opposite the south door may have seemed the next best choice. At Oddington, the fifteenth-century Judgement painting is also located on the north wall. The space above the chancel arch is limited, and may not have been considered large enough to support the extensive scheme (which includes the fragmented remains of hell, the Seven Sins and the Seven Works).⁶⁷ However, there may also be another explanation for this north wall location. The twelfth-century south transept is relatively large in comparison with the rather diminutive nave, and it is probable that a significant proportion of the congregation would have sat or stood in this area of the church during services.⁶⁸ Had the Doom been depicted on the east wall, it would have been largely invisible to those attending services. Similar architectural or church-design factors may well have influenced the south-wall positioning of the Judgement painting at Trotton.⁶⁹ The church has no chancel arch on

⁶⁵ Binski, P., Park, D., 'A Ducciesque Episode at Ely: The Mural Decorations of Prior Crauden's Chapel', in *England in the Fourteenth Century*, Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium, Ormrod, W.M., ed., Woodbridge 1986, 28-47, 34-38, Figures. 8 and 9. The painted figures of the Annunciation (c.1330) are also depicted on either side of the west window in Prior Crauden's Chapel at Ely Cathedral.

⁶⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 1) 1993, 196.

⁶⁷ Edwards 1986, 191, Figure 1. Edwards erroneously argues that the paintings are a representation of the morality play *Mankind*.

⁶⁸ Brooks and Verey 1999, 530.

⁶⁹ Clive Rouse 1996, Plate 76.

which an image could be painted (although the existence of weight-bearing corbels on the north and south walls of the nave suggest the former presence of a timber rood screen).⁷⁰

The advent of the Perpendicular style may also have restricted location choices for images in some buildings, especially with the shift towards large-scale figure painting at the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁷¹ A number of solutions were found for the reduction in wall space in some Perpendicular buildings. Spandrels and windows could provide natural subject divisions, and at Friskney (Lincolnshire), the large scenes set below the windows of the arcade are designed to complement the architecture.⁷² Panelling could provide space for figurative painting, as on the exterior of the Chapel of Bishop Audley (c.1516-1524) at Hereford Cathedral.⁷³ Yet in most cases, the large windows and soaring pillars of the Perpendicular style meant reduced wall areas. This is the case at Winslow (Buckinghamshire), where a series of fifteenth-century wall paintings (including a Saint Christopher, a Martyrdom of Thomas Becket, and a Judgement scheme) are positioned in the middle bays of the north aisle.⁷⁴ There simply would not have been space for the sizeable murals between the foiled, circular windows of the clerestory.⁷⁵

3) Patronage

The choice of a particular image, as well as its location within the church building, may have been selected by the patron, parish priest, or even the painter. At Cawston (Norfolk), William and Alice Atereth bequeathed money for the painting of some of the saints on the fifteenth-century rood screen, including Saint Agnes and Saint Helena. The

⁷⁰ Saltzman, L.F., ed., *The Victoria History of County of Sussex*, Vol. 4, Oxford 1953, 37.

⁷¹ Gill 2002, 190-192, 193; Reiss 2000, 15.

⁷² Gill 2002, 191, Plates 4.25, 4.27.

⁷³ Aylmer, G., Tiller, J., eds., *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, London and Rio Grande 2000, 70, Figure 19; Cook, G.H., *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, London 1963, 46.

⁷⁴ Pevsner, N., Williamson, E., *Buckinghamshire*, 2nd Edition, Buildings of England, London 1994, 754; Whaite 1928, Plate 27.

⁷⁵ The windows of the clerestory at Winslow actually date from the Decorated period. This style could also mean reduced wall space for large murals in the fifteenth century.

choice of Saint Agnes might be attributed to the fact that there was a guild dedicated to the saint in the church to which the Athereths may have belonged.⁷⁶ At Corby Glen, the inclusion of a mid-fourteenth-century wall painting depicting Saint Anne Teaching the Virgin to Read was an appropriate subject both for a Lady Chapel, and for the patron (Margery Croil) who owned a number of religious books, including ‘Matyns de Notre Dame’ and a ‘Little Book of Matyns and Common of the Saints’.⁷⁷ Name saints may also have determined image choice and location. John and Cecily Blake, whose names were commemorated under the images of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Cecilia, funded the south side of the screen in the church at Burlington St. Andrew (Norfolk).⁷⁸ The north side was paid for by members of the Benet family (inscribed 1536), and accordingly their family patron Saint Benet appears on the screen. Thomas Benet’s personal name-saint Thomas Becket occupies the prominent panel by the chancel opening.⁷⁹ At South Newington (Oxfordshire), the inclusion of Saint Margaret in the north-aisle scheme of wall paintings may have been at the bequest and choice of Margaret Mortayne (c.1340).⁸⁰ She and her husband Thomas Gifford are depicted as diminutive kneeling figures in a contemporary Virgin and Child mural in the same aisle.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Duffy, E., ‘The Parish, Piety and Patronage in Late Medieval East Anglia: The Evidence of Rood Screens’, French, K., Gibbs, G.G., Kumin, B.A., eds., *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, Manchester 1997, 133-162, 152; Duffy 2005, Plate 5.

⁷⁷ Gibbons, A., ed., *Early Lincoln Wills: An Abstract of all the Wills and Administrations Recorded in the Episcopal Registers of the Old Diocese of Lincoln etc, 1280-1547*, Lincoln Record Series 1, Lincoln 1888, 4-5; Gill, M., ‘Women in Wall Paintings in England after 1300’, Riches, J.E., Salih, S., eds., *Gender and Holiness: Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, London 2002, 104; Clive Rouse 1996, Plate 70.

⁷⁸ Duffy 1997, 133-162, 159; Duffy 2005, Plate 58 and 59.

⁷⁹ Duffy, 1997, 159.

⁸⁰ Park 1987, 128; Pevsner, N., Sherwood, J., *Oxfordshire*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1975, 772; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/snewtmar.htm

⁸¹ Pevsner and Sherwood 1975, 772; Marks 2004, Plate 12.

Part Two: The Location of Saint Christopher Wall Paintings

Background, Sources and Methodology

Now that the approximate spatial context and arrangement of the medieval church building has been established, it is necessary to assess exactly how Saint Christopher wall paintings fitted into the framework. Research demonstrates that the majority of Saint Christopher murals were positioned on the north wall of the nave. Yet there are a number of significant exceptions to this convention, a factor which has largely been ignored by scholars.⁸² Only Brindley, writing in 1924, was astute enough to examine specific churches with a view to describing location patterns.⁸³ He was aware of 130 Saint Christopher paintings located on the north wall or arcade, and fifty in other positions (though he fails to specify where these latter locations are).⁸⁴ A thorough re-examination of the issue of image positioning is long overdue, for since Brindley's time, more than 100 Saint Christopher paintings have been discovered, uncovered and brought to the public eye.

Typically, the process of assessing individual painting sites is complicated by the nature of the sources upon which the researcher must draw. Establishing the precise position of a lost Saint Christopher mural within a church building is accordingly often a complicated process. The work of secondary authors such as Keyser and Tristram is valuable for bringing to light paintings that have been destroyed or whitewashed, but their accuracy regarding location is sometimes questionable.⁸⁵ This is the case for the church of Homington (Wiltshire), where Keyser recorded a painting on the wall opposite the north door.⁸⁶ There is no north door in the present building, and even if there was one before the extensive restorations of 1860, Keyser was obviously not aware that rebuilding had taken place, and certainly does not appear to have visited the site himself.⁸⁷

⁸² For example, Binski 1999, 15.

⁸³ Brindley 1924, 230fn.

⁸⁴ Brindley 1924, 230fn.

⁸⁵ Tristram 1955; Keyser (A), 1883.

⁸⁶ Keyser (A), 1883, 135.

⁸⁷ Pevsner, N., *Wiltshire*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1963, 243.

Conflicting reports as to where a painting was actually positioned within a church are not unusual, especially amongst the nineteenth-century antiquarian material. Notes accompanying the Kemm Drawings (1866), for instance, assert that the lost Saint Christopher painting at Idmiston (Wiltshire) was positioned in the south aisle.⁸⁸ Keyser, on the other hand, maintained that the painting was sited on the south wall of the nave.⁸⁹ Scholars can also be imprecise when defining the position of wall painting images within a church. So many of the Saint Christopher paintings listed by Keyser are described simply as being on the north wall of the church, that it seems possible that in some cases, he *suspected* this location, but did not verify or record the exact positioning himself.⁹⁰ Tristram is considerably more thorough when describing the placement of wall paintings, although the ‘opposite door’ location is again so frequent that it is tempting to conclude that his definition of the concept was also rather imprecise. He claims, for example, that the painting at Cranborne (Dorset) is positioned ‘opposite the north door’ in the spandrels between the arches of the south nave arcade, on the south side.⁹¹ Yet it is clear from visiting the church that the painting is actually sited slightly to the east of the doorway. This lack of precision with regard to location is also evident in a recent publication on Fairford church. The authors inaccurately describe the Saint Christopher wall painting as being opposite the south door.⁹² The little-known late fifteenth / early sixteenth-century image is actually located in the fifth bay (from the chancel) of the north aisle, and therefore considerably to the east of the main entrance. Attempting to establish Saint Christopher wall painting positioning patterns has also involved examining illustrations, including those executed by Whaite, and the miscellaneous antiquarian drawings and watercolours published in journals and reports. However, such sources do not generally provide a wider locational context for wall paintings, and it is frequently impossible to deduce exactly where an image might have been positioned within a building.

⁸⁸ Devizes Museum, Wiltshire. 1982-2199. Kemm Drawings: Idmiston Church, Vol. 1, 67.

⁸⁹ Keyser 1883 (A), 141.

⁹⁰ For example: Keyser 1883 (A), 80.

⁹¹ Tristram 1955, 160; Whaite 1929, Plate 8.

⁹² Brown, S., MacDonald, L., *Life, Death and Art: The Medieval Stained Glass of Fairford Parish Church, A Multimedia Exploration*, Stroud 1997, 43.

Size, Scale and Association

Until the fifteenth century, Saint Christopher mural figures tend to be considerably larger than adjoining or neighbouring paintings within the church building. This enhanced scale is an obvious reference to the saint's giant stature, exemplified by texts such as the *Golden Legend*.⁹³ It may also be a device to increase the visibility of his image (and therefore the benefits gained from viewing it). At Little Missenden (Buckinghamshire) for instance, the saint dwarfs the adjoining and comparatively diminutive figures in the contemporary Saint Catherine cycle.⁹⁴ With the growth and development of background detail and additional scenes (such as the hermit) from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Saint Christopher murals generally expand in size to occupy more wall space. Yet because of the common move towards large-scale painting in churches around this time, Saint Christopher towers above his neighbours less frequently (see Chapter Five). This is demonstrated at Raunds, where the saint is accompanied by contemporary depictions of Three Living and Three Dead and the Seven Deadly Sins executed to the same scale.⁹⁵ On the Continent in contrast, Saint Christopher is generally depicted on a larger scale to his comrades throughout the entire period. A relatively late example can be viewed at Zepperen (Belgium), where the gigantic saint dwarfs the figures in the bordering Life of Saint Genevieve (both c.1509).⁹⁶

It is usual for Saint Christopher murals to be isolated in some way from adjacent or nearby wall paintings.⁹⁷ This separation is commonly achieved by the inclusion of

⁹³ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, 11.

⁹⁴ Tristram, E.W., 'Little Missenden Wall Paintings', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, Vol. 12, 1927-1933, 308-314, 310 (Plate). Exceptions to these conventions occur though, such as the 'paired' Saint Thomas and Saint Christopher wall paintings at Westminster Abbey (c.1290-1310). Here, the height of the figures is restricted by the architectural niches in which the figures are placed.

⁹⁵ Medieval Wall Paintings in the Medieval Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/raundsds.htm. One obvious exception to this convention is the (lost) mural at Ditteridge (Wiltshire), which dates from the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The figure of Saint Christopher towers high above the north doorway, while the figure of Saint Michael holding the scales to the west of the doorway is diminutive in comparison. There is a watercolour reproduction of the paintings in Ditteridge church.

⁹⁶ Murals of the XVIIth to the XVIIIth Century in France and Elsewhere Website: www.impens.com/cgi-bin/page.cgi?P1=105&P2=&L=FR&X=2,101,104,1651

⁹⁷ Exceptions (where Saint Christopher forms part of a general wall painting scheme) are rare, and are generally found in earlier examples such as Lacock Abbey (Wiltshire), Black Bourton (Oxfordshire) and Little Missenden (Buckinghamshire) (Plate 1).

painted niches and / or borders in the image. At Little Wenham (Suffolk) for instance, Saint Christopher is enclosed in a Decorated-style niche painted onto the wall, surrounded in turn by a chevron border (Plate 2). Painted niches are rare after the second quarter of the fourteenth century, but borders become standard from the late fourteenth century onwards (see Wickhampton [Norfolk] and Oaksey [Wiltshire] (Plates 11 and 33)).⁹⁸ Borders are even more prominent in Continental mural depictions of Saint Christopher, where there is a tendency towards an even clearer divide between images. In St. Oswald's Chapel at Breite (Switzerland), the saint is framed and isolated by a thick tendril-pattern.⁹⁹

The architecture of a church or building can physically separate wall painting from adjoining images. At Westminster Abbey for example, the 'paired' Saint Christopher and Doubting Thomas murals are painted onto different (albeit neighbouring) sections of blind arcading, separated by a column and arches.¹⁰⁰ In Danish wall painting, there is a similar trend towards using stone (or wooden) architectural features to frame (and therefore isolate) images. At Gimlinge for instance, Saint Christopher is painted onto a blind stone panel below an arch in the north nave wall.¹⁰¹ Windows and doors also serve to segregate murals. This is evident at Breage (Cornwall), where the north door functions as a divider between the contemporary Saint Christopher and Christ of the Trades images (Plate 27). Even at Pickering (Yorkshire) and Haddon Hall (Derbyshire), where an absence of borders and extensive landscape backgrounds mean that adjoining murals flow into one another, the upper sections are still separated by clearstory windows. In both cases, the figure of Saint Christopher is positioned centrally between the windows, which frame and demarcate his form (Plate 20).¹⁰² Another common location for Saint Christopher murals is the nave arcade spandrel. These architectural features have the effect of distancing the image from surrounding figures (for example Scottow

⁹⁸ Exceptions to this convention include Pickering, Haddon Hall and Llanwit Major (Plates 20 and 21).

⁹⁹ Hahn-Woernle 1972, 72, Plate 4.

¹⁰⁰ Binski 1995, 170-171, Plate 228.

¹⁰¹ The Mills-Kronborg Collection of Danish Church Wall Paintings:
<http://ica.princeton.edu/mills/index.php>

¹⁰² Mantell, K.H., *Haddon Hall*, Derby 1987, 7-8 (Illustration).

[Norfolk]).¹⁰³ At Sedgeford (Norfolk), the roof posts on either side of Saint Christopher's head act as a framing device for the figure, and give an impression of partial isolation from neighbouring wall space (Plate 9).¹⁰⁴

Location of Saint Christopher Wall Paintings

About 206 Saint Christopher wall paintings are currently in existence. It has been impossible to visit them all in the course of this study. However, by drawing upon primary and secondary material (checked against each other for errors), and by examining approximately seventy percent of the extant murals *in situ*, it has become clear that the vast majority of Saint Christopher paintings were located in the nave (the common site for 'helper' saints). In contrast, only five Saint Christopher wall paintings are positioned in chantry chapels, and one in the chancel area. Most Saint Christopher murals were located on the north wall of the nave. This number (including lost paintings) currently stands at about 190, with around forty-four located in the north aisle. In striking comparison, just forty-two paintings are positioned on the south nave wall, and only fifteen in the south aisle. The figures are more remarkable when converted into percentages:

North nave: around sixty percent

South nave: around thirteen percent

North aisle: around fourteen percent

South aisle: around five percent

Chantry chapels: around two percent

Other locations: around six percent

¹⁰³ The Norfolk Churches Website: www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/scottow.htm. The Saint Christopher wall painting at Scottow also has a substantial border.

¹⁰⁴ At Sedgeford, the Saint Christopher wall painting is also bordered by a window to the east and the south doorway to the west.

It should be remembered, however, that the statistics do not take into account approximately sixty wall paintings which are known to have existed, but for which no location specification can so far be found. It is also impossible to discern exactly how representative the extant and documented examples are, or what proportion of the original corpus of images survives. Yet based on existing surviving evidence, it is clear that the majority of Saint Christopher murals were located on the north wall of the nave.

South-Side Entrances with North-Wall Saint Christopher Paintings

The majority of Saint Christopher wall paintings are sited on the north wall of churches with southern entrances. The rationale behind this positioning was the need to *see* the image of the saint (on entering the church) to gain the spiritual and earthly benefits promised (see Chapter Two). It should be considered that the saint's image is frequently painted on the exterior of churches in Europe, where buildings are generally entered through the west door. At Torello (Switzerland) for instance, the large thirteenth-century figure is painted onto the western façade of the church, immediately to the south of the doorway.¹⁰⁵ This intrinsic relationship between Saint Christopher murals and church entrances is demonstrated by the relocation of the doorway at Warlington (Surrey). The large Saint Christopher painting dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth century and uncovered in 1881, is located on the north wall to the very east end of the nave.¹⁰⁶ This rather unusual placement can be attributed to the fact that the church was originally entered through a door in the south wall, positioned almost directly opposite the wall painting.¹⁰⁷ The 1893 church extensions included the addition of a south aisle, which meant that the thirteenth-century doorway and porch had to be removed. The former was rebuilt stone-for-stone in its present position towards the west end of the south aisle.¹⁰⁸ It is also significant that internal Saint Christopher murals are often positioned towards the west of the church in Europe. Examples can be seen at both Cademario (Switzerland)

¹⁰⁵ Rosenfeld 1937, 72, Plate 2. There is also a second Saint Christopher mural inside the church.

¹⁰⁶ Tutt, D., *The Parish Church: All Saint's, Warlington, Surrey* (Church Guide), 1992, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Tutt 1992, 3.

¹⁰⁸ Tutt 1992, 2-3.

and Sillegny (France). The images are both located on the north nave wall at the very western end, and are therefore instantly visible when entering the building through the west door.¹⁰⁹ Another church with a western entrance is Zepperen, where the Saint Christopher image is positioned on the west wall of the south transept (and therefore seen on leaving the building or facing the doorway).¹¹⁰

The assumption that Saint Christopher wall paintings were usually instantly or almost directly visible when entering a church building is based on the premise that the south door most frequently functioned as the principal entrance to the building for the laity in the medieval period.¹¹¹ Durandus implies the existence of this convention when he describes how men occupy the south side of the church during services to stand against the temptation of the outside world:

They signify the saints most advanced in holiness to stand against greater temptation of the world: and they who be less advanced, against the less: or that the bolder and the stronger sex should take their place in the position fittest for action...For the strongest members are opposed to the greatest dangers.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Murals of the XVIIth to the XVIIIth Century in France and Elsewhere Website: www.impens.com/cgi-bin/page.cgi?P1=105&P2=&L=UK&X=3,201,210,1798 and www.impens.com/cgi-bin/page.cgi?P1=104&P2=&L=UK&X=1,13,57

¹¹⁰ Murals of the XVIIth to the XVIIIth Century in France and Elsewhere Website: www.impens.com/cgi-bin/page.cgi?P1=105&P2=&L=FR&X=2,101,104,1651

¹¹¹ Anderson 1995, 71; Postles, D., 'Micro-Spaces: Church Porches in Pre-Modern England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 33, 2007, 749-769, 750. Collier, Mrs., 'Saint Christopher and Representations of him in English Churches', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, New Series, Vol. 10, 1905, 130-145, 139; Tristram 1955, 116. Collier and Tristram suggested that because of the north wall prominence of Saint Christopher wall paintings, viewers could secure the saint's protection without having to set foot in the church. However, physical practicalities indicate that it is unlikely that wall paintings were viewed from outside the building. At Baunton (Gloucestershire) for example, the late fifteenth-century Saint Christopher painting is located on the north wall, but to the east of the south door, and therefore not sited directly opposite the main entrance. The mural is certainly not visible from outside the south door, and is only partially visible from the porch. There is also the possibility that some churches might have been locked, meaning that glancing into the building to view the image of Saint Christopher would have been an impossibility.

¹¹² Durandus 1843, 37.

North-side entrances on the other hand, appear to have been more frequently for processional use.¹¹³ One such practice is recorded in the *Rites of Durham* (1593), where the monks dressed in rich copes and carried crosses, the banner of Saint Cuthbert, the shrine of Saint Bede, and numerous other relics on Maundy Thursday. The *Rite* records that they ‘did goe furth of the north dore of the Abbey Church, and thorowe the church yeard’.¹¹⁴ Although this text refers to a major cathedral, it is clear that similar processions also occurred in smaller parish churches.¹¹⁵

The question of church access and the functions of entrances is still an under-researched area, and it is frequently difficult (and sometimes impossible) to ascertain whether the south door functioned as a principal entrance in a particular building.¹¹⁶ At Brook (Kent) for instance, the north door currently serves as the main access point to the building, but there is also a blocked south doorway, which may have been the common entrance in the medieval period.¹¹⁷ Most churches had at least two doorways (north and south), and some of the larger ones, including Horley (Oxfordshire), also had a west-end door.¹¹⁸ To complicate matters further, patrons, clergy or manorial lords might have had their own private entrances, a situation which may have influenced the positioning of Saint Christopher wall paintings (see the case of Trotton below). Visual and architectural evidence can sometimes signify a principal entrance. In many cases, a larger and newer doorframe, a sculpted image above the entrance, or a more sizeable porch (often used for the performance of marriage or churching ceremonies, as a meeting place, school, town

¹¹³ Anderson 1995, 71; Duffy 2005, 23.

¹¹⁴ Raine, J., *Rites of Durham: A Description or Breife Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customes belonging or beinge with the Monastical Church of Durham before the Supression*, Surtees Society, Vol. 15, 1842, 88.

¹¹⁵ *Spoil of Long Melford Church* 1989, 5-7. Roger Martin mentions processions on Palm Sunday, Corpus Christi Day, Saint Mark’s Day, and in Rogation Week in his description of pre-Reformation ritual at Long Melford. He does not specify which doors were used, but states that the Sacrament was carried through the churchyard on Palm Sunday, and about Church Green on Corpus Christi Day and Saint Mark’s Day.

¹¹⁶ Everson, P., Stocker, D., ‘The Common Steeple? Church, Liturgy and Settlement in Early Medieval Lincolnshire’, in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, Vol. 28, Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 2005, Lewis, C.P., ed., Woodbridge 2006, 103-123. Everson and Stoker have begun to look at the question of how doors and windows function in relation to liturgy in Anglo-Saxon and early medieval Lincolnshire churches. See also: Postles 2007.

¹¹⁷ Bardwell and Tristram (Vol. 1) 1950, Plate 132b; Bardwell and Tristram (Vol. 2) 1950, 515. The Saint Christopher wall painting is positioned on the north wall above the current entrance to the church.

¹¹⁸ Pevsner and Sherwood 1974, 652.

hall, or as a burial space), are evidence of daily and primary use.¹¹⁹ This is the case at Bloxham (Oxfordshire) where the elaborate thirteenth-century porch with a two-bayed rib-vaulted ceiling, as well as a fourteenth / fifteenth-century priest's room above, is positioned on the south side of the church.¹²⁰ A more elaborate façade, perhaps designed to impress visitors to the building, might also indicate a principal entrance. At Great Ellingham (Norfolk), for example, the display of flushwork on the north-side clearstory and porch stands in striking contrast to the altogether plainer south side of the building.¹²¹ Village settlement patterns can also be helpful in establishing the side on which a building was entered, and maps for each village or town have been examined (where available). If the main centre of the dwelling lay to the south of the church, then practicality and convenience dictate that the building would have been entered on the south side. Maps rarely date back to the medieval period, however, so most frequently it is necessary to refer to eighteenth or nineteenth-century documents.

North-Side Entrances with North-Wall Saint Christopher Paintings

It has already been demonstrated that there are always important exceptions to medieval wall painting location patterns, and just three north-wall Saint Christopher wall paintings are found in churches that were also accessed through the north door. In such cases, the image would not have been immediately obvious on entering the building, but would have been visible as the laity left the church, a last protection (both physical and spiritual) against the impending outside world. At Tarrant Crawford (Dorset), the fragmented early fourteenth-century Saint Christopher mural is situated directly to the east of what was probably the principal doorway of the building.¹²² There is a thirteenth-century entrance on the south side of the edifice, but it is smaller and does not have a porch as the north

¹¹⁹ Anderson 1995, 71-72; Morris, R., *Churches in the Landscape*, London 1997, 292; Postles 2007, 755-759, 763.

¹²⁰ Huntriss, Y., *Saint Mary's Church, Bloxham, Oxfordshire: A Guide and History* (Church Guide), Undated, 4.

¹²¹ Pevsner, N., Wilson, B., *Norfolk 2, North-West and South*, 2nd Edition, Buildings of England, London 1999, 365.

¹²² Dalton, C., *St. Mary's Church, Tarrant Crawford, Dorset*, Churches Conservation Trust, Series 4, No. 124, London 1999, 8.

side does. Additionally, the walls of the Cistercian nunnery lay very close to the south of the church until its dissolution at the Reformation, and therefore access to the church from this side would have been restricted.¹²³ At West Chiltington (Sussex), the mid-fourteenth-century Saint Christopher wall painting is positioned to the east of the north doorway. Both entrances have fourteenth-century porches, but the elaborate carving of the north porch suggests that it probably functioned as the principal doorway in the medieval period.¹²⁴ In addition, the positioning of the village to the north (and a little to the east) of the church in 1880, indicates that the most convenient entry to the church would have been through the north door.¹²⁵ A similar arrangement is visible at the nearby church of West Grinstead (Sussex). The early sixteenth-century Saint Christopher wall painting is positioned immediately to the east of the current north-door entrance.¹²⁶ The presence of the elaborate fifteenth-century, carved-timber north porch, built on a brick base with panelled sides, with a mutilated niche in the gable, indicates that the church was probably entered from this side.¹²⁷ Medieval settlement in the parish of West Grinstead does not ever appear to have been nucleated, and the only dwellings known to have existed near the church are Glebe House to the east, and two buildings that stood beside the churchyard (one of which was used as a shop in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).¹²⁸

¹²³ Hutchins, J., *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, vol. 3, 3rd Edition, Wakefield 1973, 118.

¹²⁴ Anon, *The Church of Saint Mary, West Chiltington* (Church Guide), Undated.

¹²⁵ Old Maps Website: www.old-maps.co.uk/indexmappage2.aspx

¹²⁶ Brindley 1924, Plate 35. This wall painting is practically invisible today.

¹²⁷ Nairn, I., Pevsner, N., *Sussex*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1965, 370; Hudson, VCH 1986, 102.

¹²⁸ Hudson, VCH 1986, 83.

South Wall Paintings

1) Realignment of the Church

Although the north wall was the customary position in which to find a Saint Christopher wall painting, it is necessary to explain why forty-two of the images under examination are located on the south side of the nave. The majority of the murals (at least seventeen) can be accounted for by the altered alignment of the church, where the building was entered through the north rather than the south door, often because of the arrangement of the village or surrounding buildings. At Bartlow (Cambridgeshire), the church is currently approached from the north side, so that the fifteenth-century Saint Christopher on the south wall is immediately visible when entering the building. The north and south doorways were both rebuilt in the Perpendicular style, though the large fifteenth-century porch on the north side signifies that this probably functioned as the principal entrance.¹²⁹ The compact core of the village also lay to the north and east of the church in 1891 (as it does today), meaning that the most convenient access to the church would have been from the north.¹³⁰ A similar arrangement is evident at Combe Longa, where the scanty remains of the large fifteenth-century Saint Christopher painting are visible on the south-nave wall.¹³¹ There are entrances on both the north and south side of the church, but the fact that the fourteenth-century north porch (reconstructed in 1595) is rather newer than the thirteenth-century south porch, suggests that it is more likely to have functioned as the principal entrance (as it does today), at least in the later medieval period.¹³² The concentration of dwellings on the north (and partially on the west) side of the church, implies that the north door would have been the closest entry point to the building. The network of roads to the north-west and dwellings to the west of the church (on the south side of the green), are known to have been in existence by the end of the medieval period, and are illustrated on a map dating from 1778.¹³³ A comparable arrangement was almost

¹²⁹ Pevsner, N., *Cambridgeshire*, 2nd Edition, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1970, 298.

¹³⁰ Old Maps Website: www.old-maps.co.uk/indexmappage2.aspx

¹³¹ Pevsner, and Sherwood 1974, 552; Clarke 1994, 5 (Illustrations).

¹³² Clarke 1994, 3; Crossley, A., ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, Vol. 12, Oxford 1990, 94.

¹³³ Crossley, VCH 1990, 76, 79.

certainly apparent at Cranborne, where the Saint Christopher wall painting is positioned on the south side of the nave.¹³⁴ The north porch, with its medieval stone bench and upper chamber (now blocked up) almost certainly functioned as the principal entrance in the medieval period (as it does today).¹³⁵ Additionally, the extensive early sixteenth-century manor house (with seventeenth-century and later additions) backs onto the south of the church, restricting access to the building from this side.¹³⁶

2) Patronage and Individual Church Design

Perhaps the most informative of all south-wall Saint Christopher paintings, and the example that demonstrates most clearly that each church operated in its own distinct manner, is the case of Trotton. The unusual south-wall positioning of the two Saint Christopher wall paintings can almost certainly be explained by the presence of the Camoys family and their patronage of the church.¹³⁷ Heraldic wall painting approximately contemporary with the first Saint Christopher mural include five shields positioned on the west wall below the Judgement mural. These shields portray the arms of Ralph Baron Camoys (d.1336), either his father John (d.1298) or his son Thomas (d.1371), and the arms of Lewknor, Croill and Hoo.¹³⁸ On the south wall, a series of wall paintings are indicative of Camoys activity in the building around the time when the second Saint Christopher image was executed (c.1499-c.1505).¹³⁹ They depict a knight in a tent, as well as a number of Camoys shields and helms hanging from trees. It is probable that the Camoys family entered the church through their own private doorway in the north wall (now blocked up). Certainly, the medieval manor house where they

¹³⁴ Whaite 1929, Plate 8.

¹³⁵ Hutchins 1973, 390.

¹³⁶ Hutchins 1973, 380.

¹³⁷ Nairn and Pevsner 1965, 356-357 (Plate). The first Saint Christopher mural dates from the fourteenth century. The second image was painted over the top of the first, and dates from the late fifteenth century. There are two Camoys brasses in the church. The first commemorates Lady Margaret Camoys (d.1310), and the second is part of a tomb chest belonging to Lord Thomas Camoys (d.1421) and his wife.

¹³⁸ Gill 2002, 95-96; Caiger-Smith 1963, Plate 18. Thomas de Hoo (d.1380) was sheriff and escheator of Surrey and Sussex between 1348 and 1350, and from 1356 to 1358. The inclusion of arms in the wall paintings may have occurred at a time when the family were prominent in the area.

¹³⁹ Gill 2002, 95, 98; Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Corporal Works of Mercy Website: www.leic.uk/arhistory/seedcorn/images/trottondonors.jpg

resided (now Trotton Place [c.1600]) was situated on this side of the church.¹⁴⁰ It is possible that the Camoys requested the positioning of the Saint Christopher murals on the south wall of the nave because they would have been directly visible as the family entered the building (and perceptible to the congregation as they left through the south door).

In some cases, individual church design or function can account for the south-wall positioning of Saint Christopher wall paintings. In the chapel at Haddon Hall (Derbyshire), for example, the flamboyant late fifteenth-century Saint Christopher scene spans the west end of the south-nave clearstory.¹⁴¹ At the turn of the fifteenth century, a number of changes to the Hall were carried out by the occupant Sir Henry Vernon, including the construction of the apartments to the south of the Lower Courtyard, and the alteration of the Parlour (now the Dining Room).¹⁴² It is possible that the wall paintings in the chapel (which include the Three Living and Three Dead on the west wall of the nave, Saint Nicholas [the patronal saint] on the north wall of the chancel, and the Holy Kindred on the south) were part of this building and alteration scheme.¹⁴³ The chapel is aligned to the south of the lower courtyard next to the main house, so the principal point of access is on the north side. This was almost certainly the entrance used in the fifteenth century by members of the Vernon family, and there is no architectural evidence of another doorway in the south wall. The south-wall Saint Christopher painting is immediately and strikingly evident upon entering the building.

¹⁴⁰ Salzman, VCH 1953, 33.

¹⁴¹ Mantell 1987, 7-8 (Illustration).

¹⁴² Pevsner, N., *Derbyshire*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1953, 144-146.

¹⁴³ Pevsner 1953, 143; Mantell 1987, 7-8 (Illustration).

Aisle Paintings

There are currently around forty-four Saint Christopher images positioned in north aisles, and fifteen in south aisles. The majority of the former category is located in buildings entered through the south door, and many of the latter are positioned in churches accessed through the north entrance. An exception to this convention is the case of the late fifteenth-century Saint Christopher at Milton Regis (Kent), which is positioned above and to the east of the south doorway.¹⁴⁴ The large Perpendicular porch on the south side of the church suggests that the building was entered from this direction.¹⁴⁵ There does not appear to be an explanation for this atypical site, but the Saint Christopher image would certainly have been visible to the laity when leaving the church. Around fifty-nine aisle paintings are in existence today, and of these, at least nine can be clearly seen from the doorway (or soon after stepping into the church). At Bloxham, for instance, the north-aisle image is visible from the south aisle (where the principal entrance is located) (Plate 24). This is also the case at Oaksey (Wiltshire), where the altered alignment of the church means that the building is entered from the north. The building has doorways on both the north and south sides, but the decorative and ornamental nature of the north porch indicates that it functioned as the principal entrance in the medieval period (as it does today). The large fourteenth-century cusped and sub-cusped ogee arch, as well as the mutilated statue of a seated Virgin over the exterior of the doorway, suggests a more prominent entrance than the older, plainer, thirteenth-century south porch.¹⁴⁶ The late fifteenth-century south-aisle Saint Christopher painting is not directly visible from the doorway (the image is partially obscured by the thirteenth century piers and arcading), but can be viewed from a position in the north aisle to the east of the entrance (Plate 32).

¹⁴⁴ Newman, J., *North-East and East Kent*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1969, 390.

¹⁴⁵ Newman 1969 (A), 389.

¹⁴⁶ Pevsner, N., *Buildings of England: Wiltshire*, Harmondsworth 1963, 324-325.

1) Architectural Developments

Aisle settings for Saint Christopher wall paintings are sometimes the result of the architectural restrictions that accompanied the advent of the Perpendicular style. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the rebuilding of larger and higher naves, as well as the addition of chantry chapels and aisles, meant that a great many churches were expanding in size. Bigger buildings often meant more wall space for wall painting, but the immense windows and elaborate panelling could also lead to reduced availability of wall area in some churches.¹⁴⁷ At Bloxham, for instance, the artistically sophisticated Saint Christopher painting is positioned in the north aisle, directly over the north doorway. The vast Perpendicular fenestration meant there was very little wall space between the windows in which to insert a characteristically large fifteenth-century Saint Christopher painting.¹⁴⁸ Architectural explanations may also be offered for the north-aisle positioning of the fifteenth-century painting at Houghton Conquest (Bedfordshire). The fifteenth-century nave arcading leaves little room for spandrel painting, and is so high that it would be difficult for congregations to view an image placed here with any clarity.¹⁴⁹

2) Large-Scale Figure Painting

It was not simply the development of architectural styles that could instigate the location of wall paintings in aisles. By the end of the fourteenth century, a shift towards large-scale painting of figure subjects was starting to emerge. It is not clear whether this inclination resulted directly from the fact that the architectural innovations of the Perpendicular style sometimes provided wall spaces (often regular areas between the large windows) that accommodated large paintings and militated against consecutive narrative schemes. The tendency towards larger murals can be seen in the church at

¹⁴⁷ Gill 2002, 190-191, 193.

¹⁴⁸ Pevsner and Sherwood 1974, 477.

¹⁴⁹ Doubleday, H.A., Page, W., eds., *The Victoria History of the County of Bedfordshire*, Folkestone, 1972, Vol. 3, 294; Pevsner, N., *Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1968, 101; CL. Ref. 458008.

Breage (Cornwall), where Saint Christopher, the Sunday Christ, Saint Hilary, Saint Coretin (a Breton Bishop), Saint Michael and an unidentified Archbishop are positioned between the fenestration on the north wall of the nave (Plate 27).¹⁵⁰ If earlier architectural styles (which often meant less arcading wall space) survived in a church, the area was not always large enough to support figures. As a result, the image would have to be placed in an area of the building where wall space was more ample. This may have been the case at Oaksey, where the sizeable late fifteenth-century Saint Christopher wall painting would have been too large to fit into the thirteenth-century spandrel or arcading space in the nave. The image is located in the third bay from the east on the south-aisle wall, almost completely filling the space between the window to the east and doorway arch to the west (Plate 33).¹⁵¹ In the second and first bays on the same wall are two contemporary and equally sizeable murals depicting the Sunday Christ and Saint Edmund.¹⁵²

3) Patronage and Individual Church Function

At least one north-aisle Saint Christopher wall painting could be the result of the individual preference of a patron for an extensive and elaborate scheme of imagery in which Saint Christopher had no specific position. At Fairford, the set of late fifteenth / early sixteenth-century Anglo-Germanic-Netherlandish glass occupies twenty-eight of the windows of the nave and the chancel.¹⁵³ The glass is of exceptional artistic quality, and was almost certainly the bequest of the wealthy wool merchant (and lessee of the manor of Fairford) John Tame (d.1500), who is buried in a Purbeck marble tomb chest currently positioned in the south-east corner of the Lady Chapel.¹⁵⁴ As well as the Judgement and Old and New Testament subjects in the nave, the eight windows in the chancel and eastern chapels recount the Life of the Virgin and the Life of Christ,

¹⁵⁰ Reiss 2000, 15; Enys, D., Peter, T.C., Whitley, H.M., Mural Paintings in Cornish Churches', *Journal of the Royal Institute of Cornwall*, 15 (1902), 136-160, 141-142, Plates 1-7.

¹⁵¹ *All Saints', Oaksey* (Church Guide), Undated.

¹⁵² Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/oaksey.htm

¹⁵³ Marks and Williamson 2003, 405; Wayment 1984, 2, 85.

¹⁵⁴ Marks and Williamson 2003, 405; Wayment 1984, 1, 2; Brown and MacDonald 1997, Plate 27.

culminating with the Crucifixion in the east window.¹⁵⁵ The roughly contemporary Saint Christopher wall painting is positioned in the fourth bay (from the east) of the north aisle, between two sets of windows depicting the Prophets. There is ample space for large-scale painting on the nave clearstory, so it would have been possible to insert a Saint Christopher figure in this space. The aisle location might therefore be attributed to the fact that the painting was not part of Tame's extensive reconstruction scheme. It may have been commissioned by a less prominent parishioner or group of patrons (perhaps slightly before or after the glass), and therefore 'demoted' to the north aisle because of its inconsistency with the theological themes of the nave. Only the very faint outline of a colourless 'ghost' of the wall painting remains, and there is no earlier visual (or documentary) evidence which records its form.¹⁵⁶ This means it is impossible to make comparisons with the glass to prove whether the images were artistically or qualitatively connected, and therefore whether or not the painting was part of Tame's design. It is also impossible to discern the full iconographical context of the Saint Christopher wall painting because any contemporary mural imagery in the north aisle has been lost.

Chantry and Private Chapel Paintings

Just five Saint Christopher wall paintings located in chantry or private chapels have hitherto been discovered. In most cases, such images would have been directly accessible only to the patron and his or her family, and to those (such as the chantry priest) who were permitted entry to the private space. It should be considered, however, that images certainly may have been visible from a distance to the more 'ordinary' churchgoers through a wooden or stone screen.¹⁵⁷ It is difficult to draw representative conclusions from what is probably a very small proportion of the original corpus, but there does not appear to be any clear pattern or convention of Saint Christopher wall painting positioning in chantry chapels. Individual motivation and devotion played a large part in determining the image schemes in private spaces, and the prominent location

¹⁵⁵ Brown and MacDonald 1997, Plates. 1-9.

¹⁵⁶ Verey 1999, 364.

¹⁵⁷ Cook 1963, 15.

associated with nave images in particular, as well as the convention of positioning of images opposite doorways, does not appear to have been so vital in these areas. Each chapel will be examined separately in order to demonstrate that each particular Saint Christopher wall painting had its own specific location and function within the private space.

Stoke Dry (Plate 5)

It is probable that direct access to the Saint Christopher wall painting at Stoke Dry (Rutland) was limited to those who were permitted to enter the private area in which it is situated. The early fourteenth-century image is located in the Digby Chapel, a structure situated at the north end of the south aisle (to the south of the chancel).¹⁵⁸ Although it has not been possible to find any documentary evidence to substantiate the claim that the family ever had a chantry here, the presence of a number of Digby tombs (dating from between 1379 and 1540) within the chapel, suggest that this was probably the case.¹⁵⁹ The chapel is currently entered from the chancel, and access from the main body of the church is restricted by a low timber and plaster screen dating from 1564.¹⁶⁰ It is not clear whether this structure replaced an earlier one, but it is likely that there would have been some form of screen in the medieval period (probably with a door) dividing the private chapel from the main body of the church. If this were the case, then the south-wall Saint Christopher painting would not have been immediately visible to those who set foot inside, or to those who peered through the wooden screen from the nave.

¹⁵⁸ Pevsner and Williamson 2001, 508.

¹⁵⁹ Anon, 'Stoke Dry', *The Rutland Magazine and County Historical Record*, Vol. 2, No. 6, 225, 226.

Wright, J., *The History and Antiquaries of the County of Rutland*, Wakefield 1973, 116.

¹⁶⁰ Pevsner, N., Williamson, E., *Leicestershire and Rutland*, 2nd Edition, Revised, Buildings of England, London 2001, 508.

Corby Glen (Plate 8)

It is probable that the two Saint Christopher paintings at Corby Glen (Lincolnshire) were also located within a private or exclusive space within the church. The late fifteenth-century image is fragmented and barely discernible, but the mid-fourteenth-century painting, positioned slightly to the west, is unmistakable.¹⁶¹ These (and a number of other wall paintings) are positioned in the area of the building now referred to as the north aisle. However, evidence suggests that the space once functioned as a Lady Chapel. The will of Margery Crioll (1319) mentions chaplains ‘in the chapel of Our Lady which I have built’.¹⁶² It is likely that this ‘chapel’ is actually the north aisle, for the late thirteenth-century structure is the only part of the church that would have been *in situ* when the bequest was made.¹⁶³ It is unclear whether the area was ever screened, and therefore whether the wall paintings would have been discernible from the south door (as they are today), or visually accessible to the ‘ordinary’ churchgoer.

Latton (Plate 22)

The lost Saint Christopher wall painting at Latton (Essex) was located in the chantry chapel of Peter Arden (d.1467).¹⁶⁴ The chapel (licensed in 1466) is a brick structure situated to the north of the chancel, and the Saint Christopher mural was positioned on the west wall above the doorway adjoining the main body of the church.¹⁶⁵ Salmon misunderstood the function of both the chapel and the painting when he questioned why a Saint Christopher image should be placed where it would be invisible to anyone entering

¹⁶¹ Clive Rouse, E., ‘Wall Paintings in the Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Corby Glen, Lincolnshire’, *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 100, 1943, 150-176, 153. The heads of the earlier Saint Christopher and the Christ Child have entirely disappeared. However, the highly-decorative, distinctive cream tunic, with its green and vermillion patterning, is still visible today.

¹⁶² *Early Lincoln Wills* 1888, 4-5. For the English translation see: Caiger-Smith 1963, 88.

¹⁶³ Harris, J., Pevsner, N., *Lincolnshire*, 2nd Edition, Buildings of England, London 1989, 231.

¹⁶⁴ Powell, W.R., *The Victoria History of the County of Essex*, Vol. 8, London 1983, 193.

¹⁶⁵ Johnston, C.E., ‘Arden’s Chapel at Latton’, *Home Counties Magazine*, Vol. 4, 1902, 222-225, 222. Gough, R., *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, Vol. 2, Part.2, London 1796, 216; PRO, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward IV, 1461-1467*, Vol. 5, London 1897, Part 2, membrane 6, 483.

the church by the south door.¹⁶⁶ However, it is clear that the chapel would have operated as a private space, accessible only to members of the family and exclusive visitors. The Saint Christopher wall painting would have been visible when leaving the chapel, a final safeguarding measure before departing from the safety and protection of the family space.

Salisbury Cathedral (Plate 23)

The west-wall positioning of the lost Saint Christopher mural in the Hungerford Chapel at Salisbury Cathedral may partially be attributed to architectural limitations on the available space. The chapel was founded by Lady Margaret Hungerford for her husband Robert, second baron of Hungerford (d.1459) (see Chapter Five).¹⁶⁷ Robert died in 1459, but the foundation is not mentioned until 1472, when the chantry inventory valued the treasury at £250, and describes the chapel as ‘late founded and stablissed by the saide Lady’.¹⁶⁸ The building must have still been under construction in 1477 as Lady Margaret left significant funds in her will for the completion of the work.¹⁶⁹ The chapel was pulled down between 1789 and 1790 by Wyatt because it had been neglected for years, and was thought to be threatening the structure of the Lady Chapel.¹⁷⁰ The Hungerford Chapel was originally entered from the Lady Chapel through a door in the western bay.¹⁷¹ The large Perpendicular windows on the north side of the edifice left very little wall space for painting, whereas the west and south walls (the latter backing onto the chancel), were completely free of fenestration, and therefore a more suitable space for the execution of murals.¹⁷² Saint Christopher and the Annunciation were positioned on the west wall,

¹⁶⁶ Salmon 1936, 88.

¹⁶⁷ Brown, S., *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd: The Decoration of Salisbury Cathedral*, Royal Commission the Historical Monuments of England, London 1999, 23; Jackson, J.E., ‘On the Hungerford Chapels in Salisbury Cathedral’, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, Vol. 2, 1855, 83-99, 93.

¹⁶⁸ Long, C.E., ed., *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War kept by Richard Symonds*, Camden Society, Vol. 74, 1859, 131.

¹⁶⁹ Brown 1999, 23; Jackson 1855, 93.

¹⁷⁰ Cobb, G., *English Cathedrals, the Forgotten Centuries: Restoration and Change from 1530 to the Present Day*, London 1980, 111.

¹⁷¹ Cobb 1980, 112; Shortt, H. de S., *The Hungerford and Beauchamp Chantry Chapels*, Salisbury 1970, 6.

¹⁷² Cobb 1980, 112, Fig 172.

both of which were illustrated in Gough (by Schnebbelie) and described by Symonds in 1644 as ‘very well done’.¹⁷³ On the south wall, to the left of the entrance, was painted ‘Death and a Gallant’.¹⁷⁴

Cirencester (Plate 34)

The fifteenth-century Saint Christopher wall painting at Cirencester (Gloucestershire) is also situated in what was once a private chapel. The detailed patterning on the saint’s cloak and the accurate construction of the hand as it firmly grasps the staff, suggest that the mural is of exceptional artistic quality.¹⁷⁵ Once again, Salmon misinterpreted the function of the chapel when he described it as the ‘north choir aisle’.¹⁷⁶ However, evidence confirms that the space had a far more complex purpose. In 1457, John Chedworth, Bishop of Lincoln, was granted a licence:

To found a chantry of two, three or four chaplains to celebrate divine service daily in the parish church of St. John the Baptist, Cirscestre, co. Gloucester, in the diocese of Worcester, at the altar of St. Nicholas and St. Katherine or other altar.¹⁷⁷

The south choir aisle, the space where the chantry was located, was transformed into a private chapel at this time.¹⁷⁸ An altar and a light to Saint Christopher are mentioned in wills dating from 1449 and 1488 respectively, and a Saint Christopher ‘service’ for maintaining an organ player at £5 a year (date unknown) is mentioned by Fuller.¹⁷⁹ All three saints mentioned in the licence are represented iconographically. An extremely

¹⁷³ Gough (Vol.2, Part 2) 1796, Plate 72; Quoted in: Jackson 1855, 95.

¹⁷⁴ Brown 1999, 23; Hoare, R.C., *A History of Wiltshire*, Vol. 6, Salisbury Undated, 542; Cobb 1980, 111; Gough (Vol.2, Part 2) 1796, Plate 72.

¹⁷⁵ Fuller 1882, 54; It should be noted that this wall painting was heavily restored in 1877, meaning that it is impossible to make a thorough analysis of its features and form.

¹⁷⁶ Salmon 1936, 88.

¹⁷⁷ PRO, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the PRO: Henry VI, 1452-61*, Vol. 11, London 1910, membrane 6, 338.

¹⁷⁸ Rudder 1799, 362.

¹⁷⁹ Fuller 1882, 11.

faint and fragmented fifteenth-century mural image of Saint Catherine is visible at the east end on the south wall, and sections of the life of Saint Nicholas are still discernible at the west end of the north wall. Stylistically, these appear to date from the early fourteenth century, and may therefore have determined the dedication of the chapel. The extant image bracket set between the two eastern arches of the north arcade denotes the position of the Saint Nicholas altar.¹⁸⁰ The location of the Saint Christopher wall painting, flanking the east end altar, may well indicate that it operated as a patronal or titular image. There is no evidence of sculpted niches for three-dimensional images on either the east or north walls (although the wall was extended eastwards in the early sixteenth century), so it is entirely possible that this is a rare example of the image of Saint Christopher functioning in a dedicatory manner.¹⁸¹ The narrowness of the chapel ensures that it is virtually impossible to view the Saint Christopher wall painting either when entering the area through a stone archway from the chancel to the east, or through the late fifteenth / early sixteenth-century screen entrance opening onto the nave to the west.¹⁸²

Aldermaston

The fourteenth-century Saint Christopher wall painting at Aldermaston (Berkshire) is positioned towards the east end of the south wall of what currently functions as a south transept.¹⁸³ However, the alcove in the east wall, which may have served as a recess for the altar, as well as the piscina in the south wall under the painting, indicate that this space almost certainly operated as a chantry or private chapel in the medieval period. The area was probably separated from the main body of the church by a wooden screen, although there is no surviving visual evidence for this. Salmon misinterpreted the locational context of the Saint Christopher wall painting because he failed to appreciate

¹⁸⁰ Verey 1999, 249.

¹⁸¹ Verey 1999, 249.

¹⁸² Verey 1999, 249.

¹⁸³ Bardwell and Tristram (Vol. 2) 1950, Plate 27c.

that the space would have been private.¹⁸⁴ He attempted to explain how the image might have been visible to the congregation, and concluded that when the Norman north doorway was blocked in the fifteenth century, the small quatrefoil window was inserted about six feet above ground level to afford travellers a glimpse of the saint.¹⁸⁵ It is clear, however, that not only would this opening have been too high for most viewers, but also that the chapel screen would have restricted their sight of the saint. The Saint Christopher wall painting almost certainly operated as an exclusive image, accessible only to those who were permitted access to the chapel, or perhaps those who gazed deliberately through the screen. The positioning of the mural on the south wall above the piscina might even indicate that the image functioned as a patronal figure, although there is no documentary evidence to suggest that either the chancel or the altar were dedicated to the saint.

A Chancel Painting

The lost mural at Burnham Overy (Norfolk) is the only example of a Saint Christopher wall painting positioned in the chancel area.¹⁸⁶ Keyser's description of the mural as 'Over chancel doorway' is vague and unhelpful.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, the watercolour of the late fifteenth-century mural, included in Dawson Turner's Collection of illustrations (dated 1837), does not provide a locational context for the image. However, below the reproduction is the revealing caption: 'Fresco located over a door in the chancel of the church'.¹⁸⁸ It is unclear exactly why the Saint Christopher mural was located in such an uncharacteristic spot, but it may have been the result of the unusual architectural structure of the church building. The nave and chancel are divided by the central tower, which are

¹⁸⁴ Salmon 1936, 85-86.

¹⁸⁵ Salmon 1936, 86.

¹⁸⁶ Tristram 1955, 595. Tristram also recorded a Saint Christopher painting on the southern niche at the back of the high altar on the west face of the wall at Romsey Abbey (Hampshire). It is possible that this image formed part of a painted reredos scheme; Living, H.G.D., *Records of Romsey Abbey*, Winchester 1906, 65.

¹⁸⁷ Keyser 1883 (A), 48; See also: Keyser 1883 (B), 195.

¹⁸⁸ BL. Add MS 23,026. Collection of Drawings, Etching, Engravings and Original Deeds Formed Towards the Illustration of a Copy of Blomefield's History of Norfolk in the Library of Dawson Turner Esq., Vol. 3, Great Yarmouth Undated, 189.

connected by a narrow passageway with two small, arched doorways. It is probable that these features post-date the medieval period because the chancel was sealed off in the sixteenth century when the church began to fall into disrepair.¹⁸⁹ Still, even in its fifteenth-century structural form, the large central tower would have obscured the view of the nave from the chancel. Perhaps the clergy felt they needed a more visually accessible Saint Christopher mural of their own so they could gain the rewards offered by the image. There is a second (extant) Saint Christopher wall painting on the north wall of the nave, which would have been completely invisible from the chancel (Plate 18).

¹⁸⁹ Pevsner and Wilson 1999, 232. The church at Burnham Overy was once much larger than it is today. It was originally cruciform in shape, but the north and south transepts, as well as the north aisle, have disappeared. The tower has also been shortened.

Conclusion

It is obvious that mural location conventions existed within medieval churches. Doom paintings were customarily positioned over the chancel arch, 'helper' saints and morality imagery in the nave, and patronal figures and Transfigurations in the chancel. However, it is also clear that these customs were not always followed, and that exceptions were relatively common. It has therefore been necessary to examine each building independently in order to derive the most representative conclusions about the context of medieval imagery. The vast majority of Saint Christopher wall paintings (around seventy-three percent) were located in the nave area of the church. His likeness was generally represented on the north wall of the nave (or sometimes in the north aisle). In most cases, buildings were entered through the south door, and the Saint Christopher mural would have been visible upon (or soon after) entering the building. Only in three cases were churches with north wall Saint Christophers entered from the north side. At least two of these anomalies can be explained by limited access to the building on the south side (Tarrant Crawford), and south-side settlement orientation (West Chiltington).

Why were thirteen percent of Saint Christopher wall paintings located on the south side of the nave? In most cases, such a position was a result of church realignment (often as a consequence of settlement patterns or restricted access on the south side) whereby the building was most likely entered through the north door. Occasionally, patronage, individual church design and architecture can explain the location of Saint Christopher murals on the south wall (such as the requirements of the Camoys family at Trotton, and the orientation of the chapel at Haddon Hall). There are also fifty-nine Saint Christopher wall paintings located in aisles. These can generally be explained by lack of space in the nave (usually because of architectural restrictions), the development of large-scale painting. Just five Saint Christopher wall paintings were positioned in chantry chapels. There does not appear to be a particular location convention within these spaces, and in the case of Cirencester and Aldermaston, the image of Saint Christopher may even have functioned as a patronal or titular figure flanking the altar. There is just one documented instance of a chancel painting. This highly unusual location might be the consequence of

architectural layout of the church at Burnham Overy, and the fact that the clergy felt they needed a visually accessible mural of Saint Christopher so they could obtain the prescribed benefits offered by the image.

CHAPTER FOUR: PATRONAGE OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER IMAGES

Historiography

Over the last century, there has been an understandable tendency for scholars working on medieval wall paintings to focus on the more notable and celebrated images when discussing the issue of patronage and funding. Caiger-Smith, for instance, uses examples from Westminster Abbey and the Palace of Westminster to illustrate his chapter on patrons and painters. He mentions only lesser-known paintings if (like the Saint Christopher at Molesworth [Cambridgeshire] and the figures in the north transept at Ampney Crucis [Gloucestershire]) they contain heraldry or coats-of-arms (Plate 25).¹ In such cases, Caiger-Smith makes only fleeting or footnote references to the possible patrons or financiers of the paintings. Tristram also devotes most of his attention to patronage of ‘the More Elaborate Type’ of painting, focusing, for instance, on the renowned images associated with the Gifford and Mortayne families in the church at South Newington (Oxfordshire).² When discussing the ‘Simpler Type’ of wall painting, he almost completely ignores the issue of patronage at the expense of painting technique and allegorical significance.³ As far as research into Saint Christopher wall paintings is concerned, authors have generally not dealt with the question of who was responsible for commissioning or paying for images. Keyser and Brindley were more concerned with identifying the subject-matter of paintings, while Salmon examined the issues of function and location.⁴ Whaite alluded to the coats-of-arms associated with the Saint Christopher images at Molesworth and Henstridge (Somerset), but went no further than to suggest potential donors based on visual evidence alone.⁵ An assessment of the type of people or groups responsible for financing Saint Christopher wall painting is therefore long overdue.

¹ Caiger-Smith 1963, 76-101.

² Tristram 1955, 70-73.

³ Tristram 1955, 78-94.

⁴ Keyser 1883 (A); Keyser 1883 (B); Brindley 1924; Salmon 1936.

⁵ Whaite 1929, 33. The Saint Christopher wall painting at Henstridge no longer survives.

Types of Patronage

Within the wider academic world, scholars have highlighted what has been termed ‘gentry culture’, the patronage of the late medieval parish church and other ecclesiastical buildings by the wealthy landowning classes. This focus on the religious practices and sympathies of the ‘parish’ and ‘country’ gentry, and more eminent families such as the Pastons and Hungerfords, has been the subject of a number of articles since the 1980s.⁶ Even though such spheres are where the majority of surviving documentary evidence lies, one study has astutely pointed out that probably less than two percent of the population in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century (specifically in Kent) was of gentle rank.⁷ Researchers are gradually becoming aware that patronage also came from the lower ranks of society, especially in the more rural areas of England and in the less prosperous parishes.⁸ Sources such as wills and churchwardens’ accounts suggest that many of these men and women were often untitled lay people and ‘ordinary’ parishioners. The study of such patronage has sprung not from the discipline of art-history, but from scholars concerned with the analysis of original documents, and with the study of the parish from a more historical, social and economic perspective. Ault, for example, writing in 1970, was interested in assessing the relationship between the community and the priest in the English medieval village.⁹ Using historical documents such as manorial records, court rolls, bishops’ registers, churchwardens’ accounts and wills, he created the impression of a rural society where villagers, parsons and other such ‘lower levels of society’ were all involved in financing the community and the parish church.¹⁰ He even suggested that there was an inherently communal aspect to church financing, citing instances of the setting up of stocks and funds in many churches to manage bequests.¹¹ The issues of patronage, financing and fund-raising in relation to the

⁶ For example: Richmond 1984; Hicks 1985, 123-142; Hicks 1987, 19-38.

⁷ Fleming 1984, 36-58, 36. Fleming makes the distinction between ‘parish’ gentry, who held one or two manors, and ‘country’ gentry, who often held important positions in government.

⁸ For example: French 1993, 79-80.

⁹ Ault, W.O., ‘The Village Church and Community in Mediaeval England’, *Speculum*, Vol. 45, No. 2, April 1970, 197-215.

¹⁰ Ault 1970, 211.

¹¹ As in: *Churchwardens’ Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 214, 222.

parish church have become even more prevalent with the work of French and Kumin.¹² Kumin argues that:

The distinctive feature of late medieval English parish life was not the role of the gentry (which remained at best stable), but the increasingly active part of the common people.¹³

It is clear from examining primary documents associated with the late medieval church (such as wills and churchwardens' accounts) that this was certainly the case, and that it was often the parishioners and less affluent laity who were responsible for the upkeep of the church building in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The landowners and gentry who had paid for and built the churches were still involved in many cases, but were gradually withdrawing to their private chapels away from the parochial sphere, and the parish church was slowly becoming the territory of the less affluent parishioner.

Communal and Individual Responsibility

There is also a division between modern scholars who view the late medieval parish church as a corporate and harmonious body, and those who view it as a collection of individuals working independently towards their own personal goals. On the one hand, Mason (writing in 1976) saw the increasing assertiveness and independence of the parishioner from the thirteenth century onwards (partly as a result of the Synod of Exeter and heavier demands from the Church).¹⁴ She argued that an increase of genuine responsibility led to individualistic activities such as the increasing establishment of chantries (although the laity were still bound together by mutual involvement for the common good through guilds, schools and almshouses).¹⁵ In the

¹² French, K., 'Parochial Fund-Raising in Late Medieval Somerset', in *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, French, K.L., Gibbs, G.G., Kumin, B.A., ed., Manchester and New York 1997, 123-132; French 2001; Kumin 1996.

¹³ Kumin 1996, 231. For an argument against this view see: Martindale, A., 'Patrons and Minders: The Intrusion of the Secular into Sacred Spaces in the Late Middle Ages', in *The Church and the Arts, Studies in Church History* 28, Wood, D., ed., Oxford 1992, 143-178.

¹⁴ Mason, E., 'The Role of the English Parishioner, 1100-1500', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 27, No. 1, January 1976, 17-29, 24-25.

¹⁵ Mason 1976, 28-29.

1990s, Duffy took the opposite view and focused on the 'laity's sense of corporate religion' in the late medieval parish, and on the increase of 'collective responsibility' and 'corporate awareness' that was forced on them from above.¹⁶ Kumin continued this theme in 1996, and although he admitted that it is false to draw a complete distinction between individual and communal needs in the late medieval period, he concluded that:

Both guilds and parishes combined orthodox religious devotion with increasing lay control, a mixture of compulsory and voluntary activities, collective rather than individual worship, and an involvement in secular affairs.¹⁷

French has also emphasised a communal approach to fund-raising within the parish, suggesting that *ad hoc* collections, church ales and plays were undertaken and run by the 'people of the parish', and that the laity were 'brought...together in different ways for a common goal'.¹⁸

'Communal' and 'individual' are confusing terms, and their exact connotation in relation to medieval church images needs to be reassessed. 'Individual' patronage refers to the payment for an image by one person, or possibly by a couple (husband and wife), or other family members. 'Communal' patronage is payment for (or towards) an image by a group of individuals who intentionally unite their funds (or contribute to the general church fund) with the deliberate aim of commissioning an image. When the term 'communal' is applied, however, it does not automatically refer to everyone in the community or parish.¹⁹ In any collective situation, there are people who are either deliberately left out of the proceedings because they are unpopular or because their views are felt to be invalid, and there are those who are simply not interested in involving themselves in decision-making or governance. Even when a parish collection was compulsory, it may have been impossible to force everyone in the parish to make a donation. This situation is evident in the churchwardens' accounts for Bridgwater (Somerset), where a debt of £48 5s 4d is

¹⁶ Duffy 2005, 132-133.

¹⁷ Kumin 1996, 159, 181.

¹⁸ French 1997, 117.

¹⁹ Brown, A. D., *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250-1500*, Oxford 1995, 131.

recorded as being owed to the parish collection from those who did not contribute.²⁰ It should also be considered that (rather like modern-day organisations and associations) there are always individuals who dominate proceedings and whose views and ideas seem to carry. This situation may have occurred at Bethersden (Kent), where the name German Glover dominates the churchwardens' accounts. An entry in the 1545-1546 records seven people who had promised to bequeath money in their wills to a new cross for the church. The list was later erased and replaced with the following entry: 'That the executorus of german glover and Edmunde Glover hath payde to a newe cross out of the godys of Thomas Wesele above ys bequeth - £ii vjs viijd'.²¹ This prominent individual clearly wished to 'stamp his mark' on the church's property and liturgical goods. At Morebath (Devon) images included Saint George (shown in an elaborate three-dimensional scene alongside figures of the Princess, her parents, the King and Queen), Saint Anthony, Saint Sunday, Saint Loy, Saint Anne, and two images of the Virgin. There was also figure of Jesus positioned in the tabernacle over the side altar at the east end of the north aisle.²² These figures were maintained by a number of 'stores' or devotional funds, provided by profit from wool, ales and gatherings.²³ Yet there is also evidence for individual patronage at Morebath. On his arrival in 1520, the new priest Sir Christopher Trychay presented the church with a carved and gilded image of Saint Sidwell. This was placed above the same side altar as the Jesus figure, and through Trychay's encouragement it quickly became a focus for devotion.²⁴

One of the main obstacles to finding evidence to support either the communal or the individual patronage case is that it is often impossible to ascertain from medieval documents exactly what type of benefaction is being recorded. By its very nature, a will is a document which expresses personal needs and wishes, which means that it tends to highlight individual rather than communal patronage. Occasionally, testamentary documents make a clear correlation between donation and expenditure, suggesting that the money bequeathed to an image or object is the exclusive payment from one person. The will of Richard Talbot, for example (1528), records that he

²⁰ French 1993, 102.

²¹ *Churchwardens' Accounts at Bethersden* 1928, 60.

²² Duffy, E., *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*, London 2001, 24-25.

²³ Duffy 2001, 25.

²⁴ Duffy 2001, 25.

wished to give £3 'To the church of Tevelby for a cope to be bought to the same'.²⁵ Yet it is not always clear that this is the case. In some instances, wills are bound up with a greater parochial 'communal' project that is not specifically mentioned by the testamentary document. On the other hand, churchwardens' accounts tend to stress the collective aspects of church patronage, highlighting parochial communal activity such as ales, parish collections, plays and fund-raising. References to images are largely found under the heading of expenditure, and there are very few allusions to images being paid for by individuals or groups of people in the received section of the accounts. This situation would seem to indicate that it was largely the churchwardens who were responsible for the commissioning and financing of wall paintings, and that the people of the parish had little direct influence on the content of the church wall. In reality of course, this was not the case at all. Testamentary and visual evidence, both of which will be considered below, demonstrates that individuals were also involved in financing wall painting images. It is clear from examining the sources discussed below that both communal resources and individual funds were used in the creation of Saint Christopher images.

²⁵ Foster, C.W., ed., *Lincoln Wills Registered in the District Probate Registry at Lincoln, 1505–1530*, Vol. 2, Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 10, 1918, 135.

Part One: Methodology and Sources

The aim of this chapter is to explore a number of issues relating to the financing of Saint Christopher wall paintings in parish churches. This will be done through the examination of three main sources: churchwardens' accounts, wills, and the parochial images themselves. Wills were chosen because they are widely available for the later medieval period, and because they are often directly concerned with patronage of the parish church building. Churchwardens' accounts were selected because they deal with the intricacies and day-to-day running of churches, including patronage, and because it is sometimes possible to find records which relate to smaller rural parishes. Until recently, very little attention had been paid to the relationship between these documents and the parochial image, and any study of patronage was approached through the medium of the artwork itself. French appends a long-overdue chapter on liturgical celebrations and the cult of saints to her recent book.²⁶ This is one of the first studies to use churchwardens' accounts, wills and medieval texts such as *Dives and Pauper* and Mirk's *Festial* as tools for determining image benefaction. French deliberately links the hitherto largely separate areas of local, economic and social history with image patronage. By doing this, and by presenting her information in the form of graphs and tables, she has opened doorways for others wishing to work in the area of image benefaction. There are a number of drawbacks to the study however. The section is short, and sometimes rather imprecise when examining the function of images within the parish church. It relies on general literature such as Duffy's *Stripping of the Altars*, and out-dated and imprecise accounts of the relationship between wall paintings and sermon literature taken from Tristram and Clive Rouse.²⁷ The same criticism can be directed at the work of Sutcliffe, who assesses piety and the cult of saints in fifteenth-century Yorkshire through wills and images. He claims on the one hand that 'The correspondence between the two is marginal', yet goes on to admit that the often scanty and inaccurate Pevsner *Buildings of England* series remains his single largest aid as far as image location is concerned.²⁸ He also entirely ignores that fact that some images may have disappeared altogether. French's study is

²⁶ French 2001, 175-207. This is essentially a rewrite of French's doctoral thesis (with the additional chapter on saints and imagery).

²⁷ French 2001, 276-279; Duffy 2005; Tristram 1955; Clive Rouse 1991.

²⁸ Sutcliffe, S., *Piety and the Cult of Saints in Fifteenth Century Yorkshire from Testamentary Evidence and Surviving Church Art*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of York 1990, 43, 48.

of great importance to those interested in pursuing the issue of patronage and finance within the parish church setting. Images do not usually provide evidence for their own patronage, and it is along the joint pathway of textual documentation and visual evidence that the search for benefaction of medieval paintings and images within the parish church must evolve. Using these approaches, together with more up-to-date concepts concerning image function and usage from art history-orientated commentators such as Gill, will eventually lead to a far more comprehensive understanding of image patronage and benefaction.²⁹

Wills

Academic Background

Using wills as evidence for various types of patronage within the parish church and other ecclesiastical environments is not a new departure. The information is easily transferred into catalogue-type content, a structure which editors of will collections have been using for over a hundred years.³⁰ Scientific analysis of wills, presented in the form of percentages, graphs and tables became popular in the 1980s with the work of Whiting and Tanner.³¹ Whiting used wills and other documents to address the question of whether popular devotion to practices such as chantries and prayers for the dead was effectively eradicated during the Reformation in south-west England.³² Tanner claimed that his study of the church in Norwich was the first study of religion in a late medieval city to make such extensive use of wills.³³ Certainly, his work is a useful reference guide to the nature of testamentary bequests to parish churches, religious orders, hospitals, guilds and civic projects. Yet the study fails to analyse

²⁹ Gill 2000, 117-135; Gill 2002, 155-180.

³⁰ For example: Garraway Rice, R., Godfrey, W.H., eds., *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, Vol. 1, Sussex Record Society, Vol. 41, Lewes 1935; Garraway Rice, R., Godfrey, W.H., eds., *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, Vol. 2, Sussex Record Society, Vol. 42, Lewes 1937-1938; Garraway Rice, R., Godfrey, W.H., eds., *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, Vol. 3, Sussex Record Society, Vol. 43, Lewes 1938; Garraway Rice, R., Godfrey, W.H., eds., *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, Vol. 4, Sussex Record Society, Vol. 45, Lewes 1940-1941; *Lincoln Wills* 1914; *Lincoln Wills* 1918; Foster, C.W., ed., *Lincoln Wills Registered in the District Probate Registry at Lincoln, 1530-1532*, Vol. 3, Lincoln Record Society, Vol. 24, Lincoln 1930.

³¹ Whiting 1983, 68-94; Tanner 1984.

³² Whiting 1983, 77.

³³ Tanner 1984, xvii.

sufficiently or describe comprehensively bequests to altars, images and lights.³⁴ Although he includes references to votive light gifts, he does not consider the issue of payment for (or towards) paintings and images. Other regional studies include Mackie's assessment of the religious views, tendencies and practices of parochial chaplains and chantry priests in the diocese of Yorkshire.³⁵ This is useful as an introduction and overview, but it entirely ignores images and their patronage.

Selecting Wills for Examination

It is relatively easy to gain access to medieval will collections. Volumes containing both abstracted and complete testaments have been published for various counties.³⁶ The relocation of a great many will collections from Cathedral or City Courts to the *National Archives* makes it increasingly easy to locate such testamentary documents from most parts of the country. Yet there is still the problem of not knowing if the will the researcher is seeking simply does not exist, or whether it is still in the possession of a county record office or some other miscellaneous body. Burgess, for example, tells us that only 100 of the 300 or more Bristol wills are recorded in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury Registers (now in the *National Archives*).³⁷ The others are still held at a number of different sites around the country. It has not been possible while preparing this study to examine many original testamentary documents. Having read through a large number of printed wills, I have concluded that references to Saint Christopher are not frequent enough to warrant a major search of originals in the hope of finding chance references.

In theory, the most rewarding results would come from an examination of wills relating to churches which are known to have had a Saint Christopher wall painting (or which still have one). Yet so far it has only been possible to find three churches that have both a wall painting (extant or lost) and a surviving will. Most allusions to the saint (in the form of lights, altars or images) appear in documents relating to

³⁴ Tanner 1984, 82-91.

³⁵ Mackie 1986.

³⁶ For example: *Testimenta Cantiana (West Kent)*, 1907; *Testamenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907.

³⁷ Burgess, C., "For the Increase of Divine Service": Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 36, No. 1, June 1985, 46-65, 47.

churches where no such images are extant or otherwise recorded. This makes it virtually impossible to use more than one source type at a time for any one Saint Christopher image or reference. It should also be remembered that one of the premises of this thesis is that most churches would have had an image of Saint Christopher by the later medieval period. If this were the case, then it makes the task of examining relevant wills too large. Once it became clear that a survey of wills would have to be selective, it was decided that to focus on printed testamentary material would be the most practical and labour-saving way to undertake an assessment.

The number of surviving wills varies from county to county, so in order to obtain any sense of regional patterns in devotion to Saint Christopher, it was necessary to select a range of wills that are geographically diverse. This was hampered to a certain extent by the fact that the south and east of England has more surviving wills than the west and the north of the country. Some counties such as Gloucestershire (excluding Bristol) simply do not have a significant body of testamentary material from before the seventeenth century.³⁸ Gaps in registers are also considerable in many places, including Hull where no wills are recorded between October 1408 and March 1417, and January 1418 and May 1426.³⁹ It was also necessary to choose will editions with similar numbers of testamentary documents written or proved within similar time frames. In this way, if any Saint Christopher-related testamentary patterns were evident, a comparison could be made with other geographical areas. Although there is no need for a lower cut-off point (the further back the documents go the better), the year 1550 was chosen as an approximate upper cut-off point. It is important to consider what happened to Saint Christopher bequests at the Reformation, to what extent his presence declined in the parish church in the 1540s, and whether there was any kind of a revival after the accession of Mary and the (temporary as it turned out) reinstatement of the Catholic Faith. The counties of Kent, Sussex and Lincolnshire were eventually chosen on the strength of the above factors, and on some qualities of their own. All three sets of wills cover the period from the thirteenth century, and the

³⁸ Camp, A., *Wills and their Whereabouts*, Canterbury 1963, 21-23. This lack of material is partly a result of the diocese of Gloucester not being created until 1541. Some of the will material relating to the county is therefore still found in Worcestershire collections.

³⁹ Heath 1984, 211.

Kent and Sussex volumes continue until 1559 and 1560 respectively. The printed Lincoln wills end in 1530, but are still useful as a source for patronage up to that time.

The Kent volumes are an illuminating and useful compilation of testamentary statements.⁴⁰ The documents are presented in their abstracted form, which might cause problems for researchers interested in wider issues such as phraseology of preambles. However, because the editors were primarily interested in wills relating to parish churches, and in locating references to images, the layout and structure of the edition are extremely valuable for this study. The Sussex volumes were chosen partly because of their close proximity to the county of Kent. It was considered that adjacent counties might display similar trends that could be contrasted with a third county from a different geographical region. They were also selected because they focus on ecclesiastical and parochial matters, and because their convenient layout (they are alphabetical by parish, and each parish has a number of headings, including saints, priests, altars and chapels) makes the information readily accessible.⁴¹ The Lincolnshire volumes of wills were chosen on the basis of geographical distance from Kent and Sussex, and so that the north of the country and the large diocese of Lincoln would be reflected in the study. There are a large number of published volumes relating to both the county and the city of Lincoln, but the volume edited by Foster in 1914 is the most comprehensive and complete.⁴² The Kent and Sussex wills were chosen by the respective editors because they were thought to be illustrative of church buildings. The Kent wills largely deal with saints (masses, images, lights, altars, guilds, dedications etc), although church goods, monuments and fittings, ales and obits are also included. The Sussex wills, on the other hand, are slightly more extensive in their classification, and include references to stocks, funds, gifts, and the poor men's box. This means that the documents were selected on a wider basis, and therefore may not be as directly concerned with saints and associated material. The Lincoln wills, in contrast, are published as full transcripts, and therefore far less

⁴⁰ *Testamenta Cantiana (West Kent)* 1907; *Testamenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907; 'Parish Churches of West Kent' 1895, 241-298.

⁴¹ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 1), 1935; *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 2) 1937-1938; *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 3) 1938; *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 4) 1940-1941.

⁴² *Lincoln Wills* 1914, ix. Foster considered the methods of selection used in earlier publications of Lincoln wills unrepresentative. As a result, he included every will in the Lincoln District Probate Registry in his volumes (with the exception of three documents which were discovered after the works were published).

carefully and deliberately selected. Examining the will in its entirety helps to contextualise the parish church references, and makes it clear that it is by no means only the church to which testators leave their money and donations.

One of the limitations in using wills catalogued by county is that testamentary documents were usually proved by ecclesiastical courts in the later medieval period. These areas of jurisdiction did not coincide geographically with the county boundaries. It was generally the case that if a testator held goods or land solely in one Archdeaconry, his or her will would be proved in the Archdeaconry (or some other minor) court. If he or she held 'significant' property or possessions within the jurisdiction of two or more Archdeaconry courts, the will was proved in the Episcopal Court if the bishop was in residence, or by the Court by Commission in his absence (or the Court of the Dean and Chapter if the bishopric were vacant). If the testator held land in more than two Bishoprics, then the will would be taken to the appropriate Archbishop's Prerogative Court (Canterbury if the lands or goods were held in both archdioceses).⁴³ Beneficed clergy were generally obliged to prove in the Court of their bishop.⁴⁴ Most of the published wills and manuscript collections in county record offices and other depositories are classified by county, rather than by ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This becomes problematic when attempting to search for wills associated with churches in a certain county. The editors of the selected wills have chosen documents from particular collections belonging to specific courts. In the case of Kent, the primary documents come from the Registers of the Consistory Court of Rochester, the Registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and the Archbishops' Court of Canterbury.⁴⁵ The Sussex wills are taken from the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the Archbishop's Registry, the Consistory Courts of Chichester and Lewes, and the deaneries of Battle and South Malling.⁴⁶ The editor also searched the volumes of *Sede Vacante* wills at Canterbury, and those of the Archbishop's Peculiar at Chichester, as well as adding several wills which were preserved at the British Museum (now British Library), the National Archives, the Bodleian Library and the College of Arms.⁴⁷ However, the editor also admits that he

⁴³ Camp 1963, x.

⁴⁴ Camp 1963, xii.

⁴⁵ *Testamenta Cantiana (West Kent)*, 1907, 1; *Testamenta Cantiana (East Kent)*, 1907, 1.

⁴⁶ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 1), 1935, xvii.

⁴⁷ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 1), 1935, xvii.

did not examine documents in the registers of other dioceses, the Court of Hustings in London, and earlier Episcopal registers which contain references to wills proved before the date of the regular will registers.⁴⁸ The wills in the Lincoln edition are drawn from the Lincoln District Probate Registry.⁴⁹ Yet there are also a number of other collections relating to Lincolnshire that were not incorporated into the volume. These include the Registry of the Bishop of Lincoln, the Muniment Room of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, the Archiepiscopal Registers, the Muniment Room of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and the Registers of Prerogative Court of Canterbury.⁵⁰ It is therefore necessary to be aware that published editions of wills may not comprise the entirety of testamentary evidence relating to a particular parish or church.

Churchwardens' Accounts

Academic Background

The academic study of churchwardens' accounts as a source not only for parochial organisation, but also for evidence of church fittings and practices, began with Cox in 1913.⁵¹ Few other scholars within the last century have seriously used churchwardens' accounts to investigate images, lights, altars and the cult of saints within the parish church setting. Because of the broad chronological scale of his project, however, (it covers the fourteenth to the seventeenth century) only a section of his work is devoted to the medieval period. Writing in the 1950s, Drew was more interested in the roots and development of the office of churchwarden, whereas more recently, Kumin has tried to fashion an elaborate statistical procedure for depicting comparisons between parishes.⁵² French has also touched upon the presence of images in churchwardens' accounts, but her assessment is largely focussed upon other aspects of parochial or diocesan life, and she has little space to consider the former

⁴⁸ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 1), 1935, xvii.

⁴⁹ *Lincoln Wills* (Vol. 1), 1914, ix, x.

⁵⁰ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 2) 1937-1938, xiii-xiv.

⁵¹ Cox 1913.

⁵² Drew 1954; Kumin 1996.

thoroughly.⁵³ Hutton's attempt to employ accounts to conjure up images of 'Merry England', the mumming plays, fairs, church ales, and the hocktide celebrations, is not only simplistic in approach, but also results in some rather unsophisticated conclusions.⁵⁴ There is still no comprehensive and up-to-date analyses of the role of the churchwarden and parish community in relation to image benefaction and patronage.

Selecting Churchwardens' Accounts for Examination

Scholars have made use of churchwardens' accounts in two main ways in recent years. By examining the accounts of the major cities, Burgess has tried to recreate a 'depth' of coverage from very specific details and documents.⁵⁵ Kumin, on the other hand is more interested in what he terms the 'communal approach'. He aims for a national analysis of parish government and 'breadth' of coverage from samples, and criticises Burgess' methods, approaches and conclusions for being unrepresentative of the country as a whole.⁵⁶ As far as this study of Saint Christopher is concerned, there is little sense in focussing on specific sets of churchwardens' accounts (as had been done with the wills), because the vast majority of records do not make any mention of the commissioning of images, let alone the funding of Saint Christopher wall paintings. Instead, published editions for over thirty churches have been systematically examined and scrutinised for references to the saint. Only a handful of accounts specifically mention Saint Christopher images, and of these, there are just three references to images that can be identified without much doubt as wall paintings. This is a very small figure if it is compared to the number of murals in

⁵³ French 2001, 194-206.

⁵⁴ Hutton, R., *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700*, Oxford 2001; For criticisms of Hutton's work see: French, K., Untitled Review [Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*], *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 26, Spring 1995, 247-248, 248. French argues that: '*Hutton's conclusions remain simplistic and unconvincing*'; Haigh, C., Untitled Review [Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*], *English Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 444, Nov. 1996, 1274-1275. Even Haigh, who is generally sympathetic towards Hutton's work, and who claims that the study is: 'A scrupulously systematic investigation', concedes that Hutton does not address the fact that churchwardens' accounts vary immensely, and that conclusions cannot be drawn for churches where there is no surviving evidence.

⁵⁵ Burgess, C., 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 116, No. 471, April 2002, 306-332, 311.

⁵⁶ Kumin, B., 'Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking Beyond Bristol and London', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 129, No. 480, February 2004, 87-99, 87; Kumin 1996.

existence (or recorded but now lost), and to the number of allusions found in wills of the period. The lack of evidence is not an indication that churchwardens did not provide funds for the creation of images. Rather, it seems that churchwardens simply did not document every single payment they made or gift they received, particularly if (like wall paintings) they were cheap to create and included in the accounts under a general expenditure category. Kumin has argued that many of the *ad hoc* collections, communal activity and functions carried out by sub-parochial officials were never actually fully recorded.⁵⁷ This is hinted at in the 1554-1555 Boxford accounts when Richard Smith (clerk) was paid 11s 8½d ‘besyd that we gathered of the pares [parish]’.⁵⁸ The fact that the amount contributed by the parish is not specified indicates that contribution may have been customary.

One of the drawbacks to using churchwardens’ accounts is that they are often difficult to locate. This is partly because England’s archival system is by no means uniform. There is no definitive guide to accounts in existence, and even the heroic efforts of individuals such as Hutton, Blair and Philipps to list published and manuscript sources have been partially undermined by the continual emergence of previously unrecorded sources.⁵⁹ Because of the limited time available for this study, it has been necessary to rely to a large extent on modern published editions of accounts. The most up-to-date publications are generally of excellent quality and, as far as it is possible to discern without closely examining the manuscript documents, accurate transcripts of the original source.⁶⁰ Some of the earlier editors and transcribers, however, can be frustrating in their editorial methods. Many of the nineteenth-century transcripts are reproduced in record society publications as selective ‘highlights’.⁶¹ Even the more substantial editions from the nineteenth and early

⁵⁷ Kumin 1996, 100.

⁵⁸ Kumin 1996, 100.

⁵⁹ Hutton 2001; Blair, L., *A List of Churchwardens’ Accounts*, Michigan 1939.

Philipps, E., ‘A List of Printed Churchwardens’ Accounts’, *English Historical Review*, Vol. 15, 1900, 335-341.

⁶⁰ For example: Webb, C.C., ed., *Churchwardens’ Accounts of Saint Michael, Spurriergate, York, 1518-1548*, Vols. 1 and 2, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, Vol. 20, York 1997; Burgess, C., ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints’, Bristol*, Part 1, Bristol Record Society, Vol. 46, London 1995; Burgess, C., ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints’, Bristol*, Part 2, Bristol Record Society, Vol. 53, London 2000; Burgess, C., ed., *The Church Records of St. Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, c.1450-c.1570*, London Record Society, Vol. 34, London 1999.

⁶¹ For example: Anon, ed., *Churchwardens’ Accounts of Saint John’s, Glastonbury’, Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, Vol. 4, Part 27, 1894, 137-144; Daniel, W.E., ed., ‘Churchwardens’ Accounts of Saint John’s, Glastonbury’, *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, Vol. 4, Part 29, 235-

twentieth centuries are limited in what they include and very often simply gloss or summarise the records. Hobhouse, for example, when editing the Yatton (Somerset) accounts, not only excludes a great many of the receipts (for goods, money, gifts etc) if he believes them to be unimportant or repetitive, but also summarises several bequests for 'lying in the church' (ie burial), including just one entry in full.⁶²

The remainder of this chapter will attempt to demonstrate that bequests to medieval parish churches came from both individuals and groups of people. Very often, these were the more 'ordinary' untitled parishioners who may not have had a particularly high standing in the community. The main focus of this study is on Saint Christopher wall paintings. However, because evidence for these murals is so limited in documentary sources, it will be advantageous to augment them with references to Saint Christopher altars, lights, glass, guilds and three-dimensional figures.

240; Anon, 'Churchwardens' Accounts of Saint John's, Glastonbury', *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, Vol. 5, Part 33, 1896, 45-48.

⁶² *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 130, 140.

Part Two: Saint Christopher and Patronage

Analysis of the Wills

This section will begin with the three sets of wills specifically chosen in order to facilitate the task of analysing the geographical and chronological distribution of Saint Christopher references, his popularity in relation to other saints, and the different forms of benefaction. The wills will then be used alongside churchwardens' accounts in order to assess who was responsible for the financing of Saint Christopher images (especially wall paintings), and how much these images cost to make. In order to make comparisons between the three sets of testaments, it is necessary to look at the data in associative terms. It should be considered however, that the number of wills or testators examined from each area does not correspond exactly, which means that percentages will have to be used for comparative purposes. The Kent testators number about 4000, but their wills refer to only 102 churches, chapels, cathedrals and other religious buildings. The Sussex testators number 6456, and related to 385 churches, chapels, cathedrals etc. The Lincoln wills number 1008, and allude to 788 buildings.

A number of illuminating yet potentially misleading results occur when comparing the number of Saint Christopher references (paintings, images, altars, dedications, lights, guilds) in each area. In the Kent documents, some 126 different churches are mentioned in wills which related to Saint Christopher, and 325 times overall (sometimes twice or three times in one church). This means that the percentage of wills that make reference to the saint is around 5.03 percent. If we compare this with the Sussex documents, only 6 churches are mentioned, and there are just eleven references in all. This is a figure of just 0.17 percent of the 6456 testators. The Lincoln wills refer to eight churches, and Saint Christopher is mentioned nine times in all. This figure is 2.33 percent of the total 1008 testators. Bearing in mind the disadvantages and drawbacks of using wills as an historical source, the difference between 0.17 percent and 5.03 percent is still considerable. The Kent and Sussex collections have similar numbers of testators, so the difference is clearly demonstrated when it is stated in fractions:

For Kent: 325 / 4000

For Sussex: 11 / 6456

This is clearly some form of discrepancy resulting from the manner in which the wills were selected by the editor for abstraction. If we compare figures for references to other saints, the same inconsistencies occur. Saint Margaret is mentioned by 2.5 percent of the testators in Kent, by 0.13 percent in Sussex, and by 1.09 percent in Lincolnshire. If this is contrasted with allusions to the Rood, 3.64 percent of the testators mention the image in Sussex, whereas in Kent this figure is almost twenty-five percent. 11.5 percent of the Kent testators refer to the Virgin in their wills (excluding preambles and church and chapel dedications). In the Sussex wills this figure is 3.09 percent. Similar data are found for other saints and church fittings in the Kent wills, and it seems as though the anomalies are not, as Marks has argued, an indication that the people of the Kent area were more 'saint focussed' in their *post-obit* donations.⁶³ It is more a reflection on the nature of the material chosen for the study, and possibly a result of the different editorial methods used by the different editors. Until it becomes clear exactly why these anomalies exist, it will be impossible to consider the geographical comparisons.

Lights, Candles, Lamps and Oblations

What is obvious from examining the three sets of wills is that in comparison to the number of extant and lost wall painting images of Saint Christopher, there are very few references to the saint in medieval testamentary documents. Within the Lincoln wills, for example, there are sixty-nine light allusions to the Virgin, seven to Saint Christopher, and three to the Rood and Saint Katherine. This small number of testamentary bequests can partially be explained by the fact that (as has been demonstrated in Chapter Two) Saint Christopher was essentially a visual saint. It was the viewing of his image that was vitally significant, an action that would help to protect the observer from sudden death and other worldly ills. This protection was

⁶³ Marks 2004, 101.

not as necessary after death, and meant that testators did not necessarily feel they needed the saint in their *post-obit* 'life'.

Patterns and types of oblation to Saint Christopher do not differ significantly from donations left to other saints (as discussed in Chapter One). The majority of references in the wills under examination are bequests of money towards an existing light in the church. This occurred at Offham (Kent) (1508), where Water Goden of Leyborn left 'To ye ligtht of Saint Xpofer in Offham di qr of barley'.⁶⁴ Other testators gave money to establish their own light, including John Michell of Horsham (Sussex) (1520), who bequeathed to Itchingfield church (Sussex):

A taper before the Sepulchre at Easter tyme, and after that tyme
to stand before the Image of Saint Cristofer...and be soo
maynteyned and kept by the space of xxxj yeres from the tyme
of my decesse.⁶⁵

In some cases, animals were donated to sustain lights. In 1497 John Clerke left one ewe to the light of Saint Christopher in the church at Frinstead (Kent).⁶⁶ Land was also bequeathed for the purchase of wax, as in the case of Thomas Kele (1472) who gave half an acre to support the lamp burning before the image of Saint Christopher in the church of Staple (Kent).⁶⁷ Some images of Saint Christopher appeared to have had multiple lights standing before them, and in 1518, T. Gybbard bequeathed 'iiij pownds of wax to make iiij tapers to stande afore Sent Crystofer'.⁶⁸

The type of light referred to in many of the testamentary documents under examination is often ambiguous. It is usually assumed that lights took the form of candles because the terms 'wax' and 'tapers' are used in so many wills, but this was not always the case. At Halstow (Kent), John Moyes bequeathed 'A lampe brenyng afore Seynt Xpofere upon the festefull dayes' (1503).⁶⁹ This allusion to a lamp (rather than a light or taper) is unusual, and could refer to candle with a case. There is

⁶⁴ 'Parish Churches of West Kent' 1895, 281.

⁶⁵ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 3), 1938, 51.

⁶⁶ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 134.

⁶⁷ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 318.

⁶⁸ 'Parish Churches and Religious Houses of Northamptonshire' 1913, 302.

⁶⁹ 'Parish Churches of West Kent' 1895, 272.

very little visual evidence for the existence of lights or lamps, which implies that many were freestanding objects, or else attached to freestanding holders or stands. This is occasionally implied by testamentary documents. In 1529, for instance, Christofer Marchant bequeathed 8s 'For a candelstik to stande before Saynt Xpofer' in the church at Hoo (Kent).⁷⁰ At Yalding (Kent), Nicholas Dan also left what appears to have been some form of holder 'Ad faciendum noui candalabri ante ymaginem Sci Xpofori – vjs vijd' (1442).⁷¹ Evidence of the placement of trendals (circular candle-holders) before images is found in the will of John Longe of Croft (Lincolnshire), who left 'ijs for two rings or trendals of wax to set before Saint Saviour and Saint Christopher' (1516).⁷² The term 'branches' is found in a number of wills (though not specifically in relation to Saint Christopher), and almost certainly describes a rather more elaborate stand designed to hold multiple lights.⁷³ At Capel (Kent), for example, Margery Maye left 'A taper of j ponde wexe on the braunches be fore ouer ladie in the quere' (1513).⁷⁴ Some lights may have been placed in niches in the wall, as at Corby Glen, where there is a small ogee opening below the earlier of the two Saint Christopher wall paintings, which may have functioned as a rest for candles.

Wills do not always make it obvious whether the testator is referring to a light, an altar, an image, or some other form of Saint Christopher manifestation. Perhaps those involved in the preparation and execution of the will were familiar with the building, and therefore deemed it unnecessary to specify the type of Saint Christopher image in the church. There are two cases of ambiguity in the sample wills. In 1533, John Luttard bequeathed 'To Saynt Xpofer – ijd' at Bury (Sussex).⁷⁵ Likewise at Little Steeping (Lincolnshire), John Austyn of the same parish donated 2d to Saint Christopher.⁷⁶ The language in the will of Thomas Jacson of Spalding (Lincolnshire) is even more ambiguous. In 1521 he left:

⁷⁰ 'Parish Churches of West Kent' 1895, 274.

⁷¹ 'Parish Churches of West Kent' 1895, 297.

⁷² *Lincoln Wills* 1914, 71.

⁷³ Marks 2004, 162-163.

⁷⁴ 'Parish Churches of West Kent' 1895, 259.

⁷⁵ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 1) 1935, 245.

⁷⁶ *Lincoln Wills* (Vol. 3) 1930, 196.

To the v devociions in the sayd church (Spalding) to every devociion xijd., that ijd., that to say to the devociion of saynt thomas off corpus x'pi, the devociion off holy goste, the devociion of saynt thomas of canterbery, the devociion of saynt Crystofore, the devociion of saynt george.⁷⁷

Although it is not apparent from the entry, the term 'devotion' most probably signifies a candle or a light, or an altar, rather than an image. This does not detract from the fact that the light might have been placed before an image. Indeed, both Whaite and Keyser record the existence of a Saint Christopher wall painting at Spalding (although there is no visual evidence for the image in the church today).⁷⁸

Altars

There are just three references to altars dedicated to Saint Christopher in the wills, and two of these relate to the same church. This rather small figure is a reflection of the lack of altars dedicated to Saint Christopher, rather than showing that altars did not receive gifts from testators. In fact, most testators bequeathed money or goods to the high altar in their wills, usually for tithes forgotten. Two of the three Saint Christopher allusions are associated with burial. In 1494, Walter Paynter requested to be buried in the church near the grave of his parents and before the altars of Saint James and Saint Christopher at Sandwich (Kent).⁷⁹ Likewise, in 1487, John Page requested burial: 'Coram altare Sancti Christoferi et altare parochiali' at Arundel (Sussex).⁸⁰ The third will also relates to Arundel, where John Sargaent (1523 / 1524) left 'To Saynt Xpofer Alter, a dyaper towell'.⁸¹

⁷⁷ *Lincoln Wills* (Vol. 1) 1914, 91.

⁷⁸ Whaite 1929, 43; Keyser 1883 (A), 233.

⁷⁹ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 280.

⁸⁰ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 1) 1935, 44.

⁸¹ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 1) 1935, 43.

Burial

Just twelve of the sample wills make a connection between Saint Christopher and burial. This is not an especially large number when comparisons are made with devotion to other saints and articles. In the Lincoln wills, for instance, there are ten references to burial before the Virgin, four before the Rood, and none before Saint Christopher.⁸² Eight of the selected wills relate to images of Saint Christopher, two to chapels or aisles, one to an altar, and one to an unidentified item (see Chapter Two). As is generally the case with testamentary statements, it is not usually possible to discern what type of image the testators refer to. In a will of 1488, John Iden requested to be buried in the church of Our Lady the Virgin of Westwell (Kent) before the image of Saint Christopher.⁸³ Although the document reveals nothing about the type of image, burial close to or before the image and the saint is clearly emphasised. Another allusion to interment comes from Saint Mary in the Market Place in Lewes in Sussex. In 1517, Richard Lodge left money ‘To the light of Seint Cristofer within the parishe church aforesaid.’⁸⁴ He also wished for:

My bodie to be buried afore Seint Cristofer within the parisshe church of Seinte Marye in Lewys aforesaid, where I am a parochianer, yf I decease there, and yf it fortune me to decease within the Citie of London or nyghe aboute it, then I will that I shalbe buried in suche place as it shall please myn executor heronder wryten.⁸⁵

It is not clear what form this Saint Christopher took, but in all probability it is some type of image. There is no further evidence to support this claim however, and sometimes it is impossible to ascertain the type of Saint Christopher that is being referred to. Thomas Lieyah (1477) requested to be buried before the image of Saint Christopher in a chapel of the church of Saint Leonard at Hythe (Kent).⁸⁶ It is not obvious whether the chapel was dedicated to Saint Christopher, but there is a possibility that it could be synonymous with the aisle mentioned in 1546 in the will of

⁸² *Lincoln Wills* (Vol. 1) 1914; *Lincoln Wills* (Vol. 2) 1918; *Lincoln Wills* (Vol. 3), 1930.

⁸³ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 356.

⁸⁴ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 3) 1938, 116.

⁸⁵ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 3) 1938, 116.

⁸⁶ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 174.

John Wood. He specified burial in the chapel of Saint Leonard at Hythe (by which he means the church, for the building was a chapel of Saltwood in the late medieval period) ‘in thilde [the aisle] of St. Christopher there’.⁸⁷ It is possible that this was a private or chantry chapel, although there is no mention of it in the 1546 and 1548 Chantry Certificates for Kent (or in the other of the chantry material relating to the county).⁸⁸ The will of John Clark indicates the presence of a chapel dedicated to Saint Christopher in the church of Saint Mary at Faversham. He wished to be buried in the church before the door to the chapel of Saint Christopher, and left 6s 8d towards the repair of the building in 1496.⁸⁹

Saint Christopher Images

Some twenty-five of the selected wills from Kent, Sussex and Lincolnshire make explicit reference to Saint Christopher images, a rather small figure when compared to the number of extant and lost wall paintings in each of the counties. Just two wills specify the precise form of the image, the first being that of William Hempstede, who left 6s 8d in 1499 ‘To the new painting of St. Christopher within the Church’ of Saint George in Canterbury.⁹⁰ It is unclear whether the term ‘painting’ functions here as a noun (hence a wall or panel painting), or whether it is a verb, and therefore a reference to the repainting of a sculpted or relief image. It is also uncertain whether Hempstede’s bequest was for the creation of a new painting, or whether it denotes a gift of money to an image which is already in existence (perhaps for the maintenance of a light). The second document which records the type of Saint Christopher image is the will of Simon Hempstead, who bequeathed ‘A taper priced 4d to burn before the image of St. Christopher in the glass window’ at Lyminge (Kent) (1511).⁹¹ It is impossible to be confident of the identity of the other twenty-three images alluded to in the wills, either because the terminology is imprecise, or because the image form is not specified. This ambiguity is demonstrated in the will of Henry Kenett, who left 3s

⁸⁷ ‘Hythe Wills’ 1938, 97; Newman 1969 (A), 344. Newman claims that Hythe has one of the grandest chancels of a non-monastic church in the country.

⁸⁸ Hussey, A., ed., *Kent Chantries*, Kent Records, Vol. 12, Ashford 1935.

⁸⁹ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 122.

⁹⁰ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 50.

⁹¹ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 203.

4d in 1478 at Ashford (Kent) ‘To the image of Saint Christopher there to be made’.⁹² It is impossible to identify the form of image because the term ‘image’ could denote a wall painting, a sculpture, a panel painting, or a relief. The phrasing of Kenett’s will is suggestive of a scheme or plan afoot to create an image of Saint Christopher in the building in the future. If this were the case, then it is possible that Kenett was donating his money to a communal fund.

There are three wills that provide information about the restoration and repair of unspecified Saint Christopher images. In 1493, John Jop left 6s 8d ‘Ad renouacionem imaginis Sancti Xpoferi’ in the church of Yalding (Kent).⁹³ Both Joan Poleyne (1469) and John Nethersole Senior (1472) left the much smaller sum of 12d to the churches of Ashford and Kingston (Kent) respectively.⁹⁴ Nethersole’s will reads as follows: ‘To the repair and painting of the image of Saint Christopher’.⁹⁵ Using the verb ‘repair’ as well as ‘painting’ could indicate some form of three-dimensional image that could be separately repaired and then painted (but this is no more than a supposition).

The Cost of Creating an Image

The average bequest towards painting or making Saint Christopher images in the Kent wills (excluding entries linked to repair, stained glass and burial) is around 5s. This figure is rather lower than donations to other forms of image, such as the Virgin and the Rood, which average around 10s (the most common donation being 20s, and 6s 8d respectively).⁹⁶ The lowest sum bestowed on a Saint Christopher image is recorded in the will of Rose Goldehawke, who left 4d ‘To the paynting of Saynt Xpofer’ at Hoo (Kent) (1494).⁹⁷ It is not altogether clear whether this is a donation to an existing image (perhaps for the maintenance of a light), or for the painting (or repainting) of a new or extant image. If the latter were the case, then it is probable that Goldehawke’s gift was a contribution towards a larger general fund (the nature of which is discussed

⁹² *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 8.

⁹³ ‘Parish Churches of West Kent’ 1895, 297.

⁹⁴ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 8, 183.

⁹⁵ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 183.

⁹⁶ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907; ‘Parish Churches of West Kent’ 1895.

⁹⁷ ‘Parish Churches of West Kent’ 1895, 274.

in relation to churchwardens' accounts below). The expenditure recorded in the Yatton churchwardens' accounts demonstrates that 4d is too small a sum for the painting of an image. A quart of painting oil cost 5d, and this did not include paying the painter or any other expenses associated with creating the image.⁹⁸ Paint for a rood screen in a relatively affluent parish church may have been of better quality than paint used for other images, but Goldhawke's donation is still very small. The sum of money left by John Sharpe, on the other hand, is very high in comparison with other bequests to Saint Christopher images. He left £2 13s 4d in 1487 'for painting new of the porch and of Saint Christopher' at Benenden (Kent).⁹⁹ Although it is not entirely obvious from the phrasing of the document whether the term 'painting' refers to Saint Christopher as well as the porch, it seems likely that this it does since there is no other verb associated with the saint in the extract. Sharpe does not specify what percentage of the donation was destined for the Saint Christopher image, but both the north and south porches at Benenden are large Perpendicular structures with two storeys, which might suggest that painting one of them was an expensive task.¹⁰⁰ The substantial sum of money he bequeathed indicates that he may have been the sole donor in this particular instance. He was obviously a wealthy patron because he also left money for a priest to celebrate at the altar of Saint Stephen for one year.¹⁰¹

Will Evidence for Extant Wall Paintings

Only two of the selected wills relate to churches where Saint Christopher wall paintings survive today. The first is the last testament of William Brune (1503) who wished 'To be buried in the Cathedral church of Rochester before the ymage of Seynt Vrsula and Seynt Xpofer there'.¹⁰² It is unlikely however, that Brune was alluding to the currently visible fourteenth-century Saint Christopher wall painting in the Cathedral. Murals were regularly repainted and updated, especially in larger and wealthier churches, and Brune's testament was recorded almost two hundred years later. In addition, larger churches may also have possessed two or three images of the

⁹⁸ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 96.

⁹⁹ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 16.

¹⁰⁰ Newman 1969 (A), 147.

¹⁰¹ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 16.

¹⁰² 'Parish Churches of West Kent' 1895, 283.

same saint (perhaps in different media), so it is also conceivable that Brune was alluding to a completely separate image.¹⁰³ The second testamentary record which refers to a church where there is an extant Saint Christopher wall painting is the will of Joan Idinden (1480), who chose to be buried before the image of Saint Christopher in the church of Saint Mary Northgate, Canterbury.¹⁰⁴ There is nothing in the phrasing of the will that suggests this is a wall painting image. The building has since become the parish hall, and even more recently, part of the Cathedral School (Saint Mary's Hall), which means that access is restricted. A mural depicting Saint Christopher still exists in the edifice, dated by Caiger-Smith to c.1400.¹⁰⁵ The building is small, which may suggest fewer images, and therefore a greater likelihood that the extant Saint Christopher wall painting might be the very one mentioned in Joan Idinden's burial request. However, there is no incontrovertible evidence for the connection between the testamentary statement and the image.

Outside the sphere of the selected documents there is just one will which relates directly to the extant wall painting at Fritton (Great Yarmouth, Norfolk).¹⁰⁶ It is probable that the Saint Christopher and Saint George paintings were funded by John Alward and his wife Johanne.¹⁰⁷ Alward left land at Morningthorpe for the upkeep of Fritton church in his will (1506), and in return the rector was to say a Mass for his soul annually on Saint Catherine's Day.¹⁰⁸ The Saint Christopher mural in the church is rather faint and indiscernible in places, but it is just possible to identify two figures, one of whom is kneeling in prayer. A fragment of an inscription, which once mentioned Alward and his wife, survives at the foot of the painting.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ It has not been possible to trace an altar or image dedicated to Saint Ursula at Rochester Cathedral.

¹⁰⁴ *Testamenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 57.

¹⁰⁵ Caiger-Smith 1963, 150. It would be necessary to view the mural before making any judgement about Caiger-Smith's dating.

¹⁰⁶ Bell, P., 'Bedfordshire Wills, 1480-1519', *Bedfordshire Historical Records Society*, Vol. 45, 1966, 1-110, 79. At Houghton Conquest (Bedfordshire), John Edwards left one sheep each to the lights of the Trinity, Saint John, Saint Catherine, Saint Gregory and Saint Christopher in 1508 / 1509. There is a wall painting of Saint Christopher in the church, but it is not clear whether the light was associated with the image.

¹⁰⁷ Tricker, R., *The Hempnall Group, Norfolk* (Church Guide), 1987, 7; Letter from G.M. Levack (former churchwarden), Fritton (October 2004).

¹⁰⁸ NRO. MS 15 370 37 A2. Copy of the Will of John Alwerd of Freton, 3 Nov. 1506.

¹⁰⁹ Whaite 1929, 34.

Rosewell, R., *Medieval Paintings in English and Welsh Churches*, Woodbridge 2008, 106.

Part Three: Saint Christopher Paintings and the Evidence from Churchwardens' Accounts

It is clear from examining churchwardens' accounts that money to fund expenditure came from both individual and communal sources. There were three chief ways in which money and gifts recorded in the accounts were bestowed on the church. First, there were the collections where payment was extracted from the whole parish, often by the churchwardens. These appear to have been fairly common, and at Banwell (Somerset), for instance, they were the primary source of income (eighty-seven percent), even in 1554.¹¹⁰ At Yatton, the Easter (or paschal) candle also seems to have been funded from community donations, although the accounts do not disclose names or quantities. The 1446 entry is typical of most years at Yatton: 'It reseyved in mony to the Esterne tapyr – vs vjd'.¹¹¹ Ales and revels could also produce substantial revenue. In the 1500 accounts of Saint John's church in Glastonbury, the accounts record that £8 7s 8d was raised from the Robin Hood revels for new seats and for the extensive restoration of the Saint George image.¹¹² The second type of funding took the form of bequests from two or more individuals towards church or image construction or restoration. It is not clear whether such collections were organised by the churchwardens, or were simply charitable donations on behalf of munificent benefactors. In the Yatton accounts for 1503-1504, there are a number of bequests to Saint James' Chapel, ranging from 5s to 4d.¹¹³ There was obviously major building or rebuilding occurring at this time, for the expenses record 24s 1d 'Payd to ye seyde Wylliam Krosse for makyng of ye quere and peyntyng of ye selyng of Seynt Jamys Chapell' (1505-1506).¹¹⁴ There is also evidence to suggest that a number of individuals may have paid for image creation or restoration in the same church. The 1467 receipts record the donation 'Of June Mey to the peyntyng of the Mary – ijd' and 'Of June Kewe to the same – ijd'.¹¹⁵ The expenses for the same year also note that £4 was paid 'To the peynter to peynt owre Lady'.¹¹⁶ Assuming this was the same image mentioned in the receipts, the additional funds to pay the painter probably came

¹¹⁰ French 1993, 104.

¹¹¹ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 82.

¹¹² French 1993, 113.

¹¹³ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 127.

¹¹⁴ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 128.

¹¹⁵ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 104.

¹¹⁶ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 104.

from other donors. The third type of financial support took the form of bequests of money or goods from one individual, usually for a specified purpose. These donations were often associated with funeral services, such as the payment of 6s 8d from Hyw Dalbe 'For hys unkyll for lying in the cherche' at Bethersden (1533-1534).¹¹⁷ If there were no specific expenditure attached to the bequest, endowments were usually incorporated into the 'general fund' or stock. These were largely small monetary gifts from individuals, such as the penny that Alice Bishop found in the church at Bethersden in 1524-1525 and kindly donated to the wardens.¹¹⁸ The general fund was then used as capital for outgoings in the form of expenditure on a whole range of items and services, from pax bread and processions, to the payment of the glazier and the mending of the chalice.¹¹⁹

The expenses associated with employing painters in churches and purchasing paint varied to a large extent. Churchwardens' accounts suggest that this is a result of a number of factors, including what was being painted, the amount and type of paint used, and whether the painter was (as in the case of the 1454 Yatton accounts) in need of a bed and therefore not an inhabitant of the village.¹²⁰ In this particular instance, the painter was hired for a week, possibly to paint the celure that was being constructed at the time, and paid just 20d.¹²¹ 5d was spent on a quart of painting oil, 6s for gold to paint the angel, and 22d on 'dyvers coolers boffte [bought]'.¹²² 'Pentyng the Rodlofte' in 1458-1459 on the other hand was very expensive and cost £3.¹²³

¹¹⁷ *Churchwardens' Accounts at Betrysden* 1928, 28.

¹¹⁸ *Churchwardens' Accounts at Betrysden* 1928, 28, 12.

¹¹⁹ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 111, 121, 124.

¹²⁰ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 96.

¹²¹ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 95.

¹²² *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 96.

¹²³ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 100.

The Berry Tower, Bodmin

The majority of churchwardens' accounts concerned with the funding of Saint Christopher images do not specify the precise origins of the endowment money. Most of the entries are too brief to reveal more than a very fleeting glimpse of the workings of image financing, and disclose little more than the amount and nature of the expenditure. There are just three references to Saint Christopher images that can in all probability be identified as wall paintings within the accounts examined (and nine to unspecified images). Some form of painting is recorded in the 1512-1514 accounts of the Chapel of the Holy Rood in Bodmin (known as the Berry Tower), where the wardens Thomas Phylpe and Robert Kyrkeby (or perhaps their scribe) noted gifts received from individuals towards the painting of Saint Christopher: 'It[e]m rec[evyd] of the gyfte of dyv[er]s good men to the payntyng of Seynte Cris[tof]or, xvjd'.¹²⁴ It is unclear whether the term 'painting' is used here as a verb or a noun, and therefore whether it refers to a one-dimensional painting or a three-dimensional sculpture. However, a second reference (for the same years, but on a different membrane), indicates that it was probably a painting: 'Item I paide John Hoyge for the newe payntyng of Seynte Christofer, ijs iiijd'.¹²⁵ The use of the adjective 'new' before the word 'painting' suggests that the latter is an object rather than an action, and therefore that the image may be a painting (or repainting), rather than a sculpture or relief. The reference to the 'dyv[er]s good men' implies that payment for the image came from some form of communal donation. Yet exactly how many individuals were involved, what was given (goods or money), and how much each of them bequeathed, are not specified in the entry. Nor is it recorded whether the wardens initiated a special collection for the painting, or whether the men (or women) took it upon themselves to donate the money so that the wardens would be obliged to commission a new image. The accounts also inform us that John Hoyge (who is presumably the painter) was paid 2s 4d 'For the newe payntyng of Seynte Christofer'. There is an obvious discrepancy between this figure and the 16d received from the 'dyv[er]s good men', and it is not certain whether this additional money came from the general fund, or

¹²⁴ CRO. B/Bod 314, membrane 13. Berry Tower Accounts of Thomas Phylpe and Robert Kyrkeby Receivers, 1512-1514. I am grateful to Dr Joanna Mattingly for drawing attention to this reference. All that remains of Berry Tower today is the ruinous early sixteenth-century tower; MacClean, J., *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor in the Country of Cornwall*, Vol. 1, London 1873, 199; Orme, N., *The Saints of Cornwall*, Oxford 2000, 87.

¹²⁵ CRO. B/Bod 314, membrane 12v.

whether there were other unrecorded donations that made up the difference.¹²⁶ Whatever the case, a wall painting costing 2s 4d is relatively cheap. An entry in the Berry Tower accounts for the same year relates to the painting of Saint Petrock (the patron saint of the church): 'It[e]m I paide to William Pottar, paynter for the payntyng of Seynte Petrok - xviijs viijd'.¹²⁷ The final entry records that four individuals gave money to the painting:

It[e]m rec[evyd] of Elizabeth Fyke of hure gyfte to the
payntyng of Seynte Petrok- xijd
It[e]m rec[evyd] of Sir Thom[a]s Hayly of his gyfte to the
same - iiijd
It[e]m rec[evyd] of John Vyan of his gyfte to the same - iiijd
It[e]m rec[evyd] for Bullok of the gyfte of John Wyll wever to
the same payntyng solde for – iiij¹²⁸

18s 8d is a significant amount to spend on a painting, and assuming it did not include some other unspecified work in Berry Tower, the large sum may be explained by the fact that Saint Petrock was the patron saint of the parish church of Bodmin, and thus probably held a position of great importance in the town. It may have been acceptable to spend more on an image that probably held a position of devotional prominence within the church. Moreover, even though the two paintings are recorded as being commissioned in the same financial years (1512-1514), they were painted by two different men (John Hoyge and William Pottar). It is possible that William Pottar was considered a more capable painter, and was therefore assigned to the more significant and taxing task of painting Saint Petrock.

¹²⁶ CRO. B/Bod 314, membrane 12v.

¹²⁷ CRO. B/Bod 314, membrane 13v.

¹²⁸ CRO. B/Bod 314, membrane 14.

Bethersden

The image referred to in the 1546-1547 accounts of Bethersden (Kent) is almost certainly a wall painting.¹²⁹ The churchwardens record the payment ‘To Coventre for myndynge of ye ledes and for blottyng out of Saynt Chrystouer...xviid’.¹³⁰ ‘Blotting out’ is obviously a synonym for concealment or painting over, an action that indicates that the wardens were responding to the Injunctions of 1547 ordering the removal of relics, images and paintings that were ‘Monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimage, idolatry and superstition’.¹³¹ ‘Blotting out’ also suggests destruction by repainting or whitewashing, a term that can only be applied to a flat image such as a wall painting (or perhaps a rood or panel painting). The entry is also illuminating regarding the type of people employed in the church. Coventre was also involved in the ‘Myndynge of ye ledes’, which suggests that whitewashing and obliterating the painting was a relatively unskilled job.¹³² The Bethersden accounts do not reveal who financed the Saint Christopher image or when it was painted, but it is clear that an image was in existence in 1525 when Margaret Lucas bequeathed a taper to burn before it.¹³³

All Saints’, Bristol

A reference to a Saint Christopher image occurs in the Church Book of All Saints’ in Bristol.¹³⁴ The Book is more than simply a collection of churchwardens’ accounts. The first section contains a number of parish ordinances, and a list of lay and clerical benefactors and their gifts. The second section comprises two inventories of goods (1395 and 1469), and a list of churchwardens and a brief description of their achievements. The third section is the churchwardens’ accounts, which run from

¹²⁹ *Churchwardens’ Accounts at Betrysden* 1928, 85; Ford, A.F., ‘Art and Identity in the Parish Communities of Late Medieval Kent’, *The Church and the Arts: Papers read at the 1990 Summer Meeting of the 1991 Ecclesiastical History Society*, in Wood, D., ed., Oxford 1992, 225-237, 227.

¹³⁰ *Churchwardens’ Accounts at Betrysden* 1928, 85; Ford 1992, 227.

¹³¹ Duffy 2005, 451.

¹³² *Churchwardens’ Accounts at Betrysden* 1928, 85.

¹³³ *Testamenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 14, 17. Stephen Cloke also left 12d to the light of Saint Christopher at Bethersden in 1493. It is probable that the light stood before the image of the saint (although the will does not specify this).

¹³⁴ *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints’, Bristol* (Part 1) 1995; *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints’, Bristol* (Part 2) 2000.

c.1410 to the early 1480s.¹³⁵ The Book obviously provides a far broader range of information than churchwardens' accounts from rural and small town churches. It reveals that in the late fifteenth century (undated), Mawde Spicer bequeathed 30s:

For the painting of two stories on two pillars of the lower part of the church, the one story over the font of the baptising of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and on that other pillar of the other part of the church a figure otherwise an image of Saint Christopher.¹³⁶

These images are almost certainly wall paintings, for they are evidently being executed onto the surface of the pillar (a practice more usual in Perpendicular buildings where larger windows meant less available wall space). The image was almost certainly commissioned by Mawde Spicer alone, rather than by a group of parishioners or churchwardens. Part of the reason that it is possible to get this insight into payment for this image (apart from the obvious affluence and importance of the Spicer family within the parish) is that the document included in the Church Book is more akin to a will than to a churchwardens' account. After the death of her husband (Thomas Spicer alias Baker, grocer of the parish of All Saints'), Mawde Spicer left a number of gifts to the church 'for the weal of their souls both, unto the worship of almighty God, Our Blessed Lady and All Hallows'.¹³⁷ She did not die until 1503, but the *pre-obit* bequeathing of objects and money to the church, as well as provision for the employment of a priest to sing for her for twelve years, is not dissimilar to the *post-obit* bequests found in wills.¹³⁸ This document is more valuable than testamentary statements, however, because it provides evidence for goods given (rather than goods promised in wills where the modern scholar can never be entirely assured whether or not the bequest was ever executed). In her will (a separate document), Mawde left more items to the church of All Saints', including a chalice:

¹³⁵ *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol* (Part 1) 1995, xiv-xv.

¹³⁶ *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol* (Part 1) 1995, 20; NA. Prob/11/14. Will of Dame Mawde Baker otherwise called Dame Mawde Spicer, Widow of All Saints', Bristol, Gloucestershire. The will of Mawde Spicer (or Baker) was proved in 1504.

¹³⁷ *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol* (Part 1) 1995, 19-20.

¹³⁸ NA. Prob/11/14. For the English translation see: *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol* (Part 1) 1995, 22.

Substantially gilt, weighing 24 ozs, at 5s the ounce, the whole sum - £6 12s' [and] 'A goodly suit of vestments of white damask with flowers of gold, and all the ofreys of the suit cloth of gold, which suit contained 2 copes and vestments for the priest, deacon and subdeacon, the price of the whole suit - £27.¹³⁹

The Saint Christopher reference in the All Saints' Book is listed under a section that closes with the line: 'has given unto this church'. This use of the past tense when describing payment for the Saint Christopher painting also indicates that the money had already been donated (and perhaps the painting carried out too).¹⁴⁰ The phrasing of the entry seems to suggest that Mawde Spicer gave 30s for both the Baptism of Christ and the Saint Christopher painting, although this is by no means entirely clear. If this were the case, the paintings may have cost around 15s each, a sum similar to the 18s 8d paid for the Saint Petrock painting in Berry Tower (1512-1514), and rather more than the 2s 4d paid for the Saint Christopher painting in the same church.¹⁴¹ It is surprising that a wealthy donor like Mawde Spicer, who spent £27 on vestments for the church in 1503, would only provide 30s for the execution of two paintings, and it is possible that the paintings may have been small in size.

At least one other Saint Christopher image is recorded in All Saints', Bristol in the fifteenth century. Two years before her death in 1485, Alicia Chestre financed a new rood loft:

In carved work filled with [?] 22 images, at her own proper cost; of which images, three are principal – a Trinity in the middle, a Christopher in the north side, and a Michael in the south side; and besides this, each of the 2 pillars bearing up the loft has 4 houses there set on in carved work, with an image in each house.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol* (Part 1) 1995, 23; NA. Prob/11/14.

¹⁴⁰ *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol* (Part 1) 1995, 20.

¹⁴¹ CRO. B/Bod 314, membrane 13-13v.

¹⁴² NA. Prob/11/17. Will of Alicia Chestre, Widow of Bristol, Gloucestershire. For the English translation see: *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol* (Part 1) 1995, 16-17.

William Wytteney (died before 1450) is also recorded as giving:

1 primer with 7 psalms, litany, dirige and commendations,
psalms and the passion, with many other devotions, the which
stood in the grate at Saint Christopher's foot, and the said book
was stolen and found at Saint James in Galicia and brought
home and returned to the grate and has since been stolen.¹⁴³

It is not obvious from the phrasing of the Church Book what form the image mentioned by Wytteney took. The association between the grate and Saint Christopher's foot does not necessarily mean they had a connected function. It is perfectly possible that the Saint Christopher was mentioned because it was physically near to the grate, and therefore a convenient marker.

Unspecified Saint Christopher Images in Churchwardens' Accounts

Probably the most informative of all churchwarden references to Saint Christopher images are the two entries relating to what appears to be the creation of two different images in consecutive years in the Yatton accounts:

[1468] To the peynter to peynt the Crystopher, xxs

[1469] For peynting the crystofer, xxiiis vd¹⁴⁴

It is not clear from the phrasing of the entry whether these images were wall paintings or other form of visual representation. In comparison with the Saint Christopher painting in Berry Tower (2s 4d), the cost is relatively high (though not as dear as the £4 'To peynt owre Lady' recorded at Yatton in the same year).¹⁴⁵ On first examination, it might be assumed that the note concerning the Saint Christopher images was the result of some form of scribal error, a case of mistakenly entering the

¹⁴³ *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints', Bristol* (Part 1) 1995, 14. This entry is not dated, but the churchwardens' accounts for 1449-1450 mention that items received for William Wytteney's grave amounted to 6s 8d. Assuming this is the same William Wytteney, the image must have been in existence before 1449 or 1450, and therefore not necessarily contemporary with the images bequeathed by Mawde Spicer of Alicia Chestre.

¹⁴⁴ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 104, 105.

¹⁴⁵ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe* 1890, 104.

payment twice, or of neglecting to realise that it had already been entered into the accounts in the previous year (particularly if the wages had been paid to the painter at the end of the first financial year). It is equally possible that the second entry might be a last and full payment. There are two factors strongly suggesting that this was not the case. First, a different sum of money is recorded on each occasion: 20s and 23s 5d respectively. Secondly, the receipts for 1469-1470 include the following entry: 'T. Kewe and J. Harte owyng to the parasche xxs that they delyvered to the peynter with owte leve of the parasche'.¹⁴⁶ Kewe and Hurt were wardens in 1467-1468. They were responsible for giving the painter 20s in return for painting the Saint Christopher image that year, and appear to have paid him without the consent of the parish. It is probable that the painting was actually carried out the first time, for the painter was paid again for the same task the following year. If this were the case, there may have been two images created within the space of a year (or so). Perhaps the parishioners were not happy with the result of the first image (particularly if they had been involved in financing it), or perhaps they were not informed that a new image was to be commissioned in their church. Whatever the circumstances, the episode illustrates that these parishioners believed the churchwardens were responsible to them when making decisions, and that the churchwardens' funds should be under the parishioners' control. That the two officers reimbursed the parish two years later suggests that they came to a similar conclusion, and were unwilling to defy the parishioners.

There are nine other references to unspecified Saint Christopher images within the churchwardens' accounts examined. An entry in the 1527-1528 accounts for Saint Michael, Spurriergate in York reads: 'Item paid to the payntyng of Seynt Christopher, ijs jd'.¹⁴⁷ In this particular instance, although the editor of the accounts believes the image to be a wall painting, the phrasing of the entry does not make this clear, and there are no secondary or corroborative references to prove this was the case.¹⁴⁸ There are a number of informative details, however, that can be gleaned from this document. First, when compared with other entries, 2s 1d is a relatively small amount of money for the creation of an image in a sizeable and fairly wealthy city church

¹⁴⁶ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croxcombe* 1890, 105.

¹⁴⁷ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Saint Michael, Spurriergate, York* (Vol. 1), 1997, 123.

¹⁴⁸ *Churchwardens' Accounts of Saint Michael, Spurriergate, York* (Vol. 2) 1997, 366.

where the average turnover was about £35 per annum.¹⁴⁹ Secondly, the phrasing of the entry may provide a clue to the nature of the funding. The fact that the scribe has written ‘Item paid to’ the painting, when most of the entries read ‘item paid for’, could be significant. It is possible that the churchwardens’ fund was just one contribution towards a painting that was far more costly, and towards which the parishioners may have made their own donations.

One of the earliest sets of churchwardens’ accounts to record a Saint Christopher image is the documents relating to Saint Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap in London (1460).¹⁵⁰ The entry reads: ‘Item for painting the George and the Christopher, for mending the best chalice and for mending the covering to the font – 9s 4d’.¹⁵¹ Although the term ‘painting’ evidently functions as a verb here, it is unclear whether the image was a sculptured figure, or a wall or panel painting.¹⁵² The cost of creating or painting the images of the two saints was just below average (possibly around 4s each if a small sum is deducted for the mending of the font cover). Although it is clear that the churchwardens were responsible for organising the funding of the painting, it is impossible to be certain whether the money came from the general fund, or whether it came from other sources. A reference to an unspecified image type is also found in the 1518-1519 accounts of the brotherhood of Saint Christopher at Lambeth.¹⁵³ The entry is recorded in the expenses for the year, and reads: ‘Item for the making off saynt’ Christoferes, xvjs x [d]’.¹⁵⁴ At Ashburton (Devon), the 1536-1537 accounts mention the payment of 6d ‘for lokyn of the stocke to make Saynt Cristoffer’.¹⁵⁵ This was almost certainly an image made from wood. A ‘stocke’ is a

¹⁴⁹ *Churchwardens’ Accounts of Saint Michael, Spurriergate, York* (Vol. 1) 1997, 1.

¹⁵⁰ French, K.L., Gibbs, G.G., Kumin, B.A., eds., *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600*, Manchester 1997, 168.

¹⁵¹ *Church Records of St. Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap* 1999, 9. The editor has included the entry under ‘repairs’ because of the mending of the chalice and the font cover.

¹⁵² *Church Records of St. Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap* 1999, 59, 161. Thirty years later, the 1490-1491 accounts mention Saint George again: ‘Item paid for a frame for St George – 2s 8d’. It is unclear what form this frame might have taken, or whether the entry refers to the same Saint George image. It might allude to the creation of a niche, or perhaps even a painted frame for a mural or a relief frieze. Saint George is mentioned for the final time in the 1547 accounts, in relation to the stripping out of church images at the Reformation: ‘Item paid for mending a hole where St George stood – 6d’. That the image stood in a hole almost certainly indicates a three-dimensional statue-type figure, which may plausibly be the same as the 1460 image mentioned almost 100 years before.

¹⁵³ Drew, C., ed., *Lambeth Churchwardens’ Accounts, 1504-1645 and Vestry Book 1610*, Part 3, Surrey Record Society, Vol. 44, 1943, 199.

¹⁵⁴ *Lambeth Churchwardens’ Accounts* (Part 3) 1943, 199.

¹⁵⁵ Hanham, A., ed., *The Churchwardens’ Accounts of Ashburton, 1479-1580*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. 15, Exeter 1970, 100.

block of wood rather like the headstock of a bell (the wooden arch on which it is hung).¹⁵⁶ ‘Lokyn’ is the action of lopping or trimming, in this case the block of wood to make a three-dimensional Saint Christopher image.¹⁵⁷ The following year, the same accounts also record the 9s donated by Peter Rowallyng in part payment for making the image of Saint Christopher.¹⁵⁸ The fact both entries are so chronologically close suggests that they probably refer to the same image. Providing wood to make an image is not synonymous with creating the work itself, and the entry does not confirm that the item was completed in the 1536-1537 accounts. It is also possible that funds were donated to the project either while the image was in the process of being fashioned, or after it had been completed. The fact that Rowallyng’s contribution was only in part payment indicates that the rest of the funds came from elsewhere.

Saint Christopher Guilds and other Types of Dedication

Guilds and brotherhoods dedicated to Saint Christopher appear to have been relatively common throughout the country. Given the large number of recorded Saint Christopher wall paintings however, it is perhaps surprising that there were not more guilds with such a dedication. There were ten in London, in comparison with fifty-seven dedicated to the Virgin, twelve to Saint Anne, eleven to Saint George, and seven to Corpus Christi.¹⁵⁹ Towns and cities were more likely than rural areas to have guilds in the late medieval period. This was partly because there were more churches for the brotherhoods to attach themselves to, and partly because there were more people wishing to join or create such groups (although it should be remembered that evidence for towns and cities is far more prevalent, and that scholars have tended to examine and publish urban rather than rural documents).¹⁶⁰ It was fairly common for

¹⁵⁶ *Churchwardens’ Accounts of Ashburton* 1970, 210.

¹⁵⁷ *Churchwardens’ Accounts of Ashburton* 1970, 204.

¹⁵⁸ *Churchwardens’ Accounts of Ashburton* 1970, 104.

¹⁵⁹ Barron 1985, 13-37, 32.

¹⁶⁰ For example: Page, W., ed., *The Certificates of Commissioners Appointed to Survey the Chantries, Guilds and Hospitals in the County of York*, Vol. 1, Surtees Society, Vol. 91, Durham 1892. Page, W., ed., *The Certificates of Commissioners Appointed to Survey the Chantries, Guilds and Hospitals in the County of York*, Vol. 2, Surtees Society, Vol. 92, Durham 1893; *Lambeth Churchwardens’ Accounts* (Part 3) 1943; Bibby, R., *The Medieval Guilds of Morpeth*, Morpeth 1998;

urban communities to have one or more guilds (or a church with a guild) dedicated to Saint Christopher. The brotherhood of Saint John at Saint Andrew's Church in Holborn was in existence by 1365, and had become the brotherhood of Saint John and Saint Christopher by 1494.¹⁶¹ There were also brotherhoods at Lambeth (where there was an aisle and altar dedicated to the Saint), and at Saint Michael, Cornhill, as well as the fraternity of Saint Christopher of the water bearers who met in the church of the Austin Friars from 1497.¹⁶² Other large urban centres also had Saint Christopher guilds. The Saint Christopher brotherhood must have been in existence in 1398 in the church of Holy Trinity in Hull, when John Hornsee, burgess and merchant of the parish of Saint Mary, left 3s 4d to the brotherhood.¹⁶³

Saint Christopher guilds also existed in smaller towns and villages. The Bodmin church building accounts for the year 1469-1470 record a guild at the Berry Tower in the same town:

De gild s[an]c[t]i Cristofory apud le Bery cu[m] Joh[ann]e
Philip, xjs
sol[uit] vs et respa, vjs
De gild s[an]c[t]i Cristofori apud le Bery A[nno] Ed[wardi] 9
rec[eptum], xvs¹⁶⁴

Barron 1985, 13-37; White 1987; For an examination of more rural guilds, see: Green, E., *The Survey and Rental of the Chantries, Colleges, and Free Chapels, Guild, Fraternities, Lamps, Lights, and Obits in the County of Somerset: As Returned in the 2nd year of King Edward VI, A.D. 1548*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 23, London 1888; Farnhill, K., *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia, c.1470-1550*, York 2001; Crouch, D.J.F., *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389-1547*, Woodbridge 2000; Crouch provides a gazetteer of religious guilds in and services in late medieval Yorkshire, as well as a list of primary sources relating to the county, at: Gazetteer of the Religious Gilds and Services of Late Medieval Yorkshire Website: www.york.ac.uk/inst/cms/resources/gilds.htm; Bainbridge, V., *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Religion and Society in Cambridgeshire, 1350-1558*, Woodbridge 1996; Hanawalt, B.A., 'Keepers of the Lights: Late Medieval Parish Guilds', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2, Spring 1984, 21-37; Mattingly, J., 'Going a-Riding : Cornwall's Late Medieval Guilds Revisited', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, New Series, Vol. 2, 2005, 78-103.

¹⁶¹ Barron, C.M., Roscoe, J., 'The Medieval Parish Church of Saint Andrew Holborn', *London Topographical Record Society*, Vol. 24, 1980, 31-60, 36-37.

¹⁶² Drew, C., ed., *Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts, 1504-1645 and Vestry Book 1610*, Part 1, *Surrey Record Society*, Vol. 40, Frome 1940, 28, 39; *Lambeth Churchwardens' Accounts* (Part 3) 1943, 196. Collier 1905, 130-145, 145; Barron 1985, 23.

¹⁶³ Crouch 2000, 215; Gazetteer of the Religious Gilds and Services of Late Medieval Yorkshire Website: www.york.ac.uk/inst/cms/resources/crouch/Hull.htm

¹⁶⁴ CRO. B/Bod 244/3. Bodmin Church Building Accounts, 1469-1470.

Frustratingly, the subsequent records do not differentiate between the Berry Tower and Bodmin church. A guild of Saint Christopher and Saint James is recorded in 1496-1497: 'Item rec of the ylde of Seynte Jame and Seynte Cristofer [left blank]', but the accounts do not specify which building it is attached to.¹⁶⁵ All subsequent entries are to a light (rather than a guild) of Saint Christopher, and in 1496-1497 and 1526-1527 there are two light-wardens' accounts (one for the light of Saint Christopher, and a separate one for the light of Saint James).¹⁶⁶ It is also possible to find evidence for the presence of guilds in smaller rural parishes such as Poughill and North Petherwin (Cornwall). The Poughill brotherhood had a joint dedication of Saint Apollonia and Saint Christopher, and the accounts surviving for the store in 1525 and 1528-1538 consist mainly of payments for wax and lights, for the vigil of the parish's patron Saint Olaf, and for a play in 1536.¹⁶⁷ At North Petherwin, the Saint Christopher guild organised regular diriges, masses and bede roll recitations. It had disappeared from the accounts by 1548, but was still active throughout the reign of Edward VI and survived into the 1560s (although by this time it had abandoned its obit-related customs).¹⁶⁸

In the selected Kent, Sussex and Lincoln wills, there are ten references to Saint Christopher guilds or brotherhoods, and these relate to five different churches. Five allusions come from Kent, one from Sussex and two from Lincolnshire. Rather surprisingly, there is no mention of guilds in the larger towns such as Canterbury, Chichester, and Lincoln. Yet we cannot preclude the existence of Saint Christopher guilds in these urban centres simply because they are not mentioned in wills. Wills are not wholly reflective of the composition of the medieval church, and should not be treated in such a way. Most references come from smaller settlements, such as the fishing village of Greenwich (Kent), where three testators are recorded as having left money to the Saint Christopher guild in the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁹ The will of Henry Newarke (1481) is the most informative as it describes how he planned to leave 3s 4d to the Saint Christopher fraternity if there were enough priests (presumably to say

¹⁶⁵ CRO. B/Bod 314/3, membrane 14.

¹⁶⁶ CRO. B/Bod 314/3, membrane 49. If the light was at Berry, this demotion from guild to joint light would account for the absence of references to gifts from a Saint Christopher guild to the Berry chapel in the following 1501-1514 accounts.

¹⁶⁷ Orme 2000, 87.

¹⁶⁸ Whiting 1983, 72, 79-80, 84.

¹⁶⁹ 'Parish Churches of West Kent' 1895, 246.

prayers for his soul) on the day of his death: ‘To the sustentacon of the fraternite of the holly suruices of Saynt C’ristofer wt in the same churche yff ther be dew minestres to the sayd fraternite at the day of my deth’.¹⁷⁰ Of the five guild references from the Sussex wills, only the Arundel brotherhood is located in an urban centre, and in 1487, John Page left 6d to the ‘Fraternitati Sancti Christoferi’ in the church there.¹⁷¹ The other four allusions are to guilds in smaller rural churches, including the village of Felpham where in c.1535, John Lende left ‘to the Brotherhood of Saynt Xpofer iiij ewes’, and John Coke bequeathed ‘To Saynt Xpofer Brotherhed of Felgham a cow’.¹⁷² The tiny village of Lydd and the small market town of Lyminge (Sussex) also boasted brotherhoods of Saint Christopher. In 1479, John Alwey left 4d to the former, and in 1497 Jas. Deryng bequeathed a bushel of barley to the latter.¹⁷³ In the Lincoln wills there are just two references to a guild at Sleaford. The first is the will of John Jobson, fishmonger of the City of Lincoln, who bequeathed 3s 4d to the Saint Christopher guild, and a great brass pot to the guilds of Holy Trinity and Saint Christopher.¹⁷⁴ Joan Anson of Rowston also left 2d to the Saint Christopher guild in the same church in 1529.¹⁷⁵

Stocks associated with Saint Christopher appear in just three of the sample wills. Stocks were usually collections of money or goods managed by the churchwardens, members of the parish, or guild or light wardens. They were used as capital for the purchase of essentials such as lights and wax, as in the accounts of the Saint George light at Bethersden, where the wardens recorded the stock as two cows.¹⁷⁶ In 1522, William Ovenell also mentions the stock for the Saint Christopher light in his testament: ‘I will that the stok of Saynt Cristofer light be made worth xxs of my proper costs’.¹⁷⁷ In 1524-1525, John Gawne bequeathed to ‘Seynt Crystoferes Stoke, a yewe’ at Felpham.¹⁷⁸ This may be a reference to a stock belonging to or associated

¹⁷⁰ ‘Parish Churches of West Kent’ 1895, 246. William Everyth (mariner and haberdasher of London) and William Stephenes (chandler) left sums of money to the Saint Christopher guild at Greenwich in 1454 and 1456 respectively.

¹⁷¹ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 1) 1935, 44.

¹⁷² *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 2) 1936-1937, 148

¹⁷³ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 201, 203.

¹⁷⁴ *Lincoln Wills* (Vol. 1) 1914, 149.

¹⁷⁵ *Lincoln Wills* (Vol. 2) 1918, 143.

¹⁷⁶ *Churchwardens’ Accounts at Bettrysden* 1928, 51.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Parish Churches of West Kent’ 1895, 255.

¹⁷⁸ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 2) 1936-1937, 144.

with the brotherhood of Saint Christopher in the same church, mentioned in the will of John Lende (above).¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ *Transcripts of Sussex Wills* (Vol. 2) 1936-1937, 148.

Part Four: Visual Evidence for Patronage

It has already been demonstrated in Chapter Three that in certain cases, Saint Christopher wall paintings were commissioned and financed by individuals (or families). This was particularly the case where chantry and private chapels were concerned, and it is probable that the images in the Digby Chapel at Stoke Dry (Rutland) and the Ardene Chapel at Latton (Essex) were paid for by the respective families (Plates 5 and 22). This final section will examine the visual evidence found within Saint Christopher wall paintings located in naves and public areas of churches, and attempt to assess what it reveals about the nature of the individuals connected with the images. Using visual evidence as a source for patronage is fraught with difficulties. This is partly because it tends to manifest itself in the form of heraldry and coats-of-arms, phenomena which create their own particular problems for modern researchers. Much of the heraldry associated with the lesser gentry and land-owning classes of the medieval period is not recorded in the main reference guides such as Burke and Marshall.¹⁸⁰ These families were often branches of the major landowning or urban families, and therefore their armorial bearings were slightly or even significantly different. The quartering of arms through marriage, or the modification by younger sons for difference, also causes problems when attempting to identify the bearings. A second difficulty arises from the nature of medieval wall painting. As will be demonstrated in the case studies below, it is sometimes extremely difficult to identify coats-of-arms in paintings that are fragmentary or crumbling. In addition to this, is never entirely clear to what extent armorial bearings have been repainted or reconstructed at some point in the past by over-zealous and inventive restorers wanting to create their own designs from imagination rather than reality.

Any image displaying heraldic shields or coats-of-arms is almost certainly linked to gentry or land-owning families in some way. They serve to demonstrate that although much of the patronage associated with smaller churches came from the less well-off or untitled individuals, there were still powerful connections between more prominent families and parish churches. There are just four recorded instances of Saint Christopher wall paintings that bear (or bore) coats-of-arms. It is likely that there

¹⁸⁰ Burke 1884; Marshall, G.W., *The Genealogists' Guide*, Guildford 1893.

were once more in existence, but in comparison with the number of recorded wall paintings of the saint, this is a very small number. Unlike tombs, brasses and chantry chapels, nave wall paintings were generally not conceived as personal and visual extensions of the individual associated with the image. The space was mainly public and communal, and paintings in it were very often a product of collective financing and effort. This is not to say that there was no individual or ‘gentry’ funding of paintings. However, it should be remembered that such an association does not automatically mean that the image was paid for entirely by the individual or individuals associated with the heraldry. Each case needs to be examined individually before more precise conclusions can be drawn.

Molesworth

The Saint Christopher wall painting at Molesworth is poorly preserved, and much of the original image is fragmented and discoloured beyond recognition. There are also signs of modern restoration. The timber-framed house in the background has braced panels made of concave lozenges which, according to Pevsner, were not introduced until after about 1575.¹⁸¹ This means that it must be a product of a post-Reformation restoration (and probably modern as the painting was only uncovered at the end of the nineteenth century).¹⁸² The thick, deliberate outlining of the figures of Saint Christopher and the hermit are also indicative of over-eager nineteenth or twentieth-century restoration. In the top-left and top-right spandrels of the painting are the remains of two heraldic shields. The former is largely colourless and fragmented, but the third quarter is clearer and bears *a chevron between three pheons [or arrows] and an annulet for difference*.¹⁸³ These emblems are almost certainly the arms of the Forster or Foster family. Although this dynastic branch is not listed in Burke, the Forsters of Aldermaston (Berkshire) are described as having a very similar set of arms (*sable a chevron engraved between three arrows ar.*).¹⁸⁴ The Forster family held the

¹⁸¹ Pevsner, N., *Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon, and Peterborough*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1968, 294.

¹⁸² Pevsner 1968, 294.

¹⁸³ Inskip, S., Page, W., Proby, G., eds., *The Victoria History of the County of Huntingdon*, Vol. 3, London 1936, 96.

¹⁸⁴ Burke 1884, 368.

manor of Molesworth and the advowson of the church from at least 1465.¹⁸⁵ Agnes Forster was the first member of the family to have this honour, seemingly from 1465, and she presented to the church in 1475 and 1484.¹⁸⁶ Agnes was the widow of Stephan Forster, fishmonger, Member of Parliament for London in 1435, auditor of the City between 1439 and 1443, and Lord Mayor in 1454.¹⁸⁷ It has been the general consensus of twentieth-century researchers that Stephan Forster was responsible for commissioning the Molesworth painting. Whaite was one of the first to draw attention to the coats-of-arms in this painting in 1929, claiming that the image might have been painted ‘to celebrate Forster becoming Lord Mayor in 1454’.¹⁸⁸ This falsehood has crept unchecked into present day studies, with certain scholars adding that it was Stephan himself who commissioned and paid for the painting:

One (of the shields) is thought to be that of a local man called Forster who became Lord Mayor of London in 1454 – he may have paid for this St. Christopher to be made, perhaps to celebrate his Mayorship [sic].¹⁸⁹

This association of the Molesworth painting with Stephan Forster is a myth, a fabrication that can be proved erroneous on a number of accounts. First, a number of stylistic traits suggest that it is actually later than the mid-fifteenth century. It is a general rule that as the fifteenth century progresses, the figure of the saint becomes increasingly cumbersome, and the background detail of the painting becomes gradually more extensive and diverse in representation (see Chapter Five). The bulky legs and enormous feet at Molesworth are indicative of this period, and these features can be compared to the paintings at Layer Marney (Essex) and Breage (Cornwall) (Plates 26 and 27). The second reason for doubting the mid-fifteenth-century date is that the nave of the church was rebuilt in the late fifteenth century when the present

¹⁸⁵ Turner, G.J., *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines Relating to the County of Huntingdonshire*, London 1913, 110.

¹⁸⁶ Noble, W.M., *Incumbents of the County of Huntingdonshire*, Huntingdonshire Record Office, Undated; Inskip, Page and Proby, *VCH* 1936, 93.

¹⁸⁷ NA. Prob/11/4. Will of Stephan Forster of London; NA. Prob/11/7. Will of Agnes Forster, Widow of London; Beaven, B.B., *Aldermen of the City of London*, Vol. 1, London 1908, 291. Beaven, B.B., *Aldermen of the City of London*, Vol. 2, London 1913, 9.

¹⁸⁸ Whaite 1929, 33.

¹⁸⁹ Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/molecris.htm

tower was added.¹⁹⁰ It is probable that the reconstruction of the building would have eradicated all wall paintings previously present, and provided clean space for new images. If this were the case, then the wall paintings were executed some forty years after the death of Stephan Forster in 1458.¹⁹¹ It is not clear whether the Saint Christopher mural is exactly contemporary with the rebuilding of the nave, but the fact that the Saint Anthony painting on the south wall is stylistically very similar suggests that the paintings were once part of a larger scheme that covered the wall of the nave. The final reason for disassociating the Molesworth painting from the patronage of Stephan Forster is that there appears to be absolutely no mention of Molesworth in his will. Of course, this does not mean that he completely detached himself from the parish, manor or church during his lifetime, but it is rather curious that his last testament is so London-centred. He chose:

To be buried in the church of St. Botulph near Billingsgate in London in a place considered suitable by my executors, [and that] any tithes and oblations outstanding to be offered at the high altar of this church along with a singular gift of 40s. so that the rector will especially pray for my soul; I also bequeath 40s. for the fabric of this church.¹⁹²

Other gifts were very large, and included £10 for the purchase of victuals and vestments for the inmates of the Hospital of Saint Mary of Bethlehem without Bishopsgate, and 100s to be distributed among the paupers or inmates of the Hospitals of Saint Mary in Bishopsgate within the city of London, Saint Bartholomew's in West Smithfield, Saint Mary's in Runcyvale near Charing Cross, and Saint Thomas's in Southwark. He also left £20:

¹⁹⁰ Pevsner 1968, 294; RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Huntingdonshire*, London 1926, 183; Page, Proby and Inskip, *VCH* 1936, 96.

¹⁹¹ NA. Prob/11/4. Will of Stephan Forster of London

¹⁹² NA. Prob/11/4. Will of Stephan Forster of London. I am grateful to Dr Paulus Dryburgh for assisting with the translation of this document.

For all of the offertory boxes of my trade of fishmongers in
Old Fish Street, Thames Street and Bridge Street in London
to be put towards the care of the poor and the sick of that
district, which is to say ten marks for each box.¹⁹³

The heraldry in the church at Molesworth gives us no clue as to the identity of the member of the Forster family associated with the painting, and it has not been possible to trace the ‘owner’ of the arms. The Forster arms, barely visible on the left-hand shield, are quartered with *on a fesse three roundels*, an attribute which probably marks a marriage between the Forsters and another family.¹⁹⁴ Agnes Forster left Molesworth to her son John Forster and his heirs, with the remainder to her daughter and son-in-law, Robert and Agnes Morton and their successors. A further remainder went to Alice and Agnes, the daughters of Robert Forster (another son of Agnes Forster).¹⁹⁵ Agnes Forster died in 1484, and by 1506 or 1507, Robert and Agnes Morton had come into possession of the manor because Agnes presented to the church.¹⁹⁶ The *on a fesse three roundels* evident in the Molesworth painting does not appear to tally with any of the arms of the various branches of the Morton family.¹⁹⁷ It has been impossible to trace the family name of the wife of John Foster (although we know from Agnes’ will that her Christian name was Johan), and the will of John Forster II does not appear to have survived.¹⁹⁸ It is tempting to associate the image with John Forster II (d.1484), but it is unclear whether John Forster I (d.1458) had an annulet for difference on his coat-of-arms, or whether it was a device adopted by his son to differentiate himself from his father.

The inclusion of coats-of-arms within an image does not automatically mean that the family or family member contracted and financed the entire project. It is possible that the Forsters granted a significant proportion of the money for the wall painting at Molesworth, or that they were involved in the running of a general fund for financing the paintings. Without documentary evidence however, it is impossible to be entirely certain of the circumstances of funding and commissioning.

¹⁹³ NA. Prob/11/4. Will of Stephan Forster of London

¹⁹⁴ Page, Proby and Inskip, *VCH* 1936, 96.

¹⁹⁵ Page, Proby and Inskip, *VCH* 1936, 93.

¹⁹⁶ NA. Prob/11/7. Will of Agnes Forster, Widow of London.
Page, Proby and Inskip, *VCH* 1936, 93.

¹⁹⁷ Burke 1884; Marshall 1893.

¹⁹⁸ NA. Prob/11/7. Will of Agnes Forster, Widow of London.

Ashby St. Ledgers

The second case study is the Saint Christopher wall painting at Ashby St. Ledgers (Northamptonshire) (Plate 12). This has also proved to be an extremely complicated image, not least because there appear to be at least two layers of painting on the north wall. To the east of the painting there are two separate borders. The bolder, reddish-coloured frame cuts straight through the shield to the top-left of the Saint Christopher painting, suggesting that it is probably of a later date. The second is composed of two lines twisted or plaited together, and is positioned less than a metre to the east of the first. The same pattern is visible running along the top of the Saint Christopher figure, and half way down the west side. This border almost certainly belongs to the currently visible image, for it neatly encloses the saint equally on both sides. The image was also restored in the 1990s (and perhaps after its re-discovery in 1927), and the thick outlining around the figure of Saint Christopher is indicative of modern over-restoration.¹⁹⁹ Identifying the bearings on the three coats-of-arms in the painting is a difficult task because the paintwork is fragmented in places.

Most of the heraldry in the church at Ashby St. Ledgers (including seven brasses dating from between c.1405 and the 1550s, and a number of fragments of medieval glass) is associated with the Catesby family.²⁰⁰ The shield in the top left-hand corner of the Saint Christopher painting bears the arms of the Cranford family (*gules, a fret or, chief argent*).²⁰¹ John Catesby I of Ladbroke (Warwickshire) (d.1404 / 1405) married Emma Cranford of Ashby St. Ledgers (d.1433) about 1380, and the lordship of Ashby transferred into the Catesby family after 1374.²⁰² The Cranford family appeared in Ashby St. Ledgers during the reign of King John, when William de Cranford and Leodegarius de Diva were recorded as holding one knight's fee, and in 1315, Nicholas Cranford and Nicholas de Stoke are mentioned as being in possession

¹⁹⁹ Bertram, J., ed., *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire*, Monumental Brass Society, No. 3, London 2006, xxii. I am grateful to Bruce Turton (Churchwarden) for providing me with invaluable information about the Saint Christopher mural at Ashby St. Ledgers.

²⁰⁰ Bertram 2006, xx, xxii.

²⁰¹ Baker, G., *History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*, Vol. 1, London 1822, 241. The 'lions' are said generally thought to be cats, a rebus of the 'Catesby' family name. Information from Bruce Turton (November 2004).

²⁰² Payling, S., 'Never "desire to be grete about princes, for it is daungeros": The Rise and Fall of the Fifteenth-Century Catesbys', in *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire*, Bertram, J., ed., Monumental Brass Society, No. 3, London 2006, 1-17, 2, 3. *History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton* (Vol. 1) 1822, 242, 245.

of the Lordship.²⁰³ There are also two coats-of-arms to the east of the Saint Christopher painting. The top shield bears the arms of Ladbroke (the family of John Catesby I) quartered with Catesby (*argent, two lions passant gardant sable, crowned or*).²⁰⁴ The second displays the arms of Catesby (the second quarter is no longer visible), Bradeston and Mountfort, with an inscription which reads: 'Johis Catesby'.²⁰⁵ This records the 1414 marriage of John Catesby II (d.1437), son of John Catesby I, to Margaret Mountfort (d. after 1450), co-heiress of William Mountfort and his wife Rose Brandeston.²⁰⁶

It is not entirely clear whether the armorial bearings to the east of the Saint Christopher wall painting are contemporary with the painting itself. The second border, which almost certainly belongs to the currently visible Saint Christopher image, crosses the lower of the two shields to the east of the painting (although modern plastering on this spot makes it impossible to detect which is the earliest layer of paint). However, a stylistic analysis of the mural suggests that the second border is contemporary with the painting, and that the mural may ultimately be associated with John Catesby II.²⁰⁷ The relatively slender figure of the saint, his raised leg invoking a sense of movement, indicates that the image dates from the early fifteenth century (see Chapter Five). Whether the Catesbys were wholly responsible for commissioning and financing the Ashby painting is not clear. John Catesby I was Member of Parliament for Warwickshire, and his son was sheriff of the county of Northamptonshire and purchased Althorp in the time of Henry V, so there was certainly money enough in the family to fund a wall painting.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Whalley, P., ed., *The History and Antiquity of Northamptonshire Compiled from the Manuscript Collections of the Late and Learned Antiquary John Bridges Esq.*, Vol. 1, Oxford 1791, 15.

²⁰⁴ Bertram 2006, xxii.

²⁰⁵ Bertram 2006, xxii.

²⁰⁶ Badham, S., Saul, N., 'The Catesbys' Taste in Brasses', in *The Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St. Ledgers, Northamptonshire*, Bertram, J., ed., Monumental Brass Society, No. 3, London 2006, 36-75, 44; Payling 2006, 3.

²⁰⁷ Payling 2006, 2, 3.

²⁰⁸ Baker (Vol. 1) 1822, 245.

Hengrave and Henstridge

Two heraldic shields are visually recorded in the lost Saint Christopher wall painting at Hengrave (Suffolk). A drawing of the image, published by Gage in his history of the parish in 1822, clearly shows the shields in the top left and top right-hand corners of the murl.²⁰⁹ The left-hand shield is blank (probably because the painting was poorly preserved in Gage's day), but the right-hand shield clearly bears a lion rampant, the first quarter of the Stapleton coat-of-arms: *argent, a lion rampant, sable*.²¹⁰ Anne Stapleton married Thomas Hethe (d.1439), lord of the manor of Hengrave, which suggests that the Saint Christopher painting post-dates the union of the two families (which is unrecorded, but which must have taken place before 1439).²¹¹ It is also probable that the mural pre-dates the sale of the manor to the Stafford family in 1440 (although one cannot exclude the possibility that the Staffords deliberately incorporated the Stapleton coat-of-arms in to ensure that their newly-acquired status as manorial lords was rooted firmly in the past).²¹² There was certainly close interaction between the manorial tenants and Hengrave church. The latter is attached to the manor house, and certainly the Kytson family (who acquired the manor after 1521) were buried in the church from at least 1522.²¹³ However, it is not clear whether the manorial tenants were entirely responsible for commissioning and financing the Saint Christopher wall painting, or whether parishioners contributed to funding.

Heraldry is also recorded in the lost Saint Christopher wall painting at Henstridge (Somerset). The image was uncovered during the 1872-1873 restorations, and it was noted at this time that the arms of the Toomer and Carent families were visible in the painting.²¹⁴ No illustration of this mural has come to light as yet, and until such a time, it is not clear whether the heraldry took the form of shields, or whether or not they were quartered. The Toomers had held land in Henstridge since 1303, and in

²⁰⁹ Gage, J., *The History and Antiquities of Hengrave in Suffolk*, London 1822, Plate 8.

²¹⁰ Burke 1884, 2313-2314.

²¹¹ Gage 1822, 178, 229.

²¹² Gage 1822, 98.

²¹³ Gage, 1822, 102. Thomas Kytson arranged to purchase the manor of Hengrave in 1521 from the Stafford family (Dukes of Buckingham since the time of Henry VI), who had held the position from 1440. The sale was postponed for a short time because the Duke of Buckingham was arrested for high treason in 1521; Pevsner and Radcliffe 2002, 262. The current manor house was begun c.1525.

²¹⁴ Dunning, R.W., ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Somerset*, Vol. 7, Oxford 1999, 118.

1409, the two families were united when the estate passed to Alice (d.c.1414), wife of William Carent (died c.1422).²¹⁵ Their grandson John (d.1483) is buried in the elaborate canopied altar-tomb with two effigies still visible in the church today.²¹⁶ We know that the tomb actually dates from c.1463 (when his wife Margaret Stourton died), because Bishop Beckington of Wells granted forty days indulgence to all the true penitents who went to the tomb and devoutly said a *Pater Noster* and an *Ave* for William Carent, his family, and their souls.²¹⁷ Around the cornice of the tomb are twelve shields bearing the arms of Toomer (*gules, three bars wavy argent*), Carent (*argent, three torteaux, each charged with three chevronels gules*) and Stourton (*sable a bend or between two fountains*).²¹⁸ Exactly how this heraldry relates to the Saint Christopher wall painting is unclear (although the inclusion of the Carent arms means that the image must post-date the passing of the estate into the hands of William Carent at the beginning of the fourteenth century).

²¹⁵ Dunning, *VCH* 1999, 112.

²¹⁶ Dunning, *VCH* 1999, 112.

²¹⁷ Anon, 'Second Excursion: Carent Monument', *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings*, Vol. 16, 1870, 42-45, 42; Dunning, *VCH* 1999, 118.

²¹⁸ Hutchins, J., *A History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, Vol. 4, 3rd Edition., Shipp, W., Whitworth Hodson, J., eds., Wakefield 1973, 111.

Conclusion

The main difficulty with attempting to assess medieval patronage patterns in provincial churches is that there is generally little or no evidence relating to the building. Wills and churchwardens' accounts occasionally provide an insight into various types of image patronage, but it is rare that these make specific reference to Saint Christopher wall paintings. Three sets of wills (relating to Kent, Sussex and Lincolnshire) and around thirty churchwardens' accounts have been systematically examined for references to evidence of Saint Christopher patronage. Although these sources are fraught with difficulties, they indicate that devotion to the saint took the form of donations to altars, guilds, and lights burning before his image, gifts towards the repair and creation of his image, and burial before his likeness.

Patronage came not only from individual members of the gentry (as traditionally assumed), but also from untitled lay people and more ordinary members of the community who often donated small amounts of money to a communal fund. Just four (extant or documented) Saint Christopher wall paintings have heraldry which associates the image with a particular family, but in most cases there is little evidence to suggest that the family actually paid for the image. The amount spent on wall paintings was generally very small in the more provincial churches. The painter at Berry Tower in Bodmin was paid just 2s 4d for the new painting of Saint Christopher, and the average bequest to a Saint Christopher image in the selected wills was only 5s.

CHAPTER FIVE: A CHRONOLOGY OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER WALL PAINTING

Part One: Methodology and Sources

The aim of this chapter is to establish a chronology of wall paintings of Saint Christopher in England (and Wales) based upon architectural, documentary and visual evidence, and on comparisons with other media. The murals have been assembled from a variety of sources. The main process of compilation, however, has been my visiting and photographing *in situ* as many of the existing paintings as possible. About 127 of a corpus of around 206 extant Saint Christopher wall paintings have been examined in this manner. It is important to analyse medieval images within the context of their original surroundings, not least because factors such as architectural setting and spatial relationships with other visual depictions may give some indication of an approximate date of execution. Where it has been impossible to view the painting itself, it has been necessary to resort to reproductions. A large number of photographic images are available online, appear in articles or books, or can be examined at the Courtauld Institute's Conway Library. These can bring to light features and details within the painting that may have disappeared. There are a number of disadvantages to using photographic reproductions as a visual source for medieval wall painting, however, including the fact that those found in library collections or printed books are often black and white, of distorted colour, or of poor visual quality (rendering it even more difficult to ascertain whether they have been over-painted or restored). Hand-drawn or painted reproductions have also been utilized when the original wall painting is inaccessible or lost. Such reproductions tend to date from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century (before the ubiquitous use of photography in the study of church wall painting), and are exceedingly valuable sources for both lost and extant paintings. Although they present a duplicate of a painting that would otherwise have vanished forever, there are limitations to using these secondary visual resources. If a wall painting is no longer in existence, then there is no guarantee that a reproduction is an accurate rendition of the original image. Many (including those executed by Tristram and Clive Rouse) are of high quality, and contain meticulous detail and convincing characteristics analogous to those found in other paintings of the period. Yet others are little more than outline

sketches or blocks of colour, some of which lack explicit features, modelling or shading, like the lost Saint Christopher at Middleton (Suffolk) illustrated in 1909. In this particular case, the limitation of the artist's style makes it almost impossible to assess the specific characteristics of the painting.¹

A chronology of Saint Christopher wall paintings derived exclusively from dates advanced in secondary sources (such as Pevsner's *Buildings of England* series, the *Victoria County History*, the *Royal Commission on Church Monuments*, and from the work of authors such as Tristram, Caiger-Smith, Keyser, Whaite and Salmon), would be of little academic value. Previous attempts at dating the murals are not watertight, and it is quite usual for different authors to assign very different dates to one painting, dates which may vary from ten to one hundred years (or more). For instance, Collier argued that the Saint Christopher wall painting at Shorwell (Isle of Wight) was fourteenth century in origin, Cox claimed that c.1470 was more realistic, and Marshall suggested a date of c.1440 (Plate 31).² Yet it will be demonstrated (below) that the style and features suggest that the mural is almost certainly of sixteenth-century origin. It is also rare for secondary authors to explain why they assign a particular date to an image, a factor which leads the modern scholar with no choice but to doubt and question their methods and approaches. Thus, it is thus time for a major overhaul of the chronology of the corpus of Saint Christopher paintings.

Compiling a chronological sequence of around 378 Saint Christopher images is a complex and demanding undertaking. It is very often impossible to assign an accurate date to a wall painting for which no visual or documentary evidence survives. A lost Saint Christopher at Lower Gravenhurst (Bedfordshire), for instance, is mentioned (though not dated) by both Keyser and Whaite.³ Neither author gives a source reference, and as there appears to be no secondary visual or written source relating to the image (which is listed as 'whitewashed' in 1883), it simply cannot be placed within the chronological scheme with any accuracy.⁴ Even when a painting survives,

¹ Ganz, C., 'Middleton, Suffolk: A Mural Painting', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, Vol. 13, 1909, 222-224, 222. The illustration is anonymous.

² Collier 1905, 143; Cox, C., *The Isle of Wight: Its Churches and Religious Houses*, London 1911, 151; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/shorcris.htm

³ Keyser 1883 (A), 311; Whaite 1929, 41.

⁴ Keyser 1883 (A), 311.

it is frequently impossible to date it with any certainty. The vast proportion of medieval wall painting is either incomplete and fragmented, or confused because of the multi-layering of medieval paint or post-Reformation script. Many images consist simply of figure outlines, the modelling, colouring or detail having been lost. It is far more difficult to date murals in such a condition, or to compare them with other forms of visual media in the hope of making a stylistic or iconographic chronological link. If a painting appears to be complete, it is frequently because it has been restored (often erroneously) by a modern hand. Even in recent years, restorers have used garish colours, thick dark outlines, and have misinterpreted original features. The fabricated reconstruction of the Saint Christopher wall painting at Ditchet (Somerset) occurred in 1931.⁵ The Christ Child was removed from his usual fifteenth-century place on the saint's shoulders, relegated to a new position at the saint's waist, and replaced by an angel clasping an orb.

It has been possible to produce a loose, revised chronology of Saint Christopher wall paintings using three main dating techniques: first, an assessment of the images themselves (including visual evidence such as heraldry, donor figures and architectural settings); secondly, an examination of any written documentation relating to the church; and thirdly, a stylistic comparison with other forms of medieval images (including stained-glass, sculpture, illuminations and woodcuts). Because the evidence for image creation is sparse and has so many shortcomings, it is not usually possible to assign a wall painting to a specific decade. A broader dating band has therefore been used, and murals placed within the confines of approximately twenty-five to thirty years (hence the third or quarterly division of a century). A similar method has been employed by Marks, who maintains that dating medieval images is an inexact science, and that early, middle, late and end roughly correspond with quarter centuries.⁶ Around seventy percent of the existing or documented Saint Christopher wall paintings can be roughly dated in this manner, and these form markers within the chronological scheme to which other paintings (for which no dating evidence is available) can be attached. However, it should be remembered that these dating bands are approximate, and that development of styles and typologies

⁵ Anon, *Saint Mary Magdalene, Ditchet* (Church Guide), Undated.

⁶ Marks 2004, 3.

within all forms of image were uneven during the medieval period. In the case of Saint Christopher depictions, it was not uncommon for features to virtually disappear, only to be resuscitated and recycled some years later. Constraints of time and space have made it impossible to examine all the surviving wall paintings in England (and Wales) in detail. The paintings selected for close inspection in this study are those that illustrate the stylistic and iconographical development of the Saint Christopher wall painting in the most precise and informative manner.

Method One: The Wall Painting and its Setting

The first method of establishing an approximate date for a Saint Christopher wall painting is to examine the image *in situ*. Execution or benefaction dates do not generally accompany wall painting, so it is necessary to search for less obvious indications amid the heraldry, donor figures and architectural features. Armorial bearings occasionally appear in Saint Christopher paintings (for instance, at Ashby St. Ledgers [Northamptonshire] and Molesworth [Cambridgeshire]), and can help to associate an image with particular donors or families, and thereby establish a rough date of execution (see Chapter Four) (Plates 12 and 25). The owners can usually be traced by examining antiquarian material and genealogical reference books, but the process is complicated by the fact that different armorial bearings borne by different branches on the same family can be easily confused. Heraldic evidence rarely does more than associate a wall painting with a particular family. Even if a shield is quartered to indicate the joining of two families by marriage, it only serves to confirm the earliest date at which the painting may have been executed. Donor figures can assist in establishing an approximate date for an image, but they are very rarely found in wall painting. One example is the diminutive figure holding a prayer scroll bearing the words ‘dominey richard’ in the Saint Christopher wall painting at St. Albans Abbey. Although the figure is not distinct enough for any positive identification to be made, the inscription suggests that the painting may have been painted during the abbacy of Richard of Wallingford (between 1326 and 1335).⁷ The inclusion of a

⁷ Roberts, E., *The Wall Paintings of St. Albans Abbey*, St. Albans 1993, Plate 9; Page, W., ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Hertfordshire*, Vol. 2, London 1908, 486; Binski 1992, 262. I am

particular saint or bishop in a wall painting may also inform of the earliest point at which the image could have been executed. This is the case at Black Bourton (Oxfordshire) where the incorporation of Saint Richard of Chichester in the mural cycle (which includes a Saint Christopher), suggests they were executed after his death in 1253.⁸

It is also necessary to examine the architecture of the immediate area of the church in which a wall painting is located, in order to establish the age of the wall on which the image is placed. This will reveal either the latest or the earliest point at which the painting could have been executed, although the procedure is only helpful when the architecture is of a similar age to the image. A Norman wall, for example, cannot assist in dating a mural that stylistically belongs to the fifteenth century. It is also problematic to date architecture in a precise manner if the church building work is not documented, and the researcher is often reliant upon imprecise and speculative chronologies based on analysis of mouldings and stylistic comparisons. The chronology of transition between architectural and artistic periods, especially from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style in the late fourteenth century, was not consistent in speed and degree, and the typology of style differed from region to region.⁹ Yet architecture can be useful for placing paintings within a broader time scale. The fact that the clearstory at Pickering (Yorkshire) was added around 1450 obviously means that the scheme of wall paintings covering it (which include a Saint Christopher) must post-date the construction (Plate 20).¹⁰ Wall paintings are also increasingly positioned within painted or sculpted architectural settings or canopies from the fourteenth century, and these features can also help to place the image within the chronological scheme. At Aldermaston (Berkshire), for instance, the Saint Christopher figure stands in a one-dimensional painted niche, canopied by an ogee-arched gable. This attribute of the Decorated Style suggests that the painting must post-date 1291 when the ogee first appeared in England on the Eleanor Crosses, and

grateful to Norman James (St. Albans Cathedral) for helping to decipher this inscription (September 2005).

⁸ Anon, *English Mediaeval Wall Paintings of the Church of Saint Mary the Virgin, Black Bourton, Oxfordshire* (Church Guide), Undated; Bardswell and Tristram (Vol. 1) 1950, Plate 101, (Vol. 2), 508.

⁹ Coldstream, N., *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament, 1240-1360*, London 1994, 7-8, 15. For regional examples of the Decorated style, see: Clark, J., *Fourteenth Century Decorated Work in Leicestershire Churches*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leicester (Forthcoming).

¹⁰ Pevsner 1967, 282.

that it is likely to originate from the first half of the fourteenth century when the form becomes ubiquitous in English architecture and sculpture.¹¹ Chantry chapels are also invaluable indicators of the earliest date at which a wall painting located within may have been executed. The lost Saint Christopher mural once visible in the lost Hungerford Chapel at Salisbury Cathedral, for instance, must post-date the building of the chapel at the request of Lady Margaret Hungerford, which was still under construction at the time of her death in 1477 (Plate 23).¹²

It is also possible to employ depictions of costume, clothes and armour to assign an approximate date to a medieval image. Scott has emphasised the importance of examining dress, claiming that it 'provide[s] us with essential dates from which to work outwards'.¹³ From 1330 onwards, fashions changed at an unprecedented rate, and style cycles of about ten years can be identified.¹⁴ This means that in theory, it should be possible to date an image loosely by examining the clothing. However, as Scott herself admits, there are a number of drawbacks to using dress as evidence for dating visual representations. There are very few surviving or dateable medieval garments with which to compare costume as depicted in images, and as most visual sources are not securely dated, and therefore cannot function as a firm base from which to date clothing.¹⁵ A circular argument arises whereby medieval art is dated by examining the depicted costumes, and the date of the depicted costumes is based on the dating of the artwork.¹⁶ The use of clothes for dating has little relevance when attempting to order Saint Christopher wall paintings chronologically. Saints, Old Testament figures and exalted characters are typically portrayed in conventional

¹¹ Stone, L., *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth 1955, 129-130; Lindley, P., *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England*, Stamford 1995, 16, 22. The style begins to recede around the middle of the fourteenth century, giving way to the increased popularity of Perpendicular.

¹² Brown 1999, 23; Jackson 1855, 93.

¹³ Scott, M., *Late Gothic Europe, 1400-1500*, The History of Dress Series, London, Sydney and Toronto 1980, 13.

¹⁴ Sutton, A., 'Dress and Fashions c.1470', in *Daily Life in the Middle Ages*, Britnell, R., ed., Stroud 1998, 16.

¹⁵ Scott 1980, 8.

¹⁶ Scott 1980, 7; Buller, F., 'The Earliest Illustrations of an Angler', *The American Fly Fisher*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Summer 1993, 2-9, 2; There are also a number of other problems associated with using dress to date images. Because of the scale of image destruction in England, and the dominance of foreign artwork in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, much of the surviving visual evidence for contemporary dress comes from French and Flemish panels and illumination. English costume was also considered to be unusual and old-fashioned by overseas visitors, which means that drawing comparisons with the more fashionable Continental images does not ensure dating accuracy.

draperies, making it harder to assign them to a particular date or period. Although there is a clear development in the style and form of such attire throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is not relevant to the secular fashion discussed by Scott. Secondary figures frequently appear in Saint Christopher wall paintings in the fifteenth century (including the fishermen in the images at Bloxham (Oxfordshire) and Baunton (Gloucestershire), but they are usually so fragmentary, indistinct or small, that it is impossible to discern what kind of clothing they wear (Plates 24 and 29). Even when the precise nature of the costume can be established, figures are frequently dressed in simple, plain, generic tunics that might have been worn at any point in the late medieval period.

Method Two: Documentary Evidence

The second (and probably the most accurate) method of dating a medieval wall painting is to examine written documentary evidence relating to an image or building. References to the execution of artwork are found sporadically in wills, churchwardens' accounts and Liberate Rolls. However, no such data exists for the vast majority of wall paintings (even towards the end of the period when there is a marked increase in written evidence relating to church architecture), so where it does survive it is extremely important. A selection of documents has been systematically examined for allusions to Saint Christopher wall paintings, and is discussed in detail in Chapter Four. Although the infrequent references are usually dated, the accounts are generally brief and rarely describe the painting in any detail. This is the case with the will of William Hempstede (1499), which records how he left 6s 8d 'To the new painting of St. Christopher within the Church' of Saint. George in Canterbury.¹⁷ The fact that the image is neither extant nor visually documented makes it impossible to establish a precise connection between the date of the painting, and style and form. Even in the very few cases where written evidence does refer to a church in which there is an existing Saint Christopher painting, there is always the possibility that the allusion might actually denote an earlier or later image that has since disappeared. Where a Saint Christopher painting is located (or known to have been located) in a

¹⁷ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 50.

private chapel setting, the appropriate chantry certificate has been examined to establish the earliest date at which the image could have been executed. At Latton (Essex), for instance, a scheme of wall paintings (now indecipherable), once covered the walls of Peter Ardene's private chapel (Plate 22).¹⁸ The structure was probably erected around 1466 when the chantry certificate was issued, and the murals must have been added at some point after this.¹⁹ It is uncertain, however, whether they are contemporary with the construction of the chapel, or whether they were executed at a slightly later date.

Method Three: Comparison with other Forms of Imagery

An Examination of the Imagery

The third method of chronologically ordering the corpus of Saint Christopher wall paintings is to place them within a wider visual context. This has entailed examining Saint Christopher images in other types of medium (including stained glass, stone and alabaster sculpture, illuminated manuscripts, panel painting, woodcuts and brasses), establishing an approximate date of execution (where possible), and comparing the style and typology with wall painting depictions of the saint. This is undoubtedly the least accurate technique of dating images, but because of the paucity of architectural, visual or documentary evidence, it is the process applied most often in the course of this study. This inter-media comparative method of dating is used by Binski when assessing the Saint Faith altar mural and the Doubting Thomas and Saint Christopher wall paintings in Westminster Abbey.²⁰ His conjecture that the paintings date from c.1290-c.1310 is based on stylistic and iconographic comparisons with images in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle (c.1310-c.1330).²¹

¹⁸ Bettley, J., Pevsner, N., *Essex*, Buildings of England, Yale 2007, 454; Pevsner, N., Radcliffe, E., *Essex*, 2nd Edition, Revised, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1965, 222.

¹⁹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* (Vol. 5, Part 2) 1897, membrane 6, 483.

²⁰ Binski 1995, 170-171, Plate 228.

²¹ BL. MS Arundel 83 (II), folio 131v; Binski 1995, 170-171, Plate 226; Binski points out that the Saint Faith figure in the wall painting has the same streaks of rouge on her cheeks as favoured by the Psalter artist. He also suggests that the form of Saint Thomas' head, the double-lined flexible hems of the garments, and the repeat grounds, are all evident in the Psalter Crucifix.

Illuminated manuscripts have functioned as the main source for comparison, mainly because they have survived in far greater numbers than other forms of image, and because most Books of Hours had a Saint Christopher image accompanying his office by the fifteenth century. It is also easier to assign a date to an illumination, especially when it includes features such as heraldic devices, the name or image of the patron, or a new liturgical feast or festival.²² Yet it should be considered that the majority of manuscripts do not contain such information, and even when they do, it may not be entirely accurate. For instance, heraldic leaves were sometimes inserted into illuminated books many years after their original creation. The arms of the Whetenal family (*vert, a cross engrailed argent with a crescent for difference*) were probably added to the Whetenal Psalter when Oliver Whetenal was vicar of Besthorp (Norfolk) in the mid-fifteenth century, some fifty years after it was actually illuminated.²³

Other forms of medieval artwork do not survive in nearly such large numbers as illuminations, and to these it is generally more difficult to assign a precise date. It is therefore more complicated to use them as a secure base for dating Saint Christopher wall paintings. Stained-glass panels can sometimes be allocated an approximate date based on the presence of donor figures or coats-of-arms, but it is rarely clear whether a window was created during the lifetime or after the death of the donor. Sections of glass can also be transferred from one window to another, and heraldic devices are sometimes positioned with subjects to which they did not originally belong. This occurred at Thaxted (Essex), where the Grenville quartering Edward IV arms (an event which occurred on the King's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville in 1465) were inserted below the Saint Christopher panel (Plate 57).²⁴ An approximate date for the execution of tomb sculpture and commemorative brass can be assigned on the basis of the death of the patron (although Saint Christopher does not appear frequently in this medium). However, it should be considered that tombs were sometimes constructed

²² For example: A colophon in the Luttrell Psalter (c.1320-c.1340) reads: 'Dms Galfridus louterell me fiere fecit' (folio 208). There is also an image of the patron Sir Geoffrey Luttrell as a mounted knight (folio 202), and another of the Luttrell family feasting at a table; Brown, M., *The World of the Luttrell Psalter*, London 2006, 12, 38, 41 (Illustrations); British Library, London. Add MS 42130.

²³ Alexander, J.J.G., Pächt, O., *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: British, Irish and Icelandic Schools*, Vol. 3, Oxford 1973, 71; Bodleian Library, Oxford Website (The Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts): www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/don/don.html; BLO. MS Don. D85.

²⁴ Salmon 1936, 104.

years before or after the demise of the benefactor, as was the case with the canopied altar-tomb of John Toomer at Henstridge (Somerset).²⁵ John died in 1483, but the structure was actually erected c.1463 when his wife died (see Chapter Four).²⁶ The dating of alabaster images is also problematic, especially as stylistic progress becomes slower and more erratic with mass production after about 1350.²⁷ The ‘bent-leg’ Saint Christopher posture, for instance, which materialises in illumination in the middle of the fourteenth century and vanishes about one hundred years later, persists in alabaster until the late fifteenth century.²⁸ Woodcuts survive in large numbers from the beginning of the fifteenth century, but they can be challenging to date. This is partly because mass production could lead to standardisation, which in turn impeded development of themes and iconography.²⁹ Once a woodblock was created, the pattern could be used repeatedly for any number of years, meaning that it is often impossible to deduce whether the image is (stylistically speaking) cutting-edge or outmoded. Dates are sometimes included, but the tendency to copy and reproduce earlier models also resulted in the duplication of the date (as well as the picture), a process which probably explains the enigma of the Buxheim Saint Christopher woodcut from the John Rylands Library in Manchester (Plate 53).³⁰ The date 1423 is included in the text block at the bottom of the image, but the style and nature of the cutting suggests that it originates from c.1450.³¹

Transmission of Style and Form

There is little doubt that there were exchanges in style and iconography in the medieval period, not only between objects of the same medium, but also between different forms of artwork. Although the exact nature of the transfer has never been thoroughly or satisfactorily examined, a number of individual academic studies have touched on the concept of transmission. Lowden has discussed the similarities

²⁵ Second Excursion: Carent Monument 1870, 42; Dunning, *VCH* 1999, 118.

²⁶ Second Excursion: Carent Monument 1870, 42; Dunning, *VCH* 1999, 118.

²⁷ Stone 1955, 180; Cheetham, F., *Images of Medieval England*, Woodbridge 2003, 11.

²⁸ For example: V & A. Inv. No. A2-1912. Saint Christopher Alabaster Statue; Cheetham 1984, 92, Plate 21. This image dates from c.1450-c.1470.

²⁹ Parshall and Schoch 2005, 3.

³⁰ JRL. MS 366 (17249); Parshall and Schoch 2005, 48.

³¹ Parshall and Schoch 2005, 153, 155.

between seven illuminated French Bibles *Moralisees* dating from the 1220s to the early fifteenth century, claiming that text and image parallels between the first three or four manuscripts can be explained by the fact that they were created by the same craftsmen.³² Transmission between different media has been considered by Rackham and Baty in their analysis of the evolution of a Jesse stained-glass window at Llanrhaiadr in Denbighshire, where they trace the typology to an earlier seated Jesse woodcut print of c.1470.³³ Wayment also examined the Passion scenes in the windows at Balliol College in Oxford (originally painted for Cardinal College by James Nicholson and passed on after Wolsey's demise), and concluded that they were based on a series of Dürer's prints.³⁴

Although very little has been written specifically on the relationship between wall painting and other media, it is clear that stylistic and iconographic transmission did occur. Kitzinger concluded that the thirteenth-century cycle of scenes from the Genesis wall painting in San Marco, Venice were modelled very closely on the illustrations in the fifth or sixth-century Bible in the British Library (known as the Cotton Genesis).³⁵ In the case of more fashionable wall painting, the interchange of iconography may have been a two-way process, and wall paintings may have led (rather than emulated) artistic fashions. The Limbourg brothers are known to have based some of their compositions either directly or indirectly on murals and frescoes (as well as on sketchbooks and panel paintings).³⁶ For example, the picturesque costumes and extravagant head dresses of the figures in the *Tres Riches Heures*

³² Lowden, J., *The Making of the Bible Moralisee*, Penn State University 2000, Vol. 1, 3-9, 273-274.

³³ Rackham, B., Baty, C.W., 'The Jesse Tree at Llanrhaiadr, Denbighshire', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 80, 1942, 62-66, 121-124, 65.

³⁴ Wayment, H., 'Wolsey and Stained Glass', in *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, Gunn, S.T., Lindley, P., eds., Cambridge 1991, 116-130, 126; See also: Harrison, K., 'Designs from Dürer in the Windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 96, 1954, 349; Wayment, H., 'The Late Glass in King's College Chapel: Dierick Vellert and Peter Nicholson', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 84, 121-142, 1995. Wayment has also discussed the influence of the woodcut designs of Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Van Leyden, Peter Coeck, Bernard Van Orley, and other engravers on the windows of King's College in Cambridge. For instance, he points to the use of the Coeckian pattern for a minor figure in the Christ Nailed to the Cross panel.; New is currently working on the transmission of style and form between seals and brasses: New, E., 'Episcopal Seals and Bishops' Tombs: Some Comparative Thoughts', Unpublished Monumental Brass Society Conference Paper, September 2009.

³⁵ Kitzinger, E., 'The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration', in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Weitzmann, K., Loerke, W.C., Kitzinger, E., Buchthal, H., eds., Princeton 1975, 99-142, Figures 3 and 4; BL. MS Cotton Otho B VI.

³⁶ Schacherl, L., *Tres Riches Heures: Behind the Gothic Masterpiece*, Munich and New York 1997, 75, 81, 97.

Purification of the Virgin scene, for example, are slightly altered copies of Taddeo Gaddi's fresco in Santa Croce, Florence.³⁷ Transmission also took place between wall paintings, as evidenced by the stylistic parallels visible in the Westminster murals (c.1290-c.1310) and the Little Wenham images (c.1310-c.1320).³⁸

There is very little evidence to suggest precisely how the diffusion of images and iconography occurred. Models, copy drawings and cursory sketches were probably used by assistants in panel painting and illumination workshops, and these may have been put out into general circulation when they were finished.³⁹ Craftsmen might have copied directly from other images (possibly after viewing the depiction itself within the workshop, or when complete and *in situ*), and verbal instructions may also have provided guidance.⁴⁰ In addition, there were probably intermediary generic pattern books and stock designs in circulation for wall painters to use, though no example specifically for the purpose has ever come to light.⁴¹ It should be considered that transmission from one medium did not necessarily result in a reproduction that was an exact copy of the original. Artists and craftsmen adapted images to fit their own purposes, desires and styles, and designs sometimes had to be modified to suit an image of a vastly different scale or size. In the case of Saint Christopher depictions, it is noticeable that background features such as ships and the hermit became more common from the beginning of the fifteenth century in wall painting, but not in alabaster and sculpture. This was largely for the very practical reason that it is rather more difficult to render sweeping vistas and landscapes into a piece of work which ostensibly has no background. It was not common for artists to work in more than one medium as each area required rather different skills, but it might happen from time to time. In fifteenth-century Norwich for example, the glazing workshop owned by Thomas Goldbeater included painters, and one of his apprentices became a freeman painter.⁴²

³⁷ Musée Conde, Chatilly. MS 65, folio 54v; Schacherl 1997, 97, 96 (Illustration).

³⁸ Binski 1995, 170-171, Plates 218 and 228.

Park 1987, 128, Plate 128.

³⁹ Jones, S., 'The Use of Patterns by Jan Van Eyck's Assistants and Followers', in *Investigating Jan Van Eyck*, Foister, S., Jones, S., eds., Turnhout 2000, 197-207, 198; Lowden 2000, 3-9, 273-274.

⁴⁰ Jones 2000, 198; Lowden 2000 (Vol. 1) 3-9, 273-274.

⁴¹ Kitzinger 1975, 108, 109, 115-120; Jones 2000, 202; Lowden, 2000 (Vol 1), 1, 9.

⁴² Rosewell 2008, 112.

Dating Saint Christopher Wall Paintings from other Types of Imagery

The supposition employed in this study is that there may have been an interval of up to twenty or thirty years between the appearance of a style in ‘cutting-edge’ and exclusive media (such as stained-glass, illumination and panel painting), and its emergence in murals of inferior quality.⁴³ This hypothesis is suggested by the case of the Little Wenham paintings (c.1310-c.1320), which have stylistic links with the Westminster murals (including Saint Faith, Doubting Thomas and Saint Christopher) executed at some point in the preceding thirty years (c.1290-c.1310).⁴⁴ It is almost impossible to establish that this gap existed in the case of Saint Christopher wall paintings because most simply cannot be dated in such a precise manner. However, an examination of the mural at Ashby St. Ledgers, which contains heraldic evidence, suggests that such a time-lag may have been common. The wall painting can be relatively firmly dated on the basis that it must post-date the marriage of John Catesby to Margaret Montfort (1414), an occasion which is represented by quartering of the two families in the shield to the right of the image (see Chapter Four).⁴⁵ The image has stylistic and iconographical links with illumination dating from fifteen or more years earlier, including a Pepysian Library illustrator’s model book (c.1400).⁴⁶ It should also be considered that artistic trends probably took rather longer to filter down into poorer quality and less exclusive murals, which were probably executed by local craftsmen or painters.⁴⁷ This method of chronologically ordering wall painting is by no means watertight, and relies heavily on the assumption that a particular illumination is not stylistically laggardly, or that a wall painting is not stylistically advanced. It is also dependent on the assumption that illumination or glass led rather than emulated artistic fashion (a trend which generally appears to have been the case,

⁴³ Tristram 1955, 78. Tristram calls these wall paintings the ‘simpler type’

⁴⁴ Binski 1995, 170-171, Plates 218, 225; Park 1987, 128, Plate 128.

⁴⁵ Payling 2006, 3.

⁴⁶ MCC. MS Pepysian 1916; Scott, K.L., *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, Vol. 6, Part 2: Catalogue and Indexes, London 1996, 39.

⁴⁷ Caiger-Smith 1963, 125. The only recorded signature in an English medieval mural was found in the (lost) Saint Christopher image at Ampney Crucis (Gloucestershire). It read: ‘Thomas the Painter of Malmesbury’. The town of Malmesbury is about thirteen miles from Ampney Crucis, which means that either the painter came especially from Malmesbury to execute the image, or that he lived at Ampney Crucis but originated from Malmesbury.

but which might occasionally be reversed).⁴⁸ However, this is the only method available for dating murals for which no firm evidence exists, and it is therefore an essential part of this study.

Broader Artistic Trends and Iconography

It is helpful to examine broad artistic trends when attempting to establish a chronology of Saint Christopher wall paintings. It has been possible to make stylistic comparisons with images depicting subject matter other than Saint Christopher, and to suggest approximate dates for wall painting based on similarities between characteristics such as facial details, drapery, modelling, and the use of perspective. From the middle of the fourteenth century, visual depictions become increasingly naturalistic in style and form, and crystallise in a style known as 'International Gothic' (c.1350-c.1450).⁴⁹ There is a clear development and emulation of broader artistic trends evident in Saint Christopher wall painting. For instance, the fluid and relaxed style of the miniature Saint Christopher in a book belonging to John of Wells (c.1375), is also visible in the mural at Wickhampton (Norfolk) (Plates 11 and 44).⁵⁰ Observing precisely when these features begin to appear can help to establish an approximate chronology of images.

It is also possible to employ a developmental model, based on the appearance of specific features within the mural representations of Saint Christopher. The manner in which the saint holds the Christ Child is significant, for example, and there are clear trends which appear in all media throughout the period under discussion. Between the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Christ Child is usually positioned at the saint's waist in the crook of his arm. This form is visible in the first extant rendering of the saint in the Westminster Psalter (the manuscript dates from

⁴⁸ Binski 1995, 170-174, Plate 225. Binski cites the example of the De Lisle Psalter (c.1310-c.1335), which may be stylistic based on the tomb of Edmund Crouchback (d.1296) and the wall paintings in Westminster Abbey (c.1290-c.1310).

⁴⁹ Alexander, J., Binski, P., eds., *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, London 1987, 499; Lasko, P., Morgan, N.J., *Medieval Art in East Anglia, 1300-1520*, Norwich 1977, 38, 40. Marks 1993, 166.

⁵⁰ BLO. MS Bodl. 851, folio 6; Alexander and Pächt (Vol. 3) 1973, 59, Plate 650.

c.1200, but the miniatures were added c.1250) (Plate 35).⁵¹ By the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the Christ Child is generally held in a slightly more elevated position, as demonstrated by the Saint Christopher illumination in the De Lisle Hours (c.1320-c.1330) (Plate 42).⁵² From the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, the Christ Child is generally placed on the saint's shoulders, a trend that is visible in miniature form in the John of Wells book.⁵³ It is also clear that there is a distinct change in the size and shape of the Saint Christopher figure with each new dating band. The inclusion of the hermit is also an important indicator of the approximate date of a Saint Christopher wall painting. The feature first appears in manuscripts from the late fourteenth century, and becomes almost ubiquitous from the second quarter of the fifteenth century (see Impington [Cambridgeshire], Llanynys [Denbighshire], and later Molesworth) (Plates 15, 16 and 25).

None of the above methods are individually watertight. Accordingly, they must be deployed in combination to provide a convincing typology and chronology for the corpus of Saint Christopher wall paintings.

⁵¹ BL. MS Royal 2A xxii, folio 220b; Backhouse 1979, Plate 30.

⁵² PML. MS G50, folio 5b.

⁵³ BLO. MS Bodl. 851, folio 6. Alexander and Pächt (Vol. 3) 1973, 59; Lasko and Morgan 1974, 26, Plate 31.

Part Two: The Chronology of Saint Christopher Wall Paintings

The Thirteenth Century

It is probable that Henry III was responsible for introducing the cult of Saint Christopher into England in the thirteenth century. The first references to an English Saint Christopher wall painting are found in the Liberate Rolls. The entry for December 10th 1240 records that certain images were to be added to the chapel of Saint Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London.⁵⁴ A Virgin was to be positioned above the altar of Saint Peter on the south side), and a small cross was to be repainted.⁵⁵ The proposed Saint Christopher is described as follows: ‘An image of Saint Christopher holding and carrying Jesus is to be made and painted where it may best and most suitably be placed in the same church’.⁵⁶ The fact that the image is ‘to be made and painted where it may best and most suitably be placed’ suggests that this was a wall painting (rather than a panel painting or piece of sculpture which would probably have been constructed off site). The entry uses the future tense and functions as a kind of instruction, describing a course of action that has yet to be carried out, which means that it is not possible to be entirely certain whether the directions were actually executed and the image created. There is no further documentary or visual evidence that reveals anything about the form or style of the painting, or indeed where it might have been located within the chapel. A second entry in the Henry III Liberate Rolls for 1248 is slightly more enlightening, and refers to a painting in the Queen’s Chapel at Winchester Castle:

Order to paint on the westward gable in the Queen’s chapel at Winchester, out of the issues of the county, an image of Saint Christopher, carrying Christ in his arms, as he is painted elsewhere.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* (Vol. 2) 1930, 15.

⁵⁵ *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* (Vol. 2) 1930, 14-15.

⁵⁶ *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* (Vol. 2) 15.

⁵⁷ PRO, *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, 1240-1245*, Vol. 3, 1245-1251, London 1937, 177.

It is clear from the language that this is a wall painting to be painted directly onto the west gable, although once again, it is not entirely certain whether the instructions were ever implemented. There is no surviving visual evidence for the image, but the entry describes how Saint Christopher is to be depicted ‘carrying Christ in his arms’. This is a valuable piece of information because it suggests that the saint was to support the Christ Child in the crook of his arm, in a similar manner to the figure in the Westminster Psalter.⁵⁸ This positioning is typical of the period between c.1250 and the early fourteenth century, and is one of the principal means of dating a Saint Christopher painting.

The earliest surviving Saint Christopher wall painting is the little-known image in the nunnery precinct at Lacock Abbey (Wiltshire) (Plate 1). It is positioned in a chamber at the west end of the south cloister walk, an area which was probably occupied by three or four chaplains attached to the Abbey.⁵⁹ Two paintings, one depicting Saint Christopher and the other Saint Andrew, are located on the north wall of the room. With the exception of Tristram’s brief description in 1950, very little has been written about these noteworthy images.⁶⁰ This is unfortunate, for the precision and accuracy of the lines and rendering of the features, indicate that both murals are of the highest artistic quality. The patron of the paintings, if not the Abbey itself then perhaps a chaplain, was likely to have been relatively affluent. They may have been attuned to the latest artistic trends, and able to afford a painting executed in a progressive and undoubtedly expensive style. The Saint Christopher wall painting is most likely to be contemporary with (rather than post-date) manuscript images of the saint, and it certainly has strong stylistic and iconographical links with illuminations from the turn of the thirteenth century, in particular the image in the English Picture Book of the Life of Christ (c.1290-c.1300) (Plate 37).⁶¹ Both figures have narrow, sloping shoulders, and a thin, elongated head which is tilted slightly forward towards the

⁵⁸ BL. MS Royal 2A xxii, folio 220b.

⁵⁹ National Trust, The, *Lacock Abbey*, London 1994, 23-24; Brakspear, H., ‘Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire’, *Archaeologia*, Vol. 6, 1901, 125-158, 153; Ditchfield, P.H., ‘Lacock Abbey’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, New Series, Vol. 28, Part 1, 1922, 41-42.

⁶⁰ Bardswell and Tristram 1950 (Vol. 2), 557-558.

⁶¹ Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. MS 370, folio 9; Binski, P., Panayotova, S., *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, London 2005, 183-184, Plate 75.

Christ Child. The strong eyebrows run in an unbroken line to form the long, narrow nose, and the small mouth and large oval eyes with full pupils are strikingly similar. The stylised, curled hair frames the face, and flows over the shoulders, and the Christ Child sits in the crook of the saint's arm, supported underneath by his splayed hand. In both instances, the Christ Child is endowed with a cruciform-patterned halo, and the saint holds a long, slender staff with a ridged pommel.

The Early Fourteenth Century

The exquisite (though fragmented) Saint Christopher wall painting at Little Wenham, rendered in detail so delicate to be worthy of illumination, can be dated to the early fourteenth century on account of its stylistic similarities with images from the same period (Plate 2). The church at Little Wenham is best known for its east-wall chancel paintings of the Virgin and Child, Saint Margaret, Saint Catherine and Saint Mary Magdalene (c.1310-c.1320).⁶² However, the Saint Christopher painting is without doubt of equal artistic quality, and almost certainly dates from the same period (not the fifteenth century as both Pevsner and Cautley claimed).⁶³ Park convincingly argues that the Little Wenham murals are stylistically linked to the Westminster group of paintings (which include Saint Faith), and that the elegant artistic rendering spread very quickly to the provinces, particularly East Anglia.⁶⁴

There are also a number of features evident in the stained-glass panel in the church at Aldwincle (Northamptonshire), which can help sequence the Little Wenham wall painting to the early fourteenth century (Plate 38). The panel, which is located in the south window of the chancel, was originally dated to c.1300 by Salmon, but subsequently reassigned to c.1310-c.1330 by Marks.⁶⁵ Much of it has been restored, including most of the Christ Child, some of the background, the borders, and large sections of the architectural niche in which the saint stands (a cusped and crocketed

⁶² Park 1987, 128, Figure 97.

⁶³ Pevsner and Radcliffe 2002, 341; Cautley 1954, 335; Tristram 1955, 262.

⁶⁴ Park 1987, 128.

⁶⁵ Salmon 1936, 115, Figure 5; Marks, R., *The Medieval Stained Glass of Northamptonshire*. CVMA, Great Britain, Summary Catalogue 4: Northamptonshire, Oxford 1998, 9, Plate 1.

arch, a superstructure with lancet windows, and three-light traceried windows flanked by pinnaced sideshafts).⁶⁶ However, the central figure of the saint is predominantly early fourteenth century in date, and the glass panel itself appears to be situated in its original position within the church.⁶⁷ The most obvious parallels between the Little Wenham wall painting and the Aldwincle glass are the saint's flat hat topped with a short tassel, the yellow, loosely-curved hair flowing elegantly down over the saint's narrow, sloping shoulders, the slightly elongated face, and the slender body.⁶⁸ The Saint Christopher wall painting at Westhall (Suffolk) also shares a number of features with the Aldwincle panel, including the narrow shoulders of the saint, the curved hair and the flat, tasselled hat (Plate 3). This painting is not as artistically advanced or competent as the Little Wenham image, however, and the colours are not nearly so vibrant. These factors suggest that it probably post-dates the Little Wenham image since it must have taken time for styles to filter down to the poorer churches who could not afford top-quality craftsmen.

Another similarity between the Aldwincle glass and the Little Wenham wall painting is the fact that the Christ Child is no longer positioned at waist-level (as was more usual in the thirteenth century), but is placed slightly higher so that his feet are on a level with the saint's chest, and the top of his head parallel with the saint's. There is also a typological relationship between the staves in the Aldwincle panel, the Peterborough Psalter (c.1310) and the Westhall wall painting (Plate 39).⁶⁹ All three are longer than previous representations (the top is roughly on a level with the saint's ears), and all are crowned by a pommel. The Aldwincle type is a 'pilgrim's staff' with a second pommel part way down the shaft, a kind typically carried by Saint James the Great.⁷⁰ In the case of the Aldwincle glass and the Peterborough Psalter, the staff is flattened and widened at the bottom like a paddle or oar, a feature first

⁶⁶ Marks 1998, 9.

⁶⁷ Marks 1998, 9.

⁶⁸ For similar styles, see the figures in the early fourteenth-century Vaux Psalter. LPL. MS 233, folio 44.

⁶⁹ CCC. MS 53, folio 16; Rickert, M., *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, London 1954, 122.

⁷⁰ Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/sorchard.htm. Saint James carries a pilgrim staff in the cycle of twelfth-century wall paintings depicting his life at Stoke Orchard (Gloucestershire).

found in the Lambeth Apocalypse (c.1260-c.1275) (Plate 36).⁷¹ This is a characteristic which largely seems to disappear after the first part of the fourteenth century in most forms of image (but which is evident in the John of Wells miniature dating from c.1375 [see below]).⁷²

Architectural features of the Decorated period (c.1291-c.1350) are visible in the Aldwincle glass, the Peterborough Psalter, and in the Saint Christopher wall paintings at Little Wenham and Westhall.⁷³ The elaborate sideshafts and ogee-arched gables at Aldwincle have been largely restored and replaced, but the attributes are visible in a rather less decorative and sophisticated style at Westhall. The figures in the Peterborough Psalter stand under chevroned canopies, a characteristic which is also discernible in the Little Wenham mural. This appears to be part of a trefoil (the upper section is lost), and can be likened to the barbed quatrefoils in the altar *mensa* of the Saint Faith panel in Westminster Abbey.⁷⁴

A second Saint Christopher form, a type not dissimilar to images discussed above, is also found in illumination from the early fourteenth century. It first appears in a French Book of Hours (c.1300), a manuscript which was probably made for use in Rheims (and which may have been illuminated there too) (Plate 40).⁷⁵ The saint is very tall and slender, and can be likened to the figure in the wall painting at Little Hampden (Buckinghamshire) (Plate 4).⁷⁶ Both saints hold in their right hand a long, pole-like staff topped by a pommel, and are wrapped in an outer cloak fasted at the neck and open at the chest. The cloak is looped up around the saint's waist and secured on the left-hand side, thus creating a series of folds in the skirt draperies. The

⁷¹ LPL. MS 209, folio 40; Saunders, O.E., *English Illumination*, Vol. 2, Florence and Paris 1928, Plate 72; Morgan, N., *The Lambeth Apocalypse: Manuscript 209 in Lambeth Palace Library*, London 1990, 123.

⁷² BLO. MS Bodl. 851, folio 6.

⁷³ Stone 1955, 129-130; Lindley 1995, 16, 22.

⁷⁴ CCC. MS 53, folio 16; Binski 1995, 168-169, Plate 219.

⁷⁵ V & A. MS L/1902/2074 (Reid 83), folio 19; Watson, R., *Illuminated Manuscripts and their Makers: An Account Based on the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 2003, 49.

⁷⁶ Caiger-Smith 1963, 132; Bardswell and Tristram (Vol. 1), Plate 132b, (Vol. 2), 515. The existence of three Saint Christopher wall paintings at Little Hampden has caused much confusion amongst modern-day scholars. Caiger-Smith does not mention the earliest Saint Christopher mural (under discussion) located to the west of the north doorway, but refers to a later image on the east side of the entrance, and a fragmented fifteenth-century depiction of the saint. Tristram erroneously claimed that the earliest wall painting was executed c.1240. However, it is clear that the image has stylistic similarities with the French Book of Hours (c.1300), and is therefore more likely to date from the early fourteenth century.

Saint Christopher wall painting at Stoke Dry (Rutland) also displays a number of typological similarities with the French Book of Hours and the Little Hampden mural (Plate 5). The image is located in the chapel to the south of the chancel, a space which almost certainly functioned as a chantry area in the medieval period (see Chapter Three). It is not clear when the chapel was built, but the south window has bar tracery and a foiled circle, and has been dated to the thirteenth century.⁷⁷ The tall, slender figure of the saint is reminiscent of the French Book of Hours, as is the positioning of the pommelled staff held in an outstretched arm (although in the miniature it is held in the right hand, while in the mural it is rather shorter and held in the left).

There are also parallels between the positioning of Saint Christopher's feet in the French miniature and the Stoke Dry wall painting. In both images, the right foot is placed flat on the ground and turned at an angle to the body, a posture which gives the impression the figure is taking a step. The angling of the left foot is rather different, however, and in the case of the French miniature, the toes point downwards towards the base of the picture frame. The Saint Christopher miniature in the Stowe Breviary, depicted in the margin of folio 113v, also has stylistic links with the Stoke Dry figure (Plate 41).⁷⁸ The breviary has been dated to c.1322-c.1325 on account of both the inclusion of the feast of Thomas of Lancaster (who was executed in 1322), and the absence of John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich (who died in 1325).⁷⁹ In both instances, the Saint Christopher figures are tall and slight of build, and have large, scaly fish swimming around their legs. The feet are also positioned in a similar manner (although they are in reverse) facing away from the viewer, the back foot slightly raised and arched, giving the impression the figure is in motion.

⁷⁷ Pevsner, N., Williamson, E., *Leicestershire and Rutland*, 2nd Edition, Revised, Buildings of England, London 2001, 507.

⁷⁸ BL. MS Stowe 17, folio 113v; Randall, L.M.C., *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, London 1966, Plate 600.

⁷⁹ Sandler, L.F., *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, Vol. 5, Part 2: Catalogue, London 1986, 86-87.

The Second Quarter of the Fourteenth Century

It is possible to draw stylistic and typological comparisons between the Saint Christopher in the De Lisle Hours and the wall painting in the church at Hardwick (Norfolk) (Plates 6 and 42). The Hardwick painting has been dated to around 1390, but it is almost certainly earlier than this because it has striking stylistic links with manuscript images from the earlier part of the century.⁸⁰ The De Lisle Hours were written and illuminated in England (possibly in York) between c.1320 and c.1330, and were commissioned by Robert de Lisle (d.1343) as a gift for one of his daughters.⁸¹ The most prominent feature of the Saint Christopher figures in the Hours and the Hardwick wall painting is the manner in which the saint takes on the exaggerated 's-shaped' curve, bending elegantly at the waist. The saint's right foot is placed slightly to his right, meaning the line of the leg (covered by the long tunic) runs at an angle from the calf to the hip. In the Hours, the saint leans so far back that his right shoulder is positioned almost directly above the protruding foot, and although this feature it is not so pronounced in the Hardwick painting, it is clearly evident. 'S-shaped' figures are found in their finest form in the Westminster Retable (c.1270), and had spread to manuscripts and more stylistically advanced wall painting by the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁸² The pose in the De Lisle Hours and the Hardwick painting is rather more confident than the slightly retiring figures in the Westminster Retable, however, which suggests that they are later in date.

In both the De Lisle Hours and the Hardwick wall painting, Saint Christopher holds a long, smooth, pole-like staff, which extends above the height of his head. His right arm is positioned behind the staff, and is twisted round and upwards in order to grasp the top of the shaft. This characteristic has been evident since the beginning of the fourteenth century. It features in both the Peterborough Psalter (c.1310) and the painting at Westhall, and continues to be a feature of wall painting and miniatures

⁸⁰ Tricker 1987, 10.

⁸¹ PML. MS G50, folio 5b; The Online Research Resources of the Pierpont Morgan Library: <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin>

⁸² Binski, P., *The Westminster Retable: England's Oldest Altarpiece*, London 2005, Figure 1; See also: Binski, P., 'What was the Westminster Retable?', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. 140, 1987, 152-174.

until the end of the fourteenth century.⁸³ The Christ Child in the Hardwick mural and De Lisle Hours is positioned rather higher than in previous images, and sits in the raised crook of the saint's left arm, supported by his hand. The elongated head of the Hardwick figure is also tilted upwards towards the Christ Child in the same manner as the De Lisle Hours saint. The facial features of the wall painting figure are now obliterated, but two nineteenth-century reproductions of the image provide more detail of the head area.⁸⁴ Both watercolours render the saint with a long, curled beard akin in form to the De Lisle Hours Saint Christopher, curled hair, and a halo. They also depict an angler, a feature that can hardly be discerned in the wall painting today, but which was noted by Brindley in 1928 (Plates 7a and 7b).⁸⁵ The presence of the angler has caused excitement in the modern angling world because it is thought to be the earliest surviving representation of a fisherman in an English church wall painting.⁸⁶ There are also two trees on either side of the saint, features which (along with the fisherman) constitute the early part of a trend towards the inclusion of background detail in panel and wall painting, which develops more rapidly and thoroughly from the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Another feature that connects the Hardwick Saint Christopher wall painting with the De Lisle Hours is the style of the attire in which the two figures are clothed. Both wear a type of outer cloak, which in the case of the Hardwick image is fastened at the neck with a round clasp, and open at the front to expose an ochre-coloured undergarment at the chest. In both images, the cloak is looped up around the waist and draped over the saint's left arm. This creates a slanting hemline, and the excess

⁸³ CCC. MS 53, folio 16.

⁸⁴ Brindley, H.H., 'Saint Christopher', in *Supplement to Blomefield's Norfolk*, London 1929, Plate 57. The first reproduction of the Hardwick mural is a watercolour by Blomefield, published in 1801. The saint in the extant wall painting is rather taller and thinner than the figure in the reproduction, an indication of the imprecision of Blomefield's work, which tends to be created from blocks of colour and to lack specific detail; Buller 1993, 4 (Illustration); Castle Museum, Norwich. R.J. Coleman Bequest B99 235 951. The second watercolour by C.J.W. Winter, housed at the Castle Museum in Norwich, dates from 1851. The two reproductions are relatively similar in form, which might suggest that Winter had seen Blomefield's work and based his watercolour on this rather than the mural itself. However, subtle differences, such as the heavier draperies and more detailed background in Winter's work, suggest that this was not the case.

⁸⁵ After his visit to the church in September 1928, Brindley noted that 'The angler has very nearly vanished. The whole painting from 1/3 distance from Saint Christopher's knees to his feet has vanished so that nothing distinct can be seen of the fishes'. This is recorded in Brindley's own handwriting on page 123 of Keyser's *List* held at the Society of Antiquaries.

⁸⁶ Buller 1993, 2.

material hangs down in a series of drapery folds to the left of the saint. Although this form of attire also occurs in the earlier Peterborough miniature, the material folds in both the Hardwick and De Lisle images are softer and more voluminous, indicating that they are slightly later in date. Despite the loss of paint in the Hardwick image, and therefore any modelling, it is clear that the folds take on a three-dimensional quality, and are reminiscent of draperies found in sculpture from the late thirteenth century onwards.⁸⁷

The Middle and the Third Quarter of the Fourteenth Century

The Saint Christopher wall paintings at Corby Glen (Lincolnshire), Sedgeford (Norfolk) and Woodeaton (Oxfordshire) display certain traits found in the slightly earlier Hardwick painting, including the swaying 's-shaped' figure of the saint, and the positioning of the Christ Child slightly above the waist supported by the saint's prominent left hand (Plates 8, 9 and 10). However, these three paintings are more akin stylistically and iconographically to the later glass panel in the church at Halam (Nottinghamshire) (Plate 43). Although no precise date has been attached to the panel (most commentators simply assign it to the fourteenth century), it was probably executed in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.⁸⁸ This premise is based on the use of yellow stain (first used in the chancel of Stanford-on-Avon [Northamptonshire] [c.1315-c.1326]), the three-dimensional buttressing, and the greater use of white glass (also found in the nave scheme at Stanford [c.1325-c.1340]).⁸⁹ The most prominent feature of the Halam glass, which is also visible in the Corby Glen, Sedgeford and Woodeaton wall paintings, is the bulky nature of the Saint Christopher figure.⁹⁰ He has become rather more ungainly and cumbersome in

⁸⁷ Williamson, P., *Northern Gothic Sculpture, 1200-1450*, London 1988, 64.

⁸⁸ Pevsner, N., Williamson, E., *Nottinghamshire*, 2nd Edition, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1997, 137.

⁸⁹ Marks 1993, 154.

⁹⁰ *Early Lincoln Wills* 1888, 4-5; Antram, N., Harris, J., Pevsner, N., *Lincolnshire*, 2nd Edition, Revised, Buildings of England, London 1989, 231; Caiger-Smith 1963, 154; Clive Rouse 1996, 47; Clive Rouse 1943, 151. There has been some controversy over the date of the Saint Christopher wall painting at Corby Glen. Most researchers have been misled by the will of Dame Margery Croil (dated to 1319), which specifies the endowment of a Lady Chapel in the north aisle where the Saint Christopher mural is located. Caiger-Smith and Clive Rouse both assumed that the image was painted around the same

build, particularly in the Woodeaton image where the broad shoulders, heavy torso and stout legs make a striking contrast to the slender, graceful, delicate wall painting images hitherto encountered. All four figures wear knee-length breeches fastened with bows. Although only the central portion of the painting at Sedgeford is visible today, Dawson Turner's reproduction of 1841 clearly shows this characteristic.⁹¹ The Halam, Sedgeford and Corby Glen figures also exhibit the extreme 's-shape' swaying posture. In all three instances, the saint bends sharply at the waist (rather more so than the earlier Hardwick and De Lisle renderings), and leans heavily on his staff, which is held in the left hand. The head and neck are drawn back in order that he might look upon the Christ Child.

The Late Fourteenth Century

A Saint Christopher miniature included in a mid-to-late fourteenth-century manuscript book can be used as a basis for chronologically assigning wall painting images to the late fourteenth century. The leaf is prefixed to a volume of texts of miscellaneous dates housed in the Bodleian Library (Plate 44).⁹² The tinted illumination is the only miniature in the book, and it forms a kind of bookplate that connects the volume with the monk John of Wells.⁹³ An elaborate scroll to the left-hand side of the image reads: 'Iste liber constat fratri Johanni de Wellis, monacho Rameseyensi'. John of Wells (d.1388) was an opponent of John Wycliffe, and although he resided in Gloucester for most of his life, he spent his last years at Ramsey Abbey (Cambridgeshire).⁹⁴ Lasko and Morgan have argued that the manuscript was executed at Ramsey between c.1350 and c.1375, but the latter date is more probable because John of Wells did not leave Gloucester until very late in his life.⁹⁵ There are a number of iconographical and stylistic features evident in the John of Wells

time as the endowment, but it is probable (because of its stylistic links with the Halam glass) that it was added rather later than 1319.

⁹¹ BL. Add MS 23,043; Blomefield Undated, 149. The knee-length breeches fastened with bows are evident in embryonic form in the Westminster Psalter (c.1250) and the Lambeth Apocalypse (c.1260-c.1275) (Plates 35 and 36); Saunders, O.E., *English Illumination*, Vol. 2, Florence and Paris 1928, Plate 72; LPL. MS 209, folio 49.

⁹² BLO. MS Bodl. 851, folio 6 (3041); Alexander and Pächt (Vol. 3) 1973, 59, Plate 650.

⁹³ Lasko and Morgan 1974, 26, Plate 31; BLO. MS Bodl. 851, folio 6.

⁹⁴ Lasko and Morgan 1974, 26.

⁹⁵ Alexander and Pächt (Vol. 3) 1973, 59; Lasko and Morgan 1974, 26, Plate 31.

miniature that are also visible in the Saint Christopher wall painting at Wickhampton (Plate 11). The most striking of these, in contrast to waist or upper-arm positioning which dominates earlier image, is the location of the Christ Child on the saint's shoulders. In the miniature, the Christ Child sits directly behind the head of the saint, and at Wickhampton, he is positioned on the saint's right shoulder.

Another prominent feature of the John of Wells manuscript, which is also evident in the Saint Christopher mural at Wickhampton, is the twisting of the saint's head at an angle of ninety degrees so he can gaze up at the Christ Child seated upon his shoulders. Although in earlier manuscript depictions (such as the De Lisle Hours) the head is tilted back slightly, the angle is far more pronounced in the John of Wells and Wickhampton images, where the hunched shoulders and lowered head give the impression that the heaviness of the Christ Child is weighing the bearer down. This posture causes the saint to bend at the waist, and for his torso to lean alarmingly to the right. The figure therefore appears far more awkward than the more graceful, swaying 's-shaped' figures evident in manuscripts and wall paintings from earlier in the century. The John of Wells Saint Christopher is also more fluid in style and form than the rather rigid, static, controlled style and stance of previous manuscript images. It is possible to detect a certain sense of artistic freedom in this miniature, as well as in the wall paintings to which it is chronologically linked. This is a feature of International Gothic, a style which mingled indigenous English features with ideas absorbed from the Continent between c.1350 and c.1450.⁹⁶ It involved a more naturalistic rendering of faces, draperies, perspective and space, inspired largely by French and Italian (and sometimes Bohemian and Germanic) models.⁹⁷ These features are evident in the John of Wells miniature in the form of heavily modelled drapery folds and more realistic facial details, which represent a stylistic progression from early fourteenth-century images.

Another element of the John of Wells miniature, which is also evident in the wall painting at Wickhampton, is the positioning of the saint's legs. From the late fourteenth century onwards, there is an increasing sense of motion and movement in

⁹⁶ Marks 1993, 166.

⁹⁷ Lasko and Morgan 1977, 38, 40.

Saint Christopher paintings. This is created partially by positioning the larger, thicker, shapelier legs and feet in a manner indicative of movement. In the case of the John of Wells Saint Christopher, the saint's legs do not touch the bed of the river, giving the impression he is floating or 'dancing'. This feature does occur in the earlier manuscripts such as the Peterborough Psalter, where the positioning of the feet (the right turned outwards and viewed in profile, the left flattened and positioned square on), and the arched heap of water formed from a series of undulating parallel lines, are not dissimilar to the John of Wells miniature. Yet it is the prominent bending of the saint's right knee and the angularity of pose in the latter image that distinguishes it from the earlier illuminations. This 'bent knee' stance is to become one of the key features in manuscript, alabaster, stained glass and mural representations of the saint from the late fourteenth century onwards. A comparable 'bent-knee' and 'dancing' stance is visible at Wickhampton, although here it is the left leg which is slightly angled and bent at the knee. There are also parallels between the saint's attire in the John of Wells and Wickhampton images. In striking contrast to the knee or even calf-length clothing predominant earlier in the century, both figures wear loose-fitting tunics, gathered at the waist and barely covering the thighs.

The Early Fifteenth Century

The Saint Christopher wall painting at Ashby St. Ledgers can be dated with some accuracy to the early fifteenth century on the basis of heraldic evidence (Plate 12). The shield adjacent to the mural denotes the marriage of John Catesby II to Margaret Montfort (1414), and it is therefore most likely that the image dates from after this time (see Chapter Four).⁹⁸ The Ashby St. Ledgers wall painting still has a number of stylistic ties with the John of Wells miniature, including the positioning of the Christ Child behind the saint's head, the swivelling of the saint's head to view the Christ Child, and the bent right knee. However, it can be more directly linked to a slightly later Saint Christopher illustration in the Pepysian Sketchbook (Plate 45).⁹⁹ This

⁹⁸ Payling 2006, 2, 3.

⁹⁹ MCC. MS Pepysian 1916; James, M.R., 'An English Medieval Sketchbook, No. 1916 in the Pepysian Library, Magdelene College, Cambridge', *Walpole Society*, Vol. 13, 1924-1925, 1-17, Plate 15b.

manuscript is an illustrator's model book that contains images saints, exotic animals, birds and grotesques.¹⁰⁰ Its exact function is not clear, and it may have been used (or intended for use) by an atelier as a guide for manuscript reproductions, embroidery, and perhaps even wall painting.¹⁰¹ Scott has also suggested that it might have been the property of an individual artist who used it to train himself and experiment with drapery, colour, shading and human figure.¹⁰² The Saint Christopher miniature belongs to an addition of c.1400, and although it is almost certainly English in origin, it is possible that the figures and birds may have been influenced by the Lombard sketchbook of Giovannino de Grassi (1398).¹⁰³ The sketchbook is an important manuscript because it is one of a handful of surviving English medieval books of its kind. (Another, devoted specifically to the decoration of books, was rediscovered relatively recently at the British Library)¹⁰⁴

The resemblance of the Pepysian Sketchbook image to the wall paintings at Ashby St. Ledgers, Brisley (Norfolk) and Fritton (Norwich, Norfolk) is remarkable (Plates 13 and 14).¹⁰⁵ In comparison with the heavy, clumsy figures evident at the end of the fourteenth century (Wickhampton, for instance), these Saint Christopher figures are slim and rather slight in build. All three are clothed in thigh-length, close-fitting swathes of drapery (enhanced in the manuscript image by the heavy use of modelling and shading), and all raise and bend their right leg slightly at the knee. With the exception of the Fritton figure, the head of the saint is tilted back so far that the jaw and chin are almost horizontally parallel. Similarities between the positioning of the Christ Child is most striking in the Ashby St. Ledgers and Pepysian image, where the child is placed directly behind the saint's head. It is also significant that the Ashby St. Ledgers mural is the first known documented instance of boats in a Saint Christopher mural. This feature is to become ubiquitous by the middle of the fifteenth century.

¹⁰⁰ Scott (Vol. 6, Part 2) 1996, 39.

¹⁰¹ James 1924-1925, 1, 16; Alexander, J.J.G., Brown, T.J., Gibbs, J., ed. *Francis Wormald Collected Writings 2: Studies in English and Continental Art of the Later Middle Ages*, London 1988, 19.

¹⁰² Scott (Vol. 6, Part 2) 1996, 41.

¹⁰³ Biblioteca Civica, Bergamo. MS VII 14; Scott (Vol. 6, Part 2) 1996, 41; James 1924-1925, 1-17, 1, 18.

¹⁰⁴ Backhouse, J., 'An Illuminator's Sketchbook', *British Library Journal*, Vol. 1, 1975, 3-14.

¹⁰⁵ There are two Saint Christopher paintings in the church at Brisley. The second image, situated over the north door, dates from the late fifteenth century.

The Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

A number of Saint Christopher illuminations and woodcuts can help to date the wall painting images at Impington (Cambridgeshire) and Llanynys (Denbighshire) to the second quarter of the fifteenth century (Plates 15 and 16). The most prominent similarities between these images are the background features, the sense of three-dimensionality, and the application of perspective. These traits were part of a wider trend in the world of visual culture from the late fourteenth century onwards, and they increasingly replaced the heavily-patterned backdrops (such as the decorative tin-leaf squares found on the Thornham Parva Retable [c.1330-c.1340]).¹⁰⁶ Additional attributes such as fish and water have been evident in Saint Christopher images, since the thirteenth century, particularly in wall painting, illumination and glass (see the Picture Book of the Life of Christ). However, it is not until the very end of the fourteenth century that additional landscape features such as rocky banks and trees begin to appear in Saint Christopher illumination. One of the first examples is evident in the Old Proctor's Book, a collection of papers consisting of Cambridge University statutes and related documents for use by the officers to the Chancellor (Plate 46).¹⁰⁷ A date after c.1385-c.1389 is indicated by the inclusion of the obit of Master William Gotham in the Calendar, and the absence of a statute relating to the commemoration of Chancellor Michael de Causton. The miniature itself has been dated to c.1390.¹⁰⁸ The three-dimensional jutting rocks on either side of the river help to create a sense of perspective and space.

The landscape backgrounds in the wall paintings at Impington and Llanynys are stylistically more advanced than that of the Old Proctor's Book, and can be linked more directly to miniatures dating from the early fifteenth century. In the second of two Saint Christopher images in the Boucicaut Hours (Paris, c.1420), the modelling of

¹⁰⁶ Binski, Norton and Park 1987, Plate 1.

¹⁰⁷ University Archives, Cambridge. Collection Admin. 3, folio 6; Binski and Panayotova 2005, 379.

¹⁰⁸ Binski and Panayotova 2005, 379; Rogers, N., 'The Old Proctor's Book: A Cambridge Manuscript of c.1390', in *England in the Fourteenth Century*. Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium, Ormrod, W.M., ed., Woodbridge 1986, 213-223. Rogers points out that the Old Proctor's Book Saint Christopher has traces of foreign influences, which illustrate the effect of European styles upon English art in the late fourteenth century. The stippled pigment on the saint's garment is almost certainly of Lombardic origin, and the rocks resemble those in the Bohemian wall paintings at Karlstein. The distinctive face, with strong nose bridge and eyebrows, are found in works of art originating from the lands of the Teutonic Order.

the rocks is subtler, and gives the vista a slightly more naturalistic feel (Plate 47).¹⁰⁹ The darkening of the river colour tones towards the rear of the image enhances the sense of foreground and background. In all three images, a greater sense of perspective and depth is created by extending the rocks into the foreground (and along the bottom of the image in the Impington wall painting and the Boucicaut Hours). The fact that the murals are poorly preserved in places makes it impossible to be entirely precise about the specific details. However, backgrounds are more comprehensive than in earlier depictions of the saint, and incorporate additional features such as the windmill on the left bank at Llanynys.¹¹⁰ The hermit features in all three depictions, standing on the right-hand bank outside a small house, holding a lantern and guiding the saint across the river. The motif of the hermit is derived from medieval narrative literature such as the *Golden Legend* (c.1260) and the *South English Legendary* (c.1276-c.1279).¹¹¹ His role in such works is to inform Saint Christopher that ferrying people across the river will assist him in his quest for the greatest king on earth. The figure first enters illumination in the late fourteenth century (one of the first-known appearances is in a French Book of Hours dating from c.1370), and becomes ubiquitous from the beginning of the fifteenth century (Plate 48).¹¹² He begins to emerge in wall painting depictions slightly later in the century (at Llanynys and Impington, for instance).

There are a number of additional parallels between the Impington Saint Christopher wall painting and the Boucicaut Hours, including the familiar ‘bent-leg’ stance. Although this pose was evident in late fourteenth century images (such as a French manuscript dated to c.1375-c.1400), the raising of the leg and bending of the knee is

¹⁰⁹ Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris. MS MJAP-M-1311, folio 13.

Clark, G.T., *The Spitz Master: A Parisian Book of Hours*, Los Angeles 2003, 72, Figure 48.

¹¹⁰ Hubbard, E., *Clwyd, Buildings of Wales*, Harmondsworth 1986, 247. This is one of the first-known representations of a windmill in a Saint Christopher wall painting; see: Salmon, J., ‘The Windmill in Medieval Art’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd Series, Vol. 5, 1941, 88-102;

¹¹¹ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, 10-14, 11-12; D’Evelyn, C., Mill, A.J., eds., *The South English Legendary*, EETS, Oxford 1967, 340-348, 343. The *South English Legendary* is essentially an account of the lives of the saints; see also: Wells, M.E., ‘The South English Legendary and Its Relation to the Legenda Aurea’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. 51, 1936, 337-360; Wells, M.E., ‘The Structural Development of the South English Legendary’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 40, 1942, 320-344; Boyd, B., ‘A New Approach to the South English Legendary’, *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 47, 1968, 494-498, 494; Heffernan, T.J., ‘Additional Evidence for a More Precise Date of the *South English Legendary*’, *Traditio*, Vol. 25, 1979, 345-351, 346. Heffernan provides the most recent date for the *South English Legendary*.

¹¹² V & A. MS AL 1643-1902 (Reid MS 1).

now more extreme (Plate 49).¹¹³ A similar stance is also a feature of the exceptionally large wall painting at Stowlangtoft (Suffolk), an image which must post-date the building of the Perpendicular church by Robert Davy (d.1401) (Plate 17).¹¹⁴ Increasingly, however, the ‘bent-leg’ pose becomes a less reliable method of dating murals. It is a feature of illumination well into the fifteenth century (although the majority of examples appear to be clustered between the end of the fourteenth century and the 1420s when Saint Christopher postures start to become more diverse). It is also visible in stained glass, brass and alabaster images of the saint, and seems to dominate as a typology from the late fourteenth century until the end of the medieval period in these particular art forms. Examples can be seen on the alabaster panel at the foot of the tomb of Lord Lovell (d.1465) at Minster Lovell (Oxfordshire), on the brass of Sir Thomas Stathum (1470) at Morley in Derbyshire, and in the glass panel in the north clearstory at Great Malvern Priory (Worcestershire) (c.1480) (Plate 70).¹¹⁵ The persistence of this posture for such a prolonged period may be partly a result of the laggardly and conservative nature of English art in comparison with more cutting-edge Continental production from the end of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁶

Another reason for placing the Llanynys Saint Christopher wall painting chronologically in the second quarter of the fifteenth century is that it displays a number of stylistic parallels with one of the earliest-known Saint Christopher woodcuts. The South German image, which dates from c.1420-c.1430, is considered to be fairly outmoded in terms of style in comparison with contemporary woodcuts (Plate 50).¹¹⁷ The scene is restricted to the central figure with no additional narrative elements, and the garments worn by the saint do not display the calligraphic contours

¹¹³ BLO. MS Rawl. Lit., folio 28.

¹¹⁴ Pevsner and Radcliffe 1965, 442. The short, thigh-length attire worn by the Impington and Stowlangtoft saints is also a feature of early fifteenth-century Saint Christopher wall paintings, including Ashby St. Ledgers.

¹¹⁵ Cheetham 2003, 37; Monumental Brass Society Website:

www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/pic_lib/Stathum_brass_morley.htm; Pevsner and Sherwood 1964, 706.

Sherwood and Pevsner are uncertain whether this is the tomb of William (d.1455) or his son John Lovell (d.1465); Rushforth, G.M., *Medieval Church Imagery*, Oxford 1936, Fig. 110.

Marks 1993, 62. Rushford dated this panel to the mid fifteenth century, but Mark has more recently reassigned it to c.1480.

¹¹⁶ Cheetham 2003, 11; Stone 1955, 180. It has already been demonstrated that in the case of alabaster panels, mass production after about 1350 led to conservatism, standardisation, and a lack of stylistic progress, factors which were enhanced by the spread of woodcuts in the fifteenth century. This makes the process of accurate alabaster dating relatively problematic.

¹¹⁷ Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. II, 1728; Parshall and Schoch 2005, 159-160, Fig. 37.

and hairpin termini of the International Gothic style.¹¹⁸ Yet there are still a number of similarities with the Saint Christopher figure in the Llanynys wall painting. Both are slight and willowy in build, adopt the ‘bent-knee’ stance, and are wrapped in folds of multi-layered swathes that reach down to the knees. In the case of the woodcut, some excess material has been draped over the left knee. Loose drapery, portrayed as three-dimensional rounded folds, billows out behind the two saints at shoulder-height. The staffs are both tall, and take the form of huge, knotted branches or trees. The sprouting leaves, rather more abundant in the woodcut, recall the episode in the *Golden Legend*. After crossing the river the Christ Child orders Saint Christopher to plant his staff in the earth, and to consider its flowering as proof that he is Christ the King:

And if you want proof that what I am saying is true, when
you get back to your little house, plant your staff in the earth,
and tomorrow you will find it in leaf and bearing fruit.¹¹⁹

A slightly different (though related) Saint Christopher type, evident in the Whetenal Psalter, can also be used to classify Saint Christopher wall paintings chronologically to the second quarter of the fifteenth century (Plate 51).¹²⁰ The Whetenal Psalter (so called because of the later addition of the Whetenal family arms) consists of a series of Psalter and Missal excerpts dating from the early fifteenth century, and a number of drawings added around the same time.¹²¹ The Saint Christopher image is drawn with brown ink, and the torso of the saint is rather more sturdy and solid than the slender Llanynys figure. The loosely-draped clothing with layers of folds is not dissimilar to that found in the Old Proctor’s Book (c.1385-c.1389), but figure here is rather more dynamic and vibrant. The sprightly stance, created by bending the legs at both knees, is akin to the ‘dancing’ saints evident in late fourteenth-century wall painting (although in this case the torso and legs are angled away from the viewer). Pächt and Alexander have also made typological and stylistic links between the Whetenal

¹¹⁸ Parshall and Schoch 2005, 160.

¹¹⁹ For the English translation see: Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, 12.

¹²⁰ BLO. Don.d.85, folio 1v (cat. 39); Alexander and Pächt (Vol. 3) 1973, 71.

¹²¹ Alexander and Pächt (Vol. 3) 1973, 71.

Psalter miniature and the stained glass at All Saints', North Street, York (c.1412-c.1428) (Plate 52).¹²² Certainly, the shape of the eyes and the curled, forked beard are comparable.

Stylistic and iconographical links between the Whetenal Psalter Saint Christopher, and the wall paintings at Burnham Overy (Norfolk) and Bradfield Combust (Suffolk), suggest that the murals can be assigned to the second half of the fifteenth century (Plates 18 and 19). Parallels include the 'dancing' legs, the feet which do not touch the river bed, and the short attire that barely covers the saint's thighs. In all three images, the saint's garments are gathered slightly at the waist to give the impression of a skirt (although the dilapidated state of the Burnham Overy painting makes it difficult to examine folds and drapery in detail). The Bradfield Combust figure is dressed in a tunic with neat, vertical folds, which is fastened at the waist with a belt. All three saints clutch in an outstretched left hand a very straight staff with sprouting sprigs (in the case of the Whetenal Psalter they are clearly oak leaves). The right hand is placed on the waist (in the case of Bradfield Combust the saint holds his belt), and the head is turned towards the Christ Child, who sits on the saint's shoulders directly behind his head.

The Third Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

The Saint Christopher wall painting at Pickering can be loosely assigned to the third quarter of the fifteenth century on the basis of architectural and heraldic evidence, and on stylistic comparisons with two woodcuts (Plate 20). The scheme of paintings, which covers most of the nave clearstory, has been restored a number of times since the decision was made to uncover the images in 1876.¹²³ Reproductions made before restoration work prove that some speculation was employed when attempting to join together parts of the paintings which were too fragmented to be accurately

¹²² Alexander and Pächt (Vol. 3) 1973, 71.

¹²³ Ellis 1996, 5. The paintings were first discovered in 1852 during church restorations, when a thick coat of plaster was removed from the nave wall. They were subsequently covered up with whitewash again because, according to a series of letters from the Archbishop to the vicar, the latter felt that they were a distraction from his sermons.

reconstructed. The black outlines of the present images are rather too steady and unspoiled, and the colours too bold and complete, for the entire scheme to be original. However, similarities between the pre and post-restoration images are close enough that certain conclusions about style and date can be drawn from the extant paintings. The fact that all the murals in the nave at Pickering are stylistically comparable indicates that they were almost certainly executed concurrently. This is also suggested by the neat joining of most of the scenes to the neighbouring image. The shore on which the hermit stands in the Saint Christopher wall painting, for example, forms part of the background of the neighbouring Saint George mural.¹²⁴ Because of their obvious relationship with the architecture of the church, the wall paintings are most likely to date to a time after the mid-fifteenth century. The Saint Christopher figure fits neatly into a space between two clearstory windows, a position which proves that it must have been executed after the addition of the clearstory to the c.1300 transept arches and Norman nave arcade. Although Pevsner rather vaguely dates the clearstory to the late medieval period, others have been more specific and argued that the structure was added around 1450.¹²⁵ The dating of the murals is also dictated by the fact that one of the four knights in the Martyrdom of Thomas Becket image wears the armour of Edward IV. This suggests that the entire scheme may date from between 1461 and 1483.¹²⁶

Stylistic comparisons with two woodcuts dating from the middle of the century also suggest that the Saint Christopher wall paintings at Pickering (and by association, the wall painting at Llantwit Major [South Glamorgan]) date from the third quarter of the fifteenth century (Plate 21).¹²⁷ The first woodcut is the controversial South German Buxheim Saint Christopher from the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Plate 53).¹²⁸ The woodcut itself is located on the inside back-board of a book containing the *Laus Mariae* (an abridged version of a lectionary text about the Mother of God, to be read

¹²⁴ Ellis 1996; Clive Rouse 1996, Figure 3.

¹²⁵ Anon, 'Mural Paintings in Saint Peter's Church, Pickering', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 13, 1895, 353-370, 355; Pevsner, N., *Yorkshire: The West Riding*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1967, 282.

¹²⁶ Mural Paintings in Saint Peter's Church, Pickering 1895, 355; Ellis 1996, 10 (Illustration).

¹²⁷ Clive Rouse 1996, 34, Fig. 38. Clive Rouse dates the painting at Llanwit Major to the late fourteenth century. However, it is obvious from its stylistic appearance that the image is at least half a century later than this.

¹²⁸ JRL. MS 366 (17249).

on each day of the year), a slightly later addition of notes on precious stones and their beneficial effect on the human body, and a prayer for the consecration of an *Agnus Dei* image (a model lamb made of wax).¹²⁹ The manuscript itself was completed in 1417 (according to an inscription), and originated from the Carthusian monastery in Buxheim.¹³⁰ Small rectangular holes in each of the four corners of the woodcut suggest that it was once affixed to a wall, and it is likely that it was added to the book after the latter had entered the monastery library.¹³¹ The woodcut is a misleading image, not least because the inclusion of the erroneous date of 1423 in the text block at the bottom. Scepticism was expressed about the legitimacy of this date from the early nineteenth century, and to this day, both technical and stylistic arguments to support a later date for the woodcut have been forwarded.¹³² As Parshall and Schoch have convincingly argued, the power of the lines, the detailed execution of the facial features, the dynamism of the figure, the hatching, and the hooked lines in the flat drapery folds, all suggest a date of around 1450.¹³³ The second woodcut to have stylistic links with the Pickering and Llantwit Major wall paintings is of German origin, and dates from very slightly earlier in the century (c.1430-c.1440) (Plate 54).¹³⁴

There are prominent stylistic parallels between the two woodcuts and the wall paintings at Pickering and Llantwit Major. Certain features from the early part of the century are still evident in the four images, such as the angling of the saint's body (in the case of Pickering and the Berlin woodcut to the left, and in the case of Llantwit Major and the Buxheim woodcut to the right). At Llantwit Major, the saint's leading leg is raised (but not bent), and his stance is akin to the dancing posture evident at in the murals at Burnham Overy and Bradfield Combust. In the other three images, the saint adopts the familiar 'bent-knee' stance. Yet there are also several additional features common to these images which distinguish them from earlier Saint

¹²⁹ Parshall and Schoch 2005, 153, 155, 156.

¹³⁰ Parshall and Schoch 2005, 156.

¹³¹ Parshall and Schoch 2005, 156.

¹³² Parshall and Schoch 2005, 153.

¹³³ Parshall and Schoch 2005, 153, 155.

¹³⁴ Staatliche Museen Zu, Berlin. Kupferstich Kabinett. The Berlin woodcut is unusual because the Christ Child does not hold an orb, and appears to be naked except for a cloak which billows out behind him in a dramatic manner; Van Os, H.W., *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500*, Princeton 1994, 19.

Christopher depictions. The torso of the saint is far broader, heavier, sturdier, and more cumbersome in comparison with the light, slender figures from the earlier part of the century. The legs are also more muscular and shapely, and in the case of the two wall paintings, the feet are very large and appear almost oversized. These characteristics all provide the Saint Christopher figure with a sense of dynamism and movement, and the saint strides through the water with flourish and intent, clutching his sturdy staff. In both woodcuts, Saint Christopher is swathed in heavy, knee-length drapery with flat folds, a feature which is paralleled in the Pickering wall painting. It is also significant that the facial features of the four saints are harsher and more formidable in comparison with the softer, pleasanter features of earlier images. This characteristic is mentioned in the *Golden Legend*, where Saint Christopher is described as ‘twelve feet tall – and fearsome of visage’.¹³⁵

It is also possible to allocate the Saint Christopher wall paintings at Latton, Salisbury Cathedral, and Bloxham loosely to the third quarter of the fifteenth century (Plates 22, 23 and 24). This assignment is based both on stylistic comparisons with other media, and on architectural and documentary evidence relating to the respective church buildings. Surviving chantry certificates inform us that on February 10th 1466, a licence was granted to Peter Ardenne to found two chantries at Latton:

One of one perpetual chaplain to celebrate divine service at the altar of Holy Trinity in the Chapel of Holy Trinity and St. Mary the Virgin newly built by him in the church of Latton, co. Essex, and the other of another perpetual chaplain to celebrate divine service at the altar of St. Peter and St. Katherine in the same church.¹³⁶

Ardenne died in 1467, and was buried in his tomb (which still survives today) in the chantry chapel (see Chapter Three).¹³⁷ The wall paintings, illustrated and recounted by Gough in his *Sepulchral Monuments* (1796), were described as ‘scanty’ by Pevsner

¹³⁵ For the English translation see: Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, 10-14, 11.

¹³⁶ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls* (Vol. 5, Part 2) 1897, membrane 6, 483; Johnston 1902, 222. The first chantry was never actually founded.

¹³⁷ Johnston 1902, 222; Pevsner and Radcliffe 1965, 222.

and Radcliffe in 1965, and are invisible today.¹³⁸ Gough explains the painting over the west door: ‘Saint Christopher carrying Christ having a globe in his hand. In a corner peeps out monk with a candle and lantern [sic], as if lighting them over the water’.¹³⁹ It is not clear exactly when the wall paintings were executed, for although the building was in existence by 1466, it is possible that they could have been painted some years after the construction of the chapel. However, stylistic and typological comparisons with other media suggest that they are in fact likely to be approximately contemporary with the building of the chapel (see below).

Documentary evidence suggests that the lost Saint Christopher wall painting in the Hungerford Chapel in Salisbury Cathedral was probably executed around the same time as the Latton mural. The chantry was founded by Lady Margaret Hungerford (and Botreaux) for her husband Robert, second baron of Hungerford (see Chapter Three).¹⁴⁰ It is probable that the murals were executed after the compilation of the will of Lady Margaret Hungerford (1477) because the chapel was still being constructed at this point. However, stylistic comparisons with the Bloxham and Latton wall paintings suggest that they were probably not executed much later than this date. The Bloxham Saint Christopher (now so fragmented that it is necessary to resort to Tristram’s reproduction), almost certainly post-dates the fifteenth-century rebuilding of the church. Alterations included the addition of the nave clearstory, the Milcombe Chapel, and the large Perpendicular east windows in the aisles.¹⁴¹ The Milcombe Chapel project was overseen by the master mason Richard Winchcombe, who also worked on other buildings in Oxfordshire, such as Adderbury church (c.1410), the Wilcote Chapel at North Leigh (c.1440), and the Divinity School in Oxford.¹⁴² However, stylistic comparisons with the Salisbury and Latton Saint Christopher wall paintings, suggest that the Bloxham painting was executed long after

¹³⁸ Gough (Vol. 2, Part.2) 1796, 216-217, Plate 87; Pevsner and Radcliffe 1965, 222.

¹³⁹ Gough (Vol. 2, Part.2) 1796, 217.

¹⁴⁰ Gough (Vol.2, Part 2) 1796, 186.

¹⁴¹ Salmon 1936, Figure 1; Huntriss, Y., *Saint Mary’s Church, Bloxham, Oxfordshire: A Guide and History of the Church* (Church Guide), 1997, 20.

¹⁴² Tyack, G., *The Bodleian Library, Oxford*, Oxford 2005, 20.

Harvey, J., *English Mediaeval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550*, Gloucester 1984, 296; Crossley, A., Elrington, C.R., eds., *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, Vol. 12, 1990, 234. The Divinity School project was begun in 1424, and taken over by Richard Winchcombe in 1430. He was responsible for constructing most of the building, including the east and west doorways, and the large Perpendicular windows.

the time of Richard Winchcombe, who was active in the first half of the fifteenth century.

There are a number of remarkable stylistic similarities between the Saint Christopher figures at Latton, Salisbury and Bloxham, all of which match a type found in other media dating from very slightly earlier in the century. They are all high-quality wall paintings, paid for by rich patrons who probably employed renowned painters who were attuned to the latest urban and even Continental fashions. As a result, the interval of time between the emergence of style and form in other media (such as illumination and panel painting) and its appearance in the wall paintings, was probably far less protracted. Indeed, it is possible that they may even have led (rather than emulated) the artistic fashion in England. The most prominent feature of the three murals is Saint Christopher's unusually slender, graceful, upright build, and the manner in which he strides lightly and elegantly towards the viewer. A similar pose is visible in a Saint Christopher panel by Dieric Bouts (c.1465), and in the panel painting that forms part of the Polytych by Giovanni Bellini in the Basilica of Saint Giovanni and Paolo in Venice (c.1464-c.1468) (Plates 55 and 56).¹⁴³ The latter image serves to highlight the superior and advanced nature of Italian art in comparison with English mural painting. It depicts the saint as a strikingly lifelike figure, gazing upwards with tenderness and concern at the Christ Child on his shoulders. The legs and arms are drawn with anatomical precision as if from life, rendering minute details such as veins and muscles.

The prominent, upright posture also occurs in the glass panels at Thaxted (Essex) and Ludlow (Shropshire) (Plates 57 and 58).¹⁴⁴ The upper part of the body and the head of the Thaxted saint are missing, but it is possible to discern the outline of a section of a halo and beard. A part of the staff also remains (held in the left hand), as well as yellow multifoil-patterned sleeves, and the lower portion of a grey cloak decorated around the edges with red and blue shapes.¹⁴⁵ The saint's body is angled slightly to

¹⁴³ Alte Pinakothek, Munich; Schawe, M., *Alte Pinakothek, Munich*, New York, Berlin and Munich 2002, 9 (Illustration).

¹⁴⁴ Brindley, H.H., 'The Ship in the Window in Thaxted Church, with Remarks on Early Methods of Reefing Sails', *Cambridge Antiquaries Society*, Vol. 15, 1911, 26-41, Plate 3.

¹⁴⁵ Salmon 1936, 104.

the left, and his legs are depicted in profile (a common stance in the late fifteenth century), which gives the impression he is wading through the river. The manner in which he places his left hand on his waist is also reminiscent of the Latton and Bloxham murals. Below the Saint Christopher scene is a coat-of-arms quartering Grenville with Edward IV, an event which occurred on the King's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville in 1465.¹⁴⁶ If both the shield and the Saint Christopher were *in situ* and inserted simultaneously, then it would be possible to date the glass to this period. However, it is unlikely that this is the case in a window so fragmented.¹⁴⁷ The coat-of-arms is bordered on three sides, but the top edge is missing. This was probably removed so the panel could fit into the window space, a factor which suggests that the panel is not in its original position.

The Late Fifteenth Century and Beyond

Attempting to place Saint Christopher wall paintings within a chronological framework in the latter part of the medieval period is a complex task. In many respects, English wall painting is no longer so directly and visibly connected to illumination, glass and panel painting in the same manner as in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. This is partly because Saint Christopher representations in all media become more numerous and diverse towards the end of the medieval period. The saint takes on a wider variety of postures, and it becomes progressively more challenging to date an image by simply examining the stance or attire. There is also a greater gulf between English and Continental art by c.1485 (particularly with regard to Flemish panel and miniature painters, and by the end of the century, French illuminators), meaning that it is less feasible to make direct comparisons between English wall painting and Continental images.¹⁴⁸ New styles, which included the

¹⁴⁶ Salmon 1936, 104.

¹⁴⁷ Salmon 1936, 104. Salmon assumes that the shield and the Saint Christopher are part of the same scheme.

¹⁴⁸ Lasko and Morgan 1977, 57.

Kren, T., Ainsworth, M.W., 'Illumination and Painters: Artistic Exchanges and Interrelationships', in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, T. Kren., S. McKendrick, eds., Los Angeles 2003, 35; Plummer, J., *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420-1530, from American Collections*, New York and London 1982, 72.

subtle use of light, texture, three-dimensionality and perspective, as well as spacial concepts and naturalistic rendering of subject-matter, did not always filter down to the less stylistically-advanced murals in England. Yet even given the diversity of Saint Christopher types in late medieval images, and the problems associated with image comparison, it is still possible to assign certain wall paintings chronologically to the end of the medieval era by examining architectural evidence and other artistic media.

One of the most common Saint Christopher types from the end of the period is visible in the wall paintings at Molesworth, Layer Marney (Essex), and Breage (Cornwall) (Plates 25, 26 and 27). The approximate dating of these images is based on architectural evidence from the respective churches, as well as on stylistic comparisons with other media. The nave of the church at Molesworth was rebuilt at the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that this reconstruction would have eradicated all wall paintings hitherto present, and provided a clean space for new images.¹⁴⁹ It is not clear whether the Saint Christopher mural is exactly contemporary with the reconstruction of the church, but the fact that the Saint Anthony painting on the south wall is stylistically very similar, suggests that they may have been part of a larger contemporary scheme that covered the whole of the nave. Architectural evidence also indicates that the Saint Christopher wall painting at Layer Marney belongs chronologically to the end of the medieval period. The image must post-date the rebuilding of the nave, which was probably undertaken in the early sixteenth century.¹⁵⁰ In a similar manner, the Saint Christopher wall painting at Breage must have been executed after the rebuilding of the church in c.1470 (although stylistic parallels with other media suggest that the mural may have been executed rather later than this).¹⁵¹

The chronological positioning of the Molesworth, Layer Marney and Breage Saint Christopher wall paintings towards the end of the period is reinforced by stylistic and iconographical comparisons with depictions of the saint in other media. The Saint

Watson, R., *Illuminated Manuscripts and their Makers: An Account Based on the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 2003, 74.

¹⁴⁹ Pevsner 1968, 294; RCHME 1926, 183; Inskip, Page and Proby, *VCH* 1936, 96.

¹⁵⁰ Brindley 1924, 238; Pevsner and Radcliffe 1965, 262. Pevsner and Radcliffe claim that the house (Layer Marney Towers) and church were probably rebuilt between c.1505 and c.1510.

¹⁵¹ Coomber, J.E., *Medieval Painting in Cornwall*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1980, 20.

Christopher image in the Hours of the Holy Spirit, a manuscript made in Flanders for an English patron and dated to the late fifteenth century, displays similar traits (Plate 59).¹⁵² In all four depictions, the saint is rendered with broad shoulders, a solid torso, and thick legs (which in the case of the wall paintings are rather shapeless because of the unsophisticated execution that is so characteristic of less stylistically-advanced imagery). In both the Molesworth and Breage murals, the large, crudely-drawn feet (angled to the left and right respectively) are positioned virtually flat on the river bed, giving the impression that the figure is almost motionless. There are also a greater number of detailed background features rendered in wall paintings from this era than at previous chronological stages. There are copious fish in the river, and at Horley (Oxfordshire), some have been identified by modern angling experts as specific breeds (such as sturgeon) (Plate 28).¹⁵³ At Breage, there is an accurately executed sailing ship, a mermaid, and a hooded figure in a boat wearing a hooded cowl or liripipe.¹⁵⁴ The liripipe was fashionable in some circles after c.1450, but would have been worn by peasants and older people until the end of the century, and perhaps after.¹⁵⁵

The stance of the Molesworth, Layer Marney and Breage is also visible in the (studio of) Quentin Massys' Saint Christopher panel from the Allentown Art Gallery in Philadelphia (c.1490) (Plate 60).¹⁵⁶ In this particular example, although the sturdy Saint Christopher faces the viewer square on, the figure still gives the impression of being stationary in the water. In all the renditions under discussion (with the exception of Breage), the saint grasps the top of the staff with his left hand, and the middle of the shaft with his right. This causes the staff to slant diagonally across the body of the saint, a feature which is most common in this later period (but which does

¹⁵² BLO. MS Lat. Lit. G5, folio 334; Bodleian Library Website:

www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/lat/liturg/g/005.htm

¹⁵³ Buller 1993; Buller, F., 'Of Caviar and Kings', *The Field*, September 1991, 88-89, 88; Whaite 1929, 31. Sections of the Saint Christopher mural at Horley have been restored. Whaite argued that the process was carried out carefully, however, and that only the saint's staff below his left hand and the black star or rosette-patterned background, were repainted.

¹⁵⁴ Enys, J.D., 'Mural Paintings in Cornish Churches', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, Vol. 15, 1902, 136-160, 141; Coomber 1980, 22. Enys believed the figure in the boat to be the hermit, while Coomber suggested it was a jester. The most likely explanation is that it is simply a figure dressed in medieval costume.

¹⁵⁵ Buller 1993, 3.

¹⁵⁶ Allentown Art Gallery, Philadelphia; Friedlander, M.J., *Early Netherlandish Art: Dieric Bouts and Joos Van Gent*, Vol. 3, Leiden and Brussels 1968, 73.

occur infrequently in earlier wall painting such Llantwit Major). Parallels between the attire worn by the Massys and Breage figures are also evident. In both cases, Saint Christopher wears a weighty and voluminous sash flung over his left shoulder, a knee-length tunic, and a band of cloth tied around his head (in the case of the Breage wall painting it is rendered in ochre). This latter feature is common towards the end of the medieval period, and may well be an attempt to represent Saint Christopher as a 'pagan' by dressing him in a turban. His origin is specified in the *South English Legendary*: 'Sein Cristofre was Zarasin in þe lond of Canaan'.¹⁵⁷ In literature, it is not until after the crossing of the river and the flowering of the staff that Saint Christopher is converted to Christianity. It may be for this reason that it is unusual to encounter nimbed depictions of the saint during this period. There is a significant difference in artistic quality between the Massys panel and the wall paintings. The realistic portrayal of the saint's hands, legs and facial features, the heavy modelling and texturing of the three-dimensional drapery, the deep, sweeping space of the vista, the naturalistic depiction of the rocks and river, and the subtle use of light to create perspective, all demonstrate the influence of Italian art on Continental images.¹⁵⁸ These features stand in direct contrast to the simplistic rendering and flat backdrops of the wall paintings, and reveal just how large the variance between Continental paintings and more simplistic English wall painting could be at the end of the fifteenth century and beyond.

The Very End of the Period

Comparisons with illuminated manuscripts suggest that the Saint Christopher wall paintings at Hemblington (Norfolk) and Shorwell (Hampshire) probably date from the sixteenth century (Plates 30 and 31). The sense of movement and dynamism rendered in the Shorwell figure is far greater than that found in the rather static representations at Molesworth and Breage. The bulky saint has solid limbs and a thick torso, and gives the impression he is running (rather than wading) through the water. Although this 'running' form is found in illuminations as early as the 1450s, the type becomes

¹⁵⁷ *South English Legendary* 1967, 340-348, 340.

¹⁵⁸ Martindale, A., *Gothic Art*, London 1996, 230-231.

far more prevalent in French and Flemish miniatures from c.1470 onwards. A French Book of Hours, for instance (c.1470-c.1480), depicts the saint in a flourish of movement (albeit in reverse to the Shorwell painting), marching with power and intent through the water (Plate 61).¹⁵⁹ In contrast, the Saint Christopher figure in the Hemblington mural faces the viewer full on, and the leading leg is raised so that the saint strides through the water. This posture may be traced back to the ‘dancing’ saints, which emerged in the late fourteenth century, and the ‘bent-leg’ figures of the early fifteenth century (such as Llanynys and the Boucicaut Hours). Yet the deep-set vistas and sweeping horizons, as well as the unprecedented assortment of background features and scenes depicting the life of Saint Christopher from sources such as the *Golden Legend*, indicate that the Hemblington mural is of a much later date (see below). These aspects are evident in miniatures and panel paintings from the late fifteenth century, and can be seen in the work of the Antwerp-based illuminator Lievan Van Lathem.¹⁶⁰ He was responsible for first campaign of illuminations in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold (1469), the backdrop to which may have influenced the much later Saint Christopher panel painting by Joachim Patinir, dated to the early 1520s (and now in El Escorial Palace in Spain) (Plates 62 and 63).¹⁶¹ However, there is a sense in which these developments did not entirely reach the less affluent wall painting in England. Although there is clearly more of a focus on background features in Saint Christopher wall painting at the very end of the medieval period, the sense of perspective is often lacking, meaning most of the images appear flat, one-dimensional, and rather chaotic.

The inclusion of scenes from the life of Saint Christopher in the wall paintings at Shorwell and Hemblington suggest that they probably date from the sixteenth century.¹⁶² This feature is uncommon in illumination before this time, and although a late fifteenth-century (Use of Lyons) Book of Hours does depict Saint Christopher’s

¹⁵⁹ BLO. MS Liturg. 41, folio 200v; Bodleian Library website:

www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/liturg/liturgical.html

¹⁶⁰ Kren and Ainsworth 2003, 52, 128-131.

¹⁶¹ Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. MS 37, folio 26; Kren, T., ‘Landscape as Leitmotif: A Reintegrated Book of Hours Illuminated by Simon Bening’, in *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters*, Brown, M., McKendrick, S., eds., London and Toronto 1998, 209-232, 218; Kren and Ainsworth 2003, Figure 29, 52.

¹⁶² Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website:

www.paintedchurch.org/shorcris.htm; Stone, P.G., *Architectural Antiquities of the Isle of Wight: The West Medine*, Part 2, London 1891, 58; Cox 1911, 151.

beheading and the enthroned King Dagnus, the figures are not part of the main river-crossing scene (Plate 64).¹⁶³ They are carved into a lunette inside the tympanum of a classical-style frame composed of fluted pillars and Corinthian capitals, features which demonstrate the impact of Italian artwork on French (and Flemish) imagery from the late fifteenth century onwards.¹⁶⁴ By the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is far more usual to find scenes included within the main body of the illuminated image. The Saint Christopher folio in the Hours of Henry VIII, for instance (a work associated with the French painter and illuminator Jean Bourdichon), is divided horizontally into two halves (Plate 65).¹⁶⁵ At the bottom of the page, Saint Christopher crosses the river, and at the top, he bids farewell to the devil. The additional scenes on either side of the central figure in the Shorwell and Hemblington wall paintings are prominent, and function as an extension of the Saint Christopher narrative. The left-hand side of the Shorwell mural contains pre-conversion scenes from the *Golden Legend*, including the saint's meeting with the crowned and horned devil.¹⁶⁶ In the bottom corner, the saint stands beside a wayside cross, waving off the devil (a motif also evident in the Hours of Henry VIII). On the right bank are post-conversion scenes, including the martyrdom of the saint. The arrows are miraculously turned away from the saint, and are deflected upwards towards King Dagnus (who has an arrow in his eye), the executioner and soldiers. On the left-hand bank at Hemblington, it is possible to discern a number of scenes, including Saint Christopher's meeting with the devil. On the right side of the mural is the saint's post-conversion encounter with King Dagnus, his imprisonment and battle with the seductresses Nicaea and Aquilina, the attempt by King Dagnus to kill him with arrows, the severing of his head, and the hanging of Nicaea and Aquilina.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. W 447, folio 88; Randall, L.M.C., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery: France 1420-1540*, Vol. 2, Baltimore 1992, Cat. 186.

¹⁶⁴ Kren, T., 'New Directions in Manuscript Painting, c.1510-1561', in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, Kren, T., McKendrick, S., eds., Los Angeles 2003, 411-413, 412.

¹⁶⁵ PML. MS H8, folio 178.

¹⁶⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, 10-14, 11.

¹⁶⁷ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (Vol. 2) 1993, 10-14; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/hemblcr.htm. There are also a handful of other scenes, most of which are unclear and seem to involve Saint Christopher standing before King Dagnus.

There is also a trend in wall painting dating from the very end of the period for depicting heavy Saint Christopher figures with legs that are slightly bent at the knee, a stance that gives the impression the saint is crouching in the water. At Hayes (Greater London), for example, the figure appears to be attached to a single spot in the river, struggling under the immense weight of the Christ Child (Plate 32). The mural has clearly been restored, for some of the colours, including the orange, thigh-length trousers and the block shading on the saint's right arm, are unnatural and rather too intense to be original. Yet there are many aspects of the wall painting that appear to be original, including the crouching stance. The posture can be traced back to c.1460 in illumination, but becomes far more prevalent from the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁶⁸ In the Use of Lyons Hours, for instance, the bulky saint is depicted with very large and rather unsightly legs, bent at the knee in a similar manner to the figure in the Hayes mural.¹⁶⁹ By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the crouching Saint Christopher type appears most frequently in woodcut images. In a work by Albrecht Dürer (c.1501), for example, the saint bends his thick, shapely, muscular legs at the knee, a posture which causes him to crouch low in the river (Plate 66).¹⁷⁰ In a similar manner to the Hayes painting, the cloaks of the saint and the Christ Child billow outward and upward in a most extreme manner. The Dürer Saint Christopher image was repeatedly copied, although in a less competent manner, by others working later in the century. Jost De Negker who operated in Leyden and Augsburg, produced a woodcut almost identical to the Dürer rendition (Plate 67).¹⁷¹ Dürer's 1511 woodcut, which exhibits the same crouching position as the 1501 example, was also copied in reduced and reversed form by Daniel Hopfer, who was active in Augsburg until his death in 1536 (Plate 68).¹⁷² The lines of the Hopfer woodcut are finer and sketchier than the Dürer image, and Hopfer added his own initials in the upper centre, but on the whole the figures and the background detail are almost identical.

¹⁶⁸ For example, V & A. MS AL1689-1902 (Reid MS 46), folio 44v. It is clear that this image is rather earlier than the Hayes wall painting, however, as the saint is significantly slither in build.

¹⁶⁹ Randall (Vol. 2) 1992, Figure 326, Catalogue No. 186.

¹⁷⁰ BM. Reg. No. 1895, 0122.681; Boon, K.G., Scheller, R.W., eds., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, c.1400-1700: Albrecht and Hans Dürer*, Vol. 7, Amsterdam 1962, Plate 222.

¹⁷¹ Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. Kupferstich Kabinett; Falk, T., Zijlma, R., eds., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, c.1400-1700: Johann Reinhard Muhl to Nickel Nehrlich the Elder*, Vol. 29, Roosendaal 1990, Plate 6, 251, 245.

¹⁷² BM. Reg. No. 2, 2.315; Boon and Scheller 1962, Plate 223; Graphische Sammlung, Augsburg; Falk, T., Zijlma, R., eds., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, c.1400-1700: Elias Holl to Hieronymus Hopfer*, Vol. 15, Blaricum 1986, Plate 15, 33, 191.

Conclusion

This chapter has overhauled and revised the chronology of the corpus of Saint Christopher wall paintings, and established an entirely new dating structure. Most murals can only be loosely dated to within a twenty-five to thirty-year period, and these provide stable hooks to attach the ‘new’ wall paintings that are continuously emerging from under the whitewash. The revised dating structure has been created through the examination of the wall painting itself (armorial bearings, donor figures, architecture and costume), through the analysis of documentary evidence relating to specific buildings, and through the study of stylistic and iconographical development of the Saint Christopher type in illumination, woodcuts and other types of imagery.

Although the chronology is provisional and the development of the Saint Christopher type sometimes unsystematic, there is a clear progress of style and iconography between c.1250 and c.1500. In the thirteenth century, Saint Christopher is portrayed as a rather small and slender figure, who holds the diminutive Christ Child in the crook of his arm. By the early fourteenth century, the Christ Child is placed slightly higher than the saint’s waist, and the saint’s staff is generally longer than in previous years. By the second quarter of the fourteenth century, features such as the ‘s-shaped’ stance, the twisted arm and embryonic background features are beginning to emerge. The figure of the saint becomes larger, bulkier and more cumbersome by the middle of the century, and his head begins to twist upwards in an awkward manner. Towards the end of the century, the Christ Child is positioned higher on Saint Christopher’s shoulders, and the ‘dancing leg’ stance is firmly ensconced. The fifteenth century sees the development of more diverse types of Saint Christopher figures, as well as a growth in wall painting size. The saint’s rather striking swathed drapery is a feature of the earlier part of the century, and the familiar ‘bent leg’ posture continues to be discernible until the second quarter of the century. A development in background features (such as the hermit), as well as an advance in stylistic features such as three-dimension, perspective and modelling, emerge around this time. By the third quarter of the century, the figure of the saint is far broader and weightier than previously, while the upright, slender and elegant figures are evident in the more stylistically advanced statures at Latton, Salisbury and Bloxham. In the late fifteenth century, stationary figures with broad shoulders, solid torsos and thick legs are common, and

by the end of the period, a sense of movement and dynamism, as well as scenes from the life of the saint, are common features. The crouching figure-type is also visible at Hayes.

CONCLUSION

Approaches to Imagery

This thesis is a comprehensive reassessment of the function and iconography of Saint Christopher wall paintings in English (and Welsh) churches between c.1250 and c.1500. The original lists compiled by researchers such as Keyser, Brindley, Salmon, Whaite and Tristram are now over half a century old, and therefore need revising and bringing up to date. The principle aim of this study has been to determine the precise nature of the relationship between Saint Christopher and parishioners. A particularist approach has been adopted in order to glean insight into how parishioners and other individuals interacted with imagery, and each wall painting has been assessed as a separate case study. The focus is on imagery in smaller edifices (often dismissed by modern academics as average in quality) because these were the buildings to which most of the inhabitants of medieval England were attached. There are obvious problems when undertaking any survey of medieval imagery because such a small percentage survives, and wall paintings in particular are often fragmentary and indistinct. A holistic approach has therefore been adopted, and other types of imagery and devotions to Saint Christopher (such as lights, oblations and burial practices) have been assessed. This study also assists to dispel the myth that medieval imagery was inherently didactic in function. Although sermons were used for edification, it is not clear whether priests and preachers actually used visual depictions in churches to illustrate the content of their sermons. All images are mnemonic in the sense that they recall what is already in the mind, but they cannot teach the viewer new ideas on their own. It is also clear that each image type (the Doom, Three Living and the Three Dead, Seven Deadly Sins, for instance) had its own particular function, and that image response was particularised and personal.

Sources and Methodology for Assessing Devotion

For the most part, parishioners were not familiar with theological theories of vision and object / person interaction forwarded by thinkers such as Aquinas and Bonaventure. Accordingly, records which provide more accurate evidence for individual and ‘popular’ responses to imagery in specific buildings have been examined. Wills and churchwardens’ accounts were carefully selected and methodically scrutinised for evidence of devotion and patronage to Saint Christopher. Where such records are lacking, they have been augmented with other types of documents which provide evidence for devotion, including sermon-related literature, church liturgy, and the works of medieval authors familiar with more ‘popular’ religion (such as Mirk and Pecoock). An assessment of the imagery itself (in particular donor figures, heraldry, inscription and architectural setting) has also been undertaken in an attempt to gauge the precise nature of the relationship between Saint Christopher and the laity.

Function of Saint Christopher Images

Images of Saint Christopher appeared in English illumination and wall paintings financed by royal and more prosperous patrons from c.1250. By the early fourteenth century, mural depictions of the saint began to emerge in more provincial churches, and it is likely that most buildings possessed a wall painting by the middle of the fourteenth century. Sources indicate that Saint Christopher was inherently bound up with the parish community in the later medieval period. His cult was not primarily founded upon relics, church liturgy or church dedications, and parishioners sought supplication primarily through his image in the church setting. Both records and imagery suggest that the popularity of Saint Christopher and his appearance in wall paintings (and other types of image) can be attributed to the protective and talismanic function which his image was considered to provide. He offered safeguard against unprepared death, misadventure, harm and fatigue, and was considered to be a curer of illness, a friend and helper, and an intercessor and mediator. Saint Christopher was not, as has commonly been ascertained by researchers since the nineteenth century, a saint who was principally associated with pilgrims, travellers. Although he was

perceived as a patron (by water bearers) and invoked at sea, there is no conclusive evidence that his image was commonly located near to water. His prominence in wall painting (rather than any other medium) was almost certainly a result of the need to *see* his image in order to gain the promised benefits. Viewing the mural was enough to get the desired result, and no specific conduct was required (although parishioners did offer prayers, lights and gifts to his image – and provided revenue for image creation and repair, both during their lifetime and after death). Saint Christopher was not a figure who was particularly connected with *post-obit* practices, although there are a handful of requests in wills for burial beside his image, or for his likeness to be depicted on tombs and brasses. His *post-obit* functions were not significantly dissimilar to those of other saints, and his role as a protector, mediator and intercessor on earth was transferred to the afterlife.

Location of Saint Christopher Images

This thesis has provided the first systematic survey of all existing (and where possible, lost) wall painting images of Saint Christopher and their physical location within church buildings. The vast majority of Saint Christopher wall paintings were positioned in prominent or accessible areas of the church, usually the nave or aisle, because of the need to *see* his likeness to receive the benefits. This study reveals that the bulk of Saint Christopher murals (around sixty percent) were located on the north side of the nave, compared with just thirteen percent positioned on the south side. Most churches were entered by the south door, so the north-side Saint Christopher painting would have been immediately visible on entering the edifice. There are a handful of exceptions to this location convention, however, most of which can be explained by factors specific to the individual building. There are three examples of north-side entrances with north-wall Saint Christophers, where the image would have been visible to anyone leaving the church. In these cases, the atypical north-door entrance can be explained either by the positioning of the village settlement to the north of the church, or by the inaccessibility of the building to the south. South-wall Saint Christopher murals are most typically a result of church realignment where the building is entered through the north door (usually because of settlement patterns, the wishes of patrons, or individual church design). Aisle paintings can frequently be

explained by architectural developments associated with the Perpendicular style, the increasing popularity of large-scale figure paintings, the wishes of patrons, and church design. Just five Saint Christopher wall paintings are (or were) positioned in chantry chapels, and the north-wall convention does not follow in most instances. The image may have had an alternative role in certain cases, such as at Aldermaston and Cirencester where Saint Christopher may have functioned as a patronal or titular saint.

Patronage

There has been little academic interest in the type of people who funded wall paintings or other types of imagery in provincial churches. It is clear from systematically examining three sets of wills (from Kent, Lincolnshire and Sussex) that oblations to Saint Christopher were very small in number. Between 0.17 percent and 5.3 percent of testators bestowed lights, money, land or gifts on Saint Christopher images, guilds or altars, or left money for image formation or reparation. Just twenty-five of the 14,456 testators allude to Saint Christopher images in their wills, and 0 make it clear that the image is a wall painting. Likewise, only three out of the thirty (or more) sets of churchwardens' accounts chosen for investigation contain bequests of endowments to Saint Christopher murals. The average bequest to a Saint Christopher image in the selected wills was also very low at 5s, and the painter at the Berry Tower was paid just 2s 4d. On the other hand, guilds dedicated to Saint Christopher were relatively prevalent.

Records and images provide little evidence about the type of people who funded the creation of medieval images, and researchers traditionally believed that responsibility for patronage lay with the landed classes and gentry. Certainly, it is obvious in some instances that wealthy individuals were the sole financiers of Saint Christopher images (Mawde Spicer at All Saints', Bristol, for instance). Yet it is also clear from analysing the selected wills and churchwardens' accounts that creation (or repainting) of Saint Christopher images were also financed communally by smaller donations from various contributors (at Berry Tower in Bodmin, for example). Even at Molesworth, where the Forster arms are included within the Saint Christopher wall painting, it is not entirely clear whether the family actually paid for the image.

Chronology of Saint Christopher Wall Paintings

1) Methodology

One of the major achievements of this thesis has been to revise substantially the chronology of Saint Christopher wall paintings forwarded by researchers such as Keyser, Salmon, Brindey, Whaite, Tristram. A modified and more precise dating system has been created, whereby the majority of Saint Christopher images can be placed within a twenty-five to thirty year period. The dating scheme was created by systematic analysis of three types of source material. The first method was to examine each extant wall painting in its immediate architectural surroundings for approximate dating evidence (focusing on donor figures, inscriptions, heraldry, costume, architectural features etc). The second method was to examine written records such as wills, churchwardens' accounts and chantry certificates for allusions to building and image patronage. The third method was to make stylistic and iconographical comparisons with Saint Christopher in illumination, woodcuts, sculpture and other forms of visual representation, and to make connections between wall paintings and wider artistic trends. Approximately seventy percent of Saint Christopher murals can be roughly dated using these three approaches, and these form relatively stable marker from which other images can be dated.

2) Results

There is a noticeable development in iconography and style in Saint Christopher murals between c.1250 and c.1500, although the process is sometimes uneven and haphazard. In the late thirteenth century, the saint is a diminutive and slender figure who supports the Christ Child in the crook of his arms. By the early fourteenth century, the Christ Child is typically positioned above the saint's waist, and the saint's staff is frequently rather longer than in previous depictions. The second quarter of the fourteenth century heralds the appearance of the distinctive 's-shaped' Saint Christopher pose, and the prominent manner in which the saint twists his arm around his staff. The saint is habitually taller in this period, and embryonic background

features (including trees and river banks) begin to emerge. By the middle of the fourteenth century, Saint Christopher becomes bulky and rather ungainly in stature, and often twists his head upwards in a conspicuous manner. By the close of the century, the Christ Child is positioned firmly on the shoulders of the saint, and the 'dancing leg' stance is firmly entrenched.

The fifteenth century sees the development of a number of different and more diverse Saint Christopher types, and the wall paintings generally increase in size. The 'bent leg' posture (which emerged in the late fourteenth century) and the prominent swathed drapery are features of the early part of the century. The 'bent leg' type persists into the second quarter of the century, when more varied and comprehensive background features (such as the hermit) begin to emerge. There is also an advance in stylistic features such as three-dimension, perspective and modelling around this time. By the third quarter of the century, Saint Christopher is generally broader and heavier in build (and in certain cases he has very large and prominent feet), while the upright, slender and graceful figures are evident in the more stylistically advanced figures at Latton, Salisbury and Bloxham. Broad shoulders, solid torsos, thick legs and stationary figures are characteristics of the late fifteenth century, and by the end of the period a sense of movement and dynamism are evident. In a few cases, Saint Christopher adopts the 'crouching' position.

Every year, a significant number of Saint Christopher wall paintings are uncovered. This dictates that the study of his image is an on-going and organic process. It is hoped that the corpus of images will be added to, and that this will help to shed even more light on the various functions which Saint Christopher murals played in the medieval parish church.

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The Suffolk Churches Website:
www.suffolkchurches.co.uk

TASC - The Transnational Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults
www.le.ac.uk/users/grj1/tasc.html

APPENDIX

A List of Saint Christopher Wall Paintings in England and Wales

This list has been compiled from primary and secondary sources, from images in the Conway Library at the Courtauld Institute, and from site visits to churches.

Possible Errors and Inaccuracies

The main difficulty when attempting to record all extant and lost Saint Christopher wall paintings is that the images are liable to appear, disappear, and even re-emerge over time. Many of the paintings listed in the original secondary works (such as Whaite and the earlier Pevsner series), have since been lost through neglect, or covered up. The mural at Arlington (Sussex), for instance, is listed as extant by Pevsner in 1965, and recorded in photographic form in the Conway Library.¹ However, a recent site visit revealed that the image has since been whitewashed over.² Other Saint Christopher wall paintings have been uncovered or rediscovered in recent years, and are therefore not included in the original lists. The mural at Dorchester Abbey (Oxfordshire) was only discovered in 2006, and the image at Inglesham (Wiltshire) only came to light as a result of visiting the church on some other errand.³

The Saint Christopher wall paintings have been listed by county, as is usual when compiling such catalogues. However, the constant shifting of borders has meant that it is not uncommon for villages or towns to change counties. Fritton (Norfolk), for example, was once in Suffolk.⁴ The creation and abolition of counties has also caused confusion when using older source material. Whaite lists Molesworth (Cambridgeshire) under the heading of Huntingdonshire, but the county was

¹ Nairn and Pevsner 1965, 400; CL. Ref. 458876.

² Andre, J.L., Keyser, C.E., Johnston, P.M., Whitley, H.M., 'Mural Paintings in Sussex Churches', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 43, 1900, 220-251, 223.

³ I am grateful to Ann Ballantyne for drawing my attention to the existence of the Saint Christopher painting at Dorchester Abbey.

⁴ Whaite 1929, 41. Confusingly, there is another village called Fritton in Norfolk (near Great Yarmouth) which also has an extant Saint Christopher wall painting.

abolished in 1965.⁵ Occasionally, villages are referred to by more than one name, a factor which can cause confusion for the researcher. Burlingham St. Edmund (Norfolk), for instance, is sometimes referred to as South Burlingham.⁶

The dating system corresponds to the early / mid / late century categories discussed in Chapter Five. On occasions, the Saint Christopher mural is so fragmented that it can only be dated to the nearest century (see Coombe [Sussex] below). Others remain undated because they are no longer extant, not reproduced in visual form, or are not currently accessible.

Key

- .
- * Existing Saint Christopher wall painting (at time of visit, or most up-to-date source reference).
- The wall painting is no longer visible (at time of visitation, or most up-to-date source reference).
- D** The wall painting is listed as destroyed.
- ?** The (lost) wall painting is of uncertain identification.

Wall paintings in **bold**: I have visited, photographed and recorded the (existing) image.

⁵ Whaite 1929, 41.

⁶ Pevsner and Wilson 1999, 420.

List of Saint Christopher Wall Paintings in England and Wales

Bedfordshire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Ampthill ⁷	Undated	Scenes painted on three columns, north arcade
* Bolnhurst ⁸	Second Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, over north door
* Chalgrave ⁹	Undated	North aisle, north wall
* Houghton Conquest	Second Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall, over north door
* Little Staughton	Second Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- Lower Gravenhurst ¹⁰	Undated	Unspecified
* Shelton ¹¹	Undated	North nave wall
- Toddington ¹²	Undated	North aisle, north wall, over doorway
* Yelden ¹³	Undated	South aisle, south wall

⁷ Keyser 1883 (A), 7. (D).

⁸ Pevsner 1968, 58; Rosewell 2008, 226.

⁹ Clive Rouse, E., 'Wall Paintings in the Church of All Saints', Chalgrove, Beds.', *The Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 42, 1935, 81-97, 96; Rosewell 2008, 226.

¹⁰ Whaite 41. (D).

¹¹ Pevsner 1968, 143; Rosewell 2008, 227.

¹² Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

¹³ Pevsner 1968, 177; Rosewell 2008, 227.

Berkshire

	DATE	LOCATION
* Aldermaston	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	South chapel, south wall
* Ashampstead	Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, over north door
- Ravenstone ¹⁴	Undated	Unspecified
- Reading, Saint Lawrence ¹⁵	Undated	Unspecified
- Sonning ¹⁶	Undated	Unspecified
- Stanford Dingley ¹⁷	Undated	Unspecified
- Sulhampstead ¹⁸	Undated	Unspecified

Bristol

	DATE	LOCATION
- All Saints', Bristol ¹⁹	Late Fifteenth Century	Pillars in ' <i>the lower part of the church</i> '.

¹⁴ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

¹⁵ Kerry, C., *A History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*, Reading 1883, 69.

¹⁶ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

¹⁷ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

¹⁸ Whaite 1929, 43. (D); Pevsner, N., *Berkshire*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1966, 231.

This church was rebuilt in 1914.

¹⁹ Burgess (Vol. 6, Part 1) 1995, 20. See Chapter Four.

Buckinghamshire

	DATE	LOCATION
* Bledlow	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Little Hampden	Early Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, west of doorway
* Little Hampden	Early Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
* Little Hampden	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
* Little Horwood	Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Little Kimble	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
- Chesham ²⁰	Early Fifteenth Century	South wall, south aisle
- Chesham Bois ²¹	Undated	Unspecified
* Little Missenden	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade
* Padbury	Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
* Radnage ²²	Undated	North nave wall
* The Lee (Old Church) ²³	Sixteenth Century?	North nave wall
* Winslow	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall

²⁰ Brandwood, Pevsner and Williamson 1994, 238. This wall painting is mentioned in the first edition of Pevsner, but has since been whitewashed over.

²¹ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²² Rosewell 2008, 233.

²³ Rosewell 2008, 233.

Cambridgeshire

	DATE	LOCATION
* Bartlow	Late Fifteenth Century	South nave wall, opposite north door
* Barton ²⁴	Undated	North nave wall
* Bassingbourn ²⁵	Undated	Unspecified
* Burwell ²⁶	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
- Cambridge, St. John's College ²⁷	Undated	Unspecified
- Cherry Hinton ²⁸	Undated	North nave wall, above doorway
* Chippenham	Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall, east of door
- Eversden ²⁹	Undated	South nave wall
- Grantchester ³⁰	Undated	North nave wall
* Impington	Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Kingston ³¹	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
- Hamerton ³²	Undated	Unspecified
- Hardwick ³³	Undated	North nave wall, above doorway
- Hemingford Abbots ³⁴	Undated	Unspecified

²⁴ Pevsner 1970 (A), 300.

²⁵ Duffy 2005, 156.

²⁶ Wareham, A.F. Wright, A.P.M., eds., *The Victoria History of the County of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, Vol. 10, Oxford 2002, 363.

²⁷ Babington, C.C., *History of Infirmary and Chapel of the Hospital and College of Saint John the Evangelist at Cambridge*, Cambridge 1874, 20.

²⁸ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²⁹ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

³⁰ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

³¹ Pevsner 1970 (A), 417; Rosewell 2008, 238.

³² TASC - The Transnational Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults:

www.le.ac.uk/elh/grj1/database/dedhuntweb.html

³³ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

- Milton ³⁵	Undated	North nave wall
* Molesworth	Late fifteenth century	North nave wall
- Morborne ³⁶	Undated	Unspecified
* Orton Longueville ³⁷	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Peakirk	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade
* Peakirk	Undated	North aisle, north wall, west of doorway
* Rampton ³⁸	Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Stow-cum-Quy	Late Fifteenth Century	South nave wall, arcade
* Wilburton ³⁹	Undated	North nave wall
* Willingham	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade, east end

Cheshire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Bunbury ⁴⁰	Undated	South nave wall
- Gawsworth ⁴¹	Undated	North nave wall
* Mobberley	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade

³⁴ TASC - The Transnational Database and Atlas of Saints' Cults:

www.le.ac.uk/elh/grj1/database/dedhuntweb.html

³⁵ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

³⁶ Keyser 1883 (A), 179.

³⁷ Pevsner 1970 (A), 300; Rosewell 2008, 238.

³⁸ Cambridgeshire Churches Website: www.druidic.org/camchurch/churches/rampton.htm

³⁹ Cambridgeshire Churches Website: www.druidic.org/camchurch/churches/wilburton.htm

⁴⁰ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

⁴¹ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

Cornwall

	DATE	LOCATION
- Berry Tower, Bodmin ⁴²	c.1512-c.1514	Unspecified
* Breage	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall, west of doorway
- St. Clement ⁴³	Undated	North nave wall
* St. Keverne ⁴⁴	Sixteenth Century	North nave wall
- Ludgvan ⁴⁵	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall, east of doorway
- Mylor ⁴⁶	Early Fifteenth Century?	North nave wall
* Poughill	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
* Poughill	Late Fifteenth Century	South aisle wall
- Virginstow ⁴⁷	Undated	Unspecified

Derbyshire

* Haddon Hall	Late Fifteenth Century	South nave wall, arcade
* Taddington ⁴⁸	Undated	Wall of tower

⁴² CRO. B/Bod 314, membrane12v; MacClean 1873, 199. All that remains of Berry Tower is the ruinous early sixteenth-century tower.

⁴³ Whaite 1929, 43. (D); Mitchell Whitley, H., 'The Church of St. Clement', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, Vol. 2, 1866-1867, 43-46.

⁴⁴ Pevsner, *Cornwall*, Revised, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1970, 184; Rosewell 2008, 240.

⁴⁵ Whaite 1929, 42. (D); Iago, W., 'On the St. Christopher Wall Paintings, at Ludgvan, Mylor, &c.', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, Vol. 4, 1871-1872, 53-57.

⁴⁶ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

⁴⁷ Enys 1902, 138, 156. (D).

⁴⁸ Caiger-Smith 1963, 137.

Devon

	DATE	LOCATION
- Bishop's Tawton ⁴⁹	Undated	North aisle
- Cullompton ⁵⁰	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
- Exeter, Saint Mary Major ⁵¹	Undated	South wall of tower
- Lymstone ⁵²	Undated	North aisle
* ?Sidbury ⁵³	Undated	Tower arch (behind Warren monument)
- Talaton ⁵⁴	Undated	North nave wall
- Ringmore ⁵⁵	Undated	Unspecified
- Woodleigh ⁵⁶	Undated	North nave wall
- Whimble ⁵⁷	Undated	North nave wall

Dorset

	DATE	LOCATION
* Cranborne	Early Fifteenth Century	South nave wall, arcade
- Margaret Marsh ⁵⁸	Undated	North wall
- Marnhull ⁵⁹	Undated	Unspecified
- Melcombe Horsey ⁶⁰	Undated	North nave wall

⁴⁹ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

⁵⁰ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

⁵¹ Whaite 1929, 41. (D); Pevsner, N., *North Devon*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1952, 150. The church was rebuilt between 1865 and 1868.

⁵² Whaite 1929, 42. (D); Pevsner 1952, 201. The church was rebuilt in the 1860s.

⁵³ Rosewell 2008, 241.

⁵⁴ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

⁵⁵ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

⁵⁶ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

⁵⁷ Whaite 1929, 44. (D); Pevsner 1952, 308. The church was rebuilt in 1845 (except for the tower).

⁵⁸ Whaite 1929, 42. (D); Newman, J., Pevsner, N., *Dorset*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1972, 269.

The church was rebuilt in the Perpendicular style between 1872 and 1873.

⁵⁹ Salmon 1936, 103, 107.

⁶⁰ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

- Poyntington ⁶¹	Undated	Pier between nave and aisle, east face
- Portesham ⁶²	Undated	North nave wall, west end
* Tarrant Crawford	Early Fourteenth Century	South nave wall
- West Chickerell ⁶³	Undated	Unspecified
* Whitcombe	Second Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
- Wimbourne Hospital ⁶⁴	Undated	Unspecified
- Winfrith Newburgh ⁶⁵	Undated	South nave wall

Essex

	DATE	LOCATION
* Abbess Roding ⁶⁶	Undated	North nave wall
* Bradwell-juxta-Coggeshall ⁶⁷	Undated	North nave wall, over north doorway
- Canewdon ⁶⁸	Undated	' <i>Right side of the doorway</i> ', ⁶⁹
- Chipping Ongar ⁷⁰	Undated	North wall
* Fairstead ⁷¹	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	South nave wall, opposite doorway

⁶¹ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

⁶² Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

⁶³ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

⁶⁴ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

⁶⁵ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

⁶⁶ Cook, O, Hutton, G., Smith, E, *English Parish Churches*, London 1976, 69.

⁶⁷ Rosewell 2008, 246.

⁶⁸ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

⁶⁹ Keyser 1883 (A), 52.

⁷⁰ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

⁷¹ Tristram 1955, 170 ; Rosewell 2008, 247.

- Feering ⁷²	Undated	North aisle, north wall
* Fingringhoe ⁷³	Undated	North nave wall, over north door
- Ingatestone ⁷⁴	Undated	North nave wall, near west door
* Lambourne	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	South nave wall
- Latton ⁷⁵	Third quarter of fifteenth century	Ardene Chapel, west wall, over doorway
* Layer Marney	Early Sixteenth Century	North nave wall
* Little Baddow ⁷⁶	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, opposite doorway
* Little Tey ⁷⁷	Undated	North nave wall, east of doorway
- Orsett ⁷⁸	Undated	North aisle, north wall

Gloucestershire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Ampney Crucis ⁷⁹	Undated	North nave wall
* Ampney St Mary	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Baunton	Late fifteenth century	North nave wall, opposite doorway

⁷² Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

⁷³ Pevsner and Radcliffe 1965, 182.

⁷⁴ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

⁷⁵ Pevsner and Radcliffe 1965, 222; Bettley and Pevsner 2007, 454. The paintings were described as 'scanty' by Pevsner and Radcliffe in 1965, and are now lost.

⁷⁶ Long, E.T., 'Some Recently Discovered English Wall Paintings', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 56, 1930, 225-233, 226; Rosewell 2008, 248.

⁷⁷ Bettley and Pevsner 2007, 560; Rosewell 2008, 248.

⁷⁸ Salmon 1936, 103.

⁷⁹ Rosewell 2008, 248.

- Bibury ⁸⁰	Undated	<i>‘Opposite to the entrance at the south door of the church’.</i>
* Bishop's Cleeve	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
* Cirencester, St. John	Late Fifteenth Century	South wall, St Catherine Chapel, east end
* Great Washbourne	Early Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
* Fairford	Late Fifteenth / Sixteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
* Hailes	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
* Kempley	Fourteenth Century?	North nave wall, west end
- Leonard Stanley ⁸¹	Undated	Unspecified
* Stoke Orchard	Late Fifteenth Century	South nave wall
* Turkdean	Fifteenth Century	North aisle, south wall, arcade
- Weston-Sub-Edge ⁸²	Undated	South nave wall, near south entrance
* Yate	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, opposite doorway

⁸⁰ Rudder 1799, 286. (D).

⁸¹ Bird, W.H., *The Ancient Mural Paintings in the Churches of Gloucestershire*, Gloucester 1936, 32.

⁸² Bird 1936, 56.

Hampshire

	DATE	LOCATION
* Ashmansworth ⁸³	Undated	North nave wall
* Bramley	Sixteenth Century?	North nave wall
- East Meon ⁸⁴	Undated	Unspecified
* East Wellow	Early Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
* Freefolk ⁸⁵	Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Hartley Wintney ⁸⁶	Undated	North nave wall
- Romsey Abbey ⁸⁷	Undated	Niche, back of high altar, western face of wall
* Shorwell, Isle of Wight	Sixteenth Century	North nave wall, above doorway
- Sopley ⁸⁸	Undated	Unspecified
- Tichborne ⁸⁹	Undated	North nave wall
* Tufton ⁹⁰	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
- Winchester Cathedral ⁹¹	Undated	North transept, east wall
* Winchester, St. John ⁹²	Early Fourteenth Century	North aisle, north wall, window splay

⁸³ Rosewell 2008, 253.

⁸⁴ Keyser 1883 (A), 175.

⁸⁵ Rosewell 2008, 254.

⁸⁶ Rosewell 2008, 254.

⁸⁷ Bardwell and Tristram (Vol. 2), 1950, 595. (D); Living, *Records of Romsey Abbey* 1906, 65

⁸⁸ Salmon 1936, 107.

⁸⁹ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

⁹⁰ Lloyd, D., Pevsner, N., *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1967, 629; Rosewell 2008, 255.

⁹¹ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

⁹² Collier 1905, 144. Keyser 1883 (B), 195.

- Winchester, St John ⁹³	Undated	South wall
- Winchester St. Lawrence ⁹⁴	Undated	South aisle
- Winchester Castle ⁹⁵	C.1248	Queen's Chapel, west gable

Hertfordshire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Ardeley ⁹⁶	Undated	South nave wall
* St. Albans Abbey	C.1326- c.1335	Nave, pillar, north face
* Cottered ⁹⁷	Sixteenth Century	North nave wall, opposite doorway
* Flamstead ⁹⁸	Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade
- Kimpton ⁹⁹	Undated	North nave wall, arcade, opposite doorway
- Long Marston ¹⁰⁰	Undated	Unspecified
* Newnham ¹⁰¹	Third Quarter of the Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Ridge ¹⁰²	Undated	North nave wall
- Watford ¹⁰³	Undated	Pillars between nave and north aisle

⁹³ Collier 1905, 144.

⁹⁴ Whaite 1929, 44. (D); Collier 1905, 145.

⁹⁵ *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* (Vol. 3) 1937, 177.

⁹⁶ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

⁹⁷ Rosewell 2008, 257.

⁹⁸ Rosewell 2008, 257.

⁹⁹ Tristram 1955, 189.

¹⁰⁰ Whaite 1929, 42. (D); Pevsner, N., *Hertfordshire*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1953, 164. Only the tower of the medieval church remains.

¹⁰¹ CL. Ref. 458890; Rosewell 2008, 257.

¹⁰² Pevsner, N., *Hertfordshire*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1953, 194; Rosewell 2008, 260.

¹⁰³ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

Kent

	DATE	LOCATION
- Bethersden ¹⁰⁴	Undated	Unspecified
* Borden ¹⁰⁵	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade
* Brook	Mid /Third Quarter of the Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, over doorway
- Canterbury Cathedral ¹⁰⁶	Undated	Becket's Crown, crypt
- Canterbury, St George ¹⁰⁷	c.1499	Unspecified
* Canterbury, St Mary Northgate ¹⁰⁸	Undated	North nave wall
* Harbledown, Hospital of St. Nicholas ¹⁰⁹	Undated	South nave wall
* Littlebourne	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, above blocked arch (once an aisle)
- Lower Halstow ¹¹⁰	Undated	Unspecified
* Milton Regis	Late Fifteenth Century	South aisle, south wall
- Morborne ¹¹¹	Undated	Unspecified
- Newington ¹¹²	Undated	Unspecified
* Rainham ¹¹³	Fifteenth Century	South nave wall

¹⁰⁴ Ford 1992, 227; *Churchwardens' Accounts at Bettrysden* 1928, 85. Accounts for 1546-1547: 'To Coventre for myndynge of ye ledes and for blottynge out of Saynt Chrystouer...xviid'.

¹⁰⁵ Newman 1969 (A), 143; Rosewell 2008, 261.

¹⁰⁶ Collier 1905, 144.

¹⁰⁷ *Testimenta Cantiana (East Kent)* 1907, 50. 'To the new painting of St. Christopher within the church, 6s 8d: William Hempstede, 1499'.

¹⁰⁸ Caiger-Smith Oxford 1963, 150.

¹⁰⁹ Bardswell and Tristram (Vol. 2), 1950, 551; Rosewell 2008, 263.

¹¹⁰ Salmon 1936, 107.

¹¹¹ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

¹¹² Salmon 1936, 107.

¹¹³ Newman, J., *West Kent and the Weald*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1969, 448

* Rochester Cathedral	Early Fifteenth Century	South nave, pillar, west end
* Tonge ¹¹⁴	Undated	North nave wall, arcade, opposite doorway
- West Malling ¹¹⁵	Undated	Unspecified

Lancashire

	DATE	LOCATION
* Ribchester ¹¹⁶	Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall

Leicestershire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Loughborough ¹¹⁷	Undated	Unspecified

Lincolnshire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Barkston ¹¹⁸	Undated	North nave wall, over doorway
* Corby Glen	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
* Corby Glen	Early Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall

¹¹⁴ Newman 1969 (B), 461.

¹¹⁵ *Testimenta Cantiana (West Kent)* 1906, 51. The image is referred to as a 'pingendum'.

¹¹⁶ Saint Wilfrid's Ribchester with Saint Saviour, Stydd Website: www.saintwilfrids.org.uk/html/saint_wilfrid_s.html; Rosewell 2008, 264.

¹¹⁷ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

¹¹⁸ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

* Pickworth	Late Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade
- Spalding ¹¹⁹	Undated	South transept, north-east pier

London and Great London

	DATE	LOCATION
- Croydon ¹²⁰	Early Fifteenth Century	South nave wall, opposite doorway
* Hayes	Sixteenth Century	North nave wall
- Northolt ¹²¹	Undated	Unspecified
* Ruislip	Late Fifteenth Century	South aisle, south wall
- Tower of London ¹²²	c.1240	Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula
* Westminster Abbey	c.1290-c.1310	South transept, south wall

Norfolk

	DATE	LOCATION
- Alburgh (x2) ¹²³	Sixteenth Century?	North nave wall, over north door
- Aldburgh ¹²⁴	Undated	Unspecified
- Arminghall ¹²⁵	Undated	Unspecified

¹¹⁹ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

¹²⁰ Whaite 1929, 41. (D); Anon, 'Proceedings of the Central Committee', *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 2, 1846, 267-269, 267; Cherry, B., Pevsner, N., *London 2: South London*, Buildings of England, London 2003, 208. The medieval church was destroyed by fire in 1867, and rebuilt by Scott in 1870.

¹²¹ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

¹²² *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* (Vol. 2) 1930, 15.

¹²³ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

¹²⁴ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

¹²⁵ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

* Attleborough	Late Fifteenth Century	South nave wall, over doorway
- Bablingley ¹²⁶	Undated	' <i>Over main doorway</i> '.
* Bale	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Banningham ¹²⁷	Early Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
* Belton	Early Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, opposite doorway
- Billingford ¹²⁸	Undated	North aisle, north wall, over doorway
- Brooke ¹²⁹	Undated	South nave wall
* Brisley	Early Fifteenth Century	South aisle, south wall
* Brisley	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
- Brundall ¹³⁰	Undated	Unspecified
- Burgh Castle Church ¹³¹	Undated	Unspecified
- Burgh St. Peter ¹³²	Undated	North nave wall
* Burlingham St. Edmund (or South Burlingham)	1)Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, opposite doorway
* Burnham Overy	Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, in blocked doorway
- Burnham Overy (Chancel) ¹³³	Undated	' <i>Over chancel doorway</i> '.
* Caistor-by-Norwich (or Caistor St Edmund) ¹³⁴	Sixteenth Century?	South nave wall

¹²⁶ Tristram 1955, 136. (D).

¹²⁷ Nichols 2002, 179; Rosewell 2008, 267.

¹²⁸ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

¹²⁹ Nichols 2002, 181. (D).

¹³⁰ Nichols 2002, 181. (D).

¹³¹ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

¹³² Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

¹³³ BL. Add MS 23,026 (Vol. 3), 197.

¹³⁴ Nichols 2002, 180.

* Cockthorpe	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Crosthick	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	South nave wall, west of doorway
* Crostwright ¹³⁵	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
- Drayton ¹³⁶	Early Fifteenth Century?	North nave wall
* Edingthorpe ¹³⁷	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
- Fakenham ¹³⁸	Undated	North nave wall
- Freethorpe ¹³⁹	Undated	South nave wall
* Fring	Late Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
* Fritton (Norwich)	Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Fritton (Yarmouth)	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- Garveston ¹⁴⁰	Undated	Unspecified
- Gorleston ¹⁴¹	Undated	North wall
* Great Ellingham ¹⁴²	Sixteenth Century	South nave wall, opposite doorway
* Haddiscoe	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, opposite doorway
* Hales	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	South nave wall, opposite doorway
* Hardley	Late Fourteenth	South nave wall

¹³⁵ Nichols 2002, 179; Rosewell 2008, 268.

¹³⁶ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

¹³⁷ Nichols 2002, 179; Pevsner and Wilson 1990, 455; Rosewell 2008, 268.

¹³⁸ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

¹³⁹ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

¹⁴⁰ Nichols 2002, 181. (D).

¹⁴¹ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

¹⁴² Nichols 2002, 177; Pevsner and Wilson 1999, 366; Rosewell 2008, 269.

	Century	
* Hardwick	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
* Hemblington	Sixteenth Century	North nave wall
- Hockering ¹⁴³	Undated	Unspecified
* Hockham ¹⁴⁴	Undated	North aisle wall
* Irstead (x2) ¹⁴⁵	1) Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century 2) Fifteenth century	North aisle, north wall
* Langley ¹⁴⁶	Undated	South nave wall, east of doorway
- Limpenhoe ¹⁴⁷	Undated	Unspecified
* Lingwood ¹⁴⁸	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Little Melton ¹⁴⁹	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade, west end
* Little Witchington ¹⁵⁰	Undated	North nave wall
* Moulton St. Mary ¹⁵¹	Late Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
* Mundham ¹⁵²	Undated	Unspecified
- Norwich, St. Etheldreda ¹⁵³	Second Quarter of the	North nave wall,

¹⁴³ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

¹⁴⁴ Nichols 2002, 179.

¹⁴⁵ Nichols 2002, 179; Medieval Wall Paintings in the English Parish Church Website: www.paintedchurch.org/irster2.htm

¹⁴⁶ Nichols 2002, 178; Rosewell 2008, 272.

¹⁴⁷ Whaite 1929, 42. (D); Pevsner, N., *North-East Norfolk and Norwich*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1962, 183. The church was rebuilt between 1881 and 1882 (except for the medieval base of the tower and a few windows).

¹⁴⁸ Nichols 2002, 179; Rosewell 2008, 272.

¹⁴⁹ Nichols 2002, 179; Caiger-Smith 1963, 158.

The Norfolk Churches Website: www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/littlemelton/littlemelton.htm

¹⁵⁰ Nichols 2002, 179; Saul, N., ed. *The Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England*, London 1992, 112; Rosewell 2008, 273.

¹⁵¹ Nichols 2002, 176; Pevsner and Wilson 1990, 617; Rosewell 2008, 273.

¹⁵² Nichols 2002, 181; Pevsner and Wilson 1999, 551.

	Fifteenth Century	opposite south door
- Norwich, St. Giles ¹⁵⁴	Undated	Over north door
* Oulton ¹⁵⁵	Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Paston	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
* Potter Heigham	Undated	North wall, north aisle
- Ranworth ¹⁵⁶	Undated	South wall
* Scottow ¹⁵⁷	Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Sedgeford	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	South aisle, south wall
* Seething	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
- South Elmham, St. James ¹⁵⁸	Undated	Across window splays
* South Pickenham	Late Fourteenth Century	South nave wall, opposite doorway
- Stockton ¹⁵⁹	Undated	Unspecified
- Stokesby ¹⁶⁰	Undated	North nave wall
- Stow Bardolph ¹⁶¹	Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- Stow Bardolph ¹⁶²	Late Fifteenth Century	South nave wall
* Swannington ¹⁶³	Undated	South aisle, north wall

¹⁵³ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

¹⁵⁴ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

¹⁵⁵ Nichols 2002, 181.

¹⁵⁶ Nichols 2002, 181; Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

¹⁵⁷ Nichols 2002, 180; Pevsner and Wilson 1990, 658; Rosewell 2008, 274.

¹⁵⁸ Whaite 1929, 41. (D); Keyser (B) 1883, 195.

¹⁵⁹ Nichols 2002, 181. (D); Keyser 1907, 105.

¹⁶⁰ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

¹⁶¹ Keyser 1883 (A), 242. (D); Pevsner 1962 (B), 328. The church was rebuilt between 1848 and 1849 (except for the Perpendicular tower).

¹⁶² Keyser 1883 (A), 242. (D).

* Thurlton ¹⁶⁴	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Thurton ¹⁶⁵	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- Wacton Magna ¹⁶⁶	Undated	Over north doorway
- Walpole St. Peter ¹⁶⁷	Undated	Over south doorway
- Wells ¹⁶⁸	Undated	Over south doorway
- Westfield ¹⁶⁹	Undated	North nave wall, over doorway
* Weston Longueville ¹⁷⁰	Undated	North nave wall
* West Somerton ¹⁷¹	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	South nave wall (between third window from east and blocked south door)
* Wickhampton	Late Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
* Wilby ¹⁷²	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
- Wilton St James ¹⁷³	Undated	Unspecified
- Wimbotsham ¹⁷⁴	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	South nave wall
- Witton ¹⁷⁵	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Yaxham ¹⁷⁶	Undated	Window splay behind

¹⁶³ Nichols 2002, 179; Rosewell 2008, 274.

¹⁶⁴ Rosewell 2008, 274.

¹⁶⁵ Nichols 2002, 177-178; Pevsner and Wilson 1999, 727; Rosewell 2008, 274.

¹⁶⁶ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

¹⁶⁷ Nichols 2002, 181.

¹⁶⁸ Whaite 1929, 44. (D); Pevsner 1962 (A), 339. The church was largely rebuilt in 1879.

¹⁶⁹ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

¹⁷⁰ Nichols 2002, 181.

¹⁷¹ Nichols 2002, 179; Pevsner and Wilson 1990, 718; Rosewell 2008, 275.

¹⁷² Nichols 2002, 181; Rosewell 2008, 275.

¹⁷³ Nichols 2002, 181. (D).

¹⁷⁴ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

¹⁷⁵ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

		pulpit
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Northamptonshire

	DATE	LOCATION
*Ashby St. Legers	Early Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall, above doorway
- Aston-le-Wallis ¹⁷⁷	Undated	Unspecified
- Barby ¹⁷⁸	Undated	North aisle, north wall
- Castor ¹⁷⁹	Undated	Unspecified
* Glapthorn ¹⁸⁰	Undated	North nave wall
* Hargrave ¹⁸¹	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- ?Holcot ¹⁸²	Undated	Unspecified
- Irthlingborough ¹⁸³	Undated	South transept, south wall
* Raunds	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade
* Slapton	Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Thorpe Mandeville ¹⁸⁴	Undated	North nave wall
- Woodford Halse ¹⁸⁵	Undated	Unspecified

¹⁷⁶ Nichols 2002, 181.

¹⁷⁷ Keyser 1883 (A), 12. (D).

¹⁷⁸ Tristram 1955, 136.

¹⁷⁹ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

¹⁸⁰ Rosewell 2008, 276.

¹⁸¹ Cherry and Pevsner 1973, 246.

¹⁸² Salmon 1936, 18.

¹⁸³ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

¹⁸⁴ Rosewell 2008, 277.

¹⁸⁵ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

Nottinghamshire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Nottingham, St. Mary ¹⁸⁶	Undated	Unspecified

Oxfordshire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Banbury ¹⁸⁷	Undated	Unspecified
* Black Bourton	Early Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade
* Bloxham	Third quarter of fifteenth century	North aisle, north wall, above doorway
* Broughton	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- Burford ¹⁸⁸	Undated	North nave wall
* Combe Longa	Late Fifteenth Century	South nave wall
- Cropredy ¹⁸⁹	Undated	North aisle
* Dorchester Abbey	Fifteenth Century	South chancel aisle, south wall
- Headington ¹⁹⁰	Early Fourteenth Century	South aisle, south wall
* Horley	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
- Hornton ¹⁹¹	Undated	Unspecified
* Kirtlington	Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
* Piddington	Early Fifteenth Century	North nave wall

¹⁸⁶ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

¹⁸⁷ Pevsner and Sherwood 1974, 435. The church was rebuilt in 1797.

¹⁸⁸ Gretton, R.H., *The Burford Records: A Study in Minor Town Government*, Oxford 1920, 107.

¹⁸⁹ Long, E.T., 'Medieval Wall Paintings in Oxfordshire Churches', *Oxoniensia*, Vol. 37, 1972, 86-108.

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¹⁹⁰ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

¹⁹¹ Salmon 1936, 108.

- Souldern ¹⁹²	Undated	North nave wall
- Standlake ¹⁹³	Undated	Unspecified
* Widford	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Woodeaton	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
- Yarnton ¹⁹⁴	Undated	North wall, over doorway

Rutland

	DATE	LOCATION
- Brooke ¹⁹⁵	Undated	Unspecified
- Ketton ¹⁹⁶	Undated	North nave wall
* Stoke Dry	Early Fourteenth Century	South nave chapel, south wall,
- Ridlington ¹⁹⁷	Undated	Unspecified
- Edith Weston ¹⁹⁸	Undated	Unspecified

Shropshire

	DATE	LOCATION
* Edstaston ¹⁹⁹	Undated	North nave wall

¹⁹² Pevsner and Sherwood 1974, 769.

¹⁹³ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

¹⁹⁴ Long 1972, 106.

¹⁹⁵ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

¹⁹⁶ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

¹⁹⁷ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

¹⁹⁸ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

¹⁹⁹ Caiger-Smith 1963, 170; Rosewell 2008, 285.

Somerset

	DATE	LOCATION
* Cameley	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Ditcheat	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
- Henstridge ²⁰⁰	Undated	Unspecified
- Loxton ²⁰¹	Undated	North nave wall
- Mells	Undated	Over north door
* Wedmore (x2)	Late Fifteenth Century	Tower arch, north return

Staffordshire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Colton ²⁰²	Undated	Jamb of west window

Suffolk

	DATE	LOCATION
* Alpheton	Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, west of doorway
- Bardwell ²⁰³	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, over north doorway
* Barnby ²⁰⁴	Undated	North nave wall

²⁰⁰ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²⁰¹ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

²⁰² Whaite 1929, 41. (D); Nairn, J., Pevsner, N., *Staffordshire*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1974, 106. The church was rebuilt by Street between 1850 and 1852 (except for the tower).

²⁰³ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

²⁰⁴ Pevsner and Radcliffe 2002, 85; Rosewell 2008, 289.

- Blundeston ²⁰⁵	Undated	Unspecified
* Bradfield Combust	Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, over doorway
* Chediston ²⁰⁶	Undated	North nave wall
- Chellesworth ²⁰⁷	Undated	South aisle, south wall
* Creting St. Peter	Early fifteenth century	North nave wall
- Freston ²⁰⁸	Undated	Unspecified
* Grundisburgh	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- Hawkedon ²⁰⁹	Undated	North wall, opposite doorway
- Hengrave ²¹⁰	Before 1440?	Over north door
- Herringfleet ²¹¹	Undated	North nave wall
* Heset	Sixteenth Century	North nave wall, over doorway
* Hintlesham ²¹²	Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, opposite doorway
* Hoxne	Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade
* Kentford ²¹³	Undated	North nave wall
* Ilketshall, St Margaret ²¹⁴	Undated	Unspecified
- Ipswich, St Margaret ²¹⁵	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade

²⁰⁵ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

²⁰⁶ Pevsner and Radcliffe 2002, 163.

²⁰⁷ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

²⁰⁸ Harris, H.A., 'Medieval Mural Paintings', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, Vol. 19, 1927 286-312, 306.

²⁰⁹ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²¹⁰ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²¹¹ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²¹² Pevsner and Radcliffe 2002, 273.

²¹³ Rosewell, 289.

²¹⁴ Pevsner and Radcliffe 2002, 288.

²¹⁵ Whaite 1929, 42. (D); V & A. MS D4b. Fresco by F. Davy (Reproduction of Saint Christopher Wall Painting at St Margaret's church, Ipswich).

* Little Wenham	Early Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
* Martlesham	Second Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Middleton	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Mutford	Late Fifteenth Century	North aisle wall
* Naughton ²¹⁶	Mid / Third Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
- Pakefield ²¹⁷	Late Fifteenth Century	Unspecified
- Preston ²¹⁸	Unspecified	Over chancel arch
* Risby	Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- Rushmere ²¹⁹	Undated	North wall, over doorway
- Sproughton ²²⁰	Undated	North aisle, north wall
* Stowlangtoft	Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, above doorway
* Stradishall ²²¹	Undated	North nave wall
* Troston	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
- Ufford ²²²	Undated	North nave wall
* Westhall	Early Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
- Wangford ²²³	Undated	South nave wall

²¹⁶ Rosewell 2008, 291.

²¹⁷ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

²¹⁸ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

²¹⁹ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

²²⁰ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

²²¹ Rosewell 2008, 293

²²² Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

²²³ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

* Worlingworth ²²⁴	Late Fifteenth Century?	North nave wall
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Surrey

	DATE	LOCATION
* Albury	Late Fifteenth Century	South aisle, south wall, above doorway
- Newdigate ²²⁵	Sixteenth Century	North aisle, north wall
* Warlingham	Second Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, east end

²²⁴ The Suffolk Churches Website: www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/worlingworth.html

²²⁵ Whaite 1929, 42. (D).

Sussex

	DATE	LOCATION
- Arlington ²²⁶	Undated	North nave wall
* Battle	Fourteenth Century	North nave wall, clerestory window splays
* Coombes	Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- Nuthurst ²²⁷	Undated	Unspecified
- ?Poynings ²²⁸	Undated	South wall, opposite doorway
- Rogate ²²⁹	Undated	Unspecified
- South Bersted ²³⁰	Undated	Pillar of nave
* Southease ²³¹	Undated	North wall, opposite doorway
- Stedham ²³²	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
* Trotton (x2)	1) Early Fourteenth Century 2) Late Fifteenth Century	South nave wall
* Upmarden ²³³	Undated	North nave wall
* West Chiltington	Second Quarter of Fourteenth Century	North nave wall
* West Grinstead	Sixteenth Century	North nave wall, east of

²²⁶ Salmon 1936, 1091; Nairn and Pevsner 1965, 400.

²²⁷ Andre, J.L., Keyser, C.E., Johnston, P.M., Whitley, H.M., 'Mural Paintings in Sussex Churches', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 43, 1900, 220-251, 240. (D).

²²⁸ Andre and Keyser 1900, 241. The authors of the article claim that the painting may represent Adam and Eve (or possibly Saint Christopher).

²²⁹ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

²³⁰ Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

²³¹ Lloyd, D., Pevsner, N., *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Buildings of England, Harmondsworth 1967, 608; Clive Rouse, E., 'Wall Paintings in Southease Church', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 78, 1937, 3-12, 11.

²³² Whaite 1929, 43. (D); Butler, J.E., 'The Antiquities of Stedham Church', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 4, 1851, 19-21, 19.

²³³ Thanks to Dr Andrew Plant for drawing my attention to this painting (uncovered in 2006).

		doorway
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Warwickshire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Shotteswell ²³⁴	Undated	Unspecified
- Stoneleigh ²³⁵	Undated	Unspecified
* Wyken ²³⁶	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall

Wiltshire

	DATE	LOCATION
* Bulford	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, above doorway
- Broad Chalke ²³⁷	Sixteenth Century	North nave wall
- Chippenham ²³⁸	Undated	Unspecified
- Devizes, St. Mary ²³⁹	Undated	North nave wall
- Ditteridge ²⁴⁰	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, east of doorway
- Durrington ²⁴¹	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall
- Enford ²⁴²	Undated	Unspecified

²³⁴ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

²³⁵ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

²³⁶ Stephens, W.B., ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Warwick*, Vol. 7, 1969, 343; Rosewell 2008, 296.

²³⁷ SOA. BP 49. Fresco by E. Godwin, 1850 (Reproduction of Saint Christopher Wall Painting at Broad Chalke, Wiltshire); Trethowan, M., *All Saints' Broad Chalke: A Visitors' Guide* (Church Guide), Salisbury Undated, 9-10.

²³⁸ Whaite 1929, 41.

²³⁹ Williams, W.D.C., *The Churches of Saint John and Saint Mary, Devizes* (Church Guide), Gloucester 1970, 17-19. (D).

²⁴⁰ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²⁴¹ Keyser 1883 (A), 91. (D).

²⁴² Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

- Great Bedwyn ²⁴³	Undated	Transept, north wall
* Great Durnford	Fifteenth Century	South nave wall
- Homington ²⁴⁴	Undated	South nave wall? ²⁴⁵
- Idmiston ²⁴⁶	Late Fifteenth Century	1) South aisle 2) South nave wall ²⁴⁷
* Inglesham	Late Fifteenth Century	North chapel, north wall
* Lacock Abbey	Late Thirteenth Century	North wall, Chaplain's Room
* Lydiard Tregoze	Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade
- North Tidworth ²⁴⁸	Undated	North nave wall
* Oaksey	Late Fifteenth Century	South aisle, south wall
- Ramsbury ²⁴⁹	Undated	Unspecified
- Salisbury Cathedral ²⁵⁰	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	Hungerford Chapel, west wall
- Somerford Keynes ²⁵¹	Undated	North nave wall
- Stanton St. Quintin ²⁵²	Undated	South aisle wall, over doorway
- Upavon ²⁵³	Undated	South nave wall, pillar
- Westwood ²⁵⁴	Undated	North aisle, north wall
- Wilsford (x2) ²⁵⁵	Late Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, above

²⁴³ Adams, W.M., *The Two Bedwyns*, Marlborough 1906, 51-52. (D).

²⁴⁴ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²⁴⁵ See Chapter Three.

²⁴⁶ DMW. 1982-2199 (Vol. 1), 67 ; Keyser 1883 (A), 141.

²⁴⁷ A note attached to the Kemm Drawings states that the Idmiston mural was located in the south aisle. Keyser, on the other hand, suggests that it is positioned on the south wall of the nave.

²⁴⁸ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²⁴⁹ Croucher, B., *The Village in the Valley: A History of Ramsbury*, Ramsbury 1986, 234. (D).

²⁵⁰ Cobb 1980, 112. (D)

²⁵¹ Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

²⁵² Whaite 1929, 43. (D).

²⁵³ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

²⁵⁴ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

²⁵⁵ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

		doorway
- Winterbourne Dauntsey ²⁵⁶	Undated	Unspecified
- Winterbourne Earls ²⁵⁷	Undated	North nave wall

Worcestershire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Child's Wickham ²⁵⁸	Undated	Unspecified
- Cropthorne ²⁵⁹	Undated	Unspecified
* Pinvin ²⁶⁰	Undated	South nave wall
* Wickhamford ²⁶¹	Undated	North nave wall

North Yorkshire

	DATE	LOCATION
- Bolton-on-Swale ²⁶²	Undated	<i>'Fronting the entrance'</i> . ²⁶³
* Pickering	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	North nave wall, arcade

South Yorkshire

	DATE	LOCATION
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²⁵⁶ Whaite 1929, 44. (D); Borenus, T., 'A Destroyed Cycle of Wall Paintings in a Church in Wiltshire', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 12, 1932, 393-406, 400-401. (D). The church was pulled down in 1867.

²⁵⁷ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

²⁵⁸ Whaite 1929, 44. (D).

²⁵⁹ Whaite 1929, 44.

²⁶⁰ Rosewell 2008, 302.

²⁶¹ Caiger-Smith 1963, 181.

²⁶² Whaite 1929, 40. (D).

²⁶³ Keyser 1883 (A), 32.

- Conisborough ²⁶⁴	Undated	North aisle, north wall, over doorway
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Wales

	DATE	LOCATION
* Llantwit Major, South Glamorgan	Third Quarter of Fifteenth Century	Eastern church, north nave wall, arcade
* Llanynys, Denbighshire ²⁶⁵	Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century	North aisle, north wall

²⁶⁴ Whaite 1929, 41. (D).

²⁶⁵ Marrow (Forthcoming), 2; Hubbard 1986, 247; Rosewell 2008, 304.

Saint Christopher Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches

c.1250-c.1500

Volume 2: Images

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Eleanor Elizabeth Pridgeon

University of Leicester

Department of History of Art and Film

December 2008

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- 2) Illumination, Glass, Panel Painting, Woodcuts
- 3) Brass

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PLATE 2: Little Wenham, Suffolk.

PLATE 3: Westhall, Suffolk.

PLATE 4: Little Hampden, Buckinghamshire.

PLATE 5: Stoke Dry, Rutland.

PLATE 6: Hardwick, Norfolk.

PLATE 7a: Watercolour of Hardwick, Norfolk by F. Blomefield.

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PLATE 8: Watercolour of Corby Glen, Lincolnshire by E. Clive Rouse

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PLATE 12: Ashby St Ledgers, Northamptonshire.

PLATE 13: Brisley, Norfolk.

PLATE 14: Fritton, Norfolk.

PLATE 15: Impington, Cambridgeshire.

PLATE 16: Llanynys, Denbighshire.

PLATE 17: Stowlangtoft, Suffolk.

PLATE 18: Burnham Overy, Norfolk.

PLATE 19: Bradfield Combust, Suffolk.

PLATE 20: Pickering, Yorkshire.

PLATE 21: Watercolour of Llantwit Major, South Glamorgan by E. Clive Rouse.

PLATE 22: Drawing of Latton, Essex by J. Schnebbelie.

PLATE 23: Drawing of Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral by J. Schnebbelie.

PLATE 24: Drawing of Bloxham, Oxfordshire by E.W. Tristram.

PLATE 25: Drawing of Molesworth, Cambridgeshire by H.C. Whaite.

PLATE 26: Layer Marney, Essex.

PLATE 27: Breage, Cornwall.

PLATE 28: Horley, Oxfordshire.

PLATE 29: Baunton, Gloucestershire.

PLATE 30: Hemblington, Norfolk.

PLATE 31: Shorwell, Isle of Wight, Hampshire.

PLATE 32: Hayes, Middlesex.

PLATE 33: Oaksey, Wiltshire.

PLATE 34: Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

2) Saint Christopher Images in Illumination, Glass, Panel Painting and Woodcuts

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PLATE 36: Lambeth Apocalypse, Lambeth Palace, London.

PLATE 37: Picture Book of the Life of Christ, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

PLATE 38: Glass Panel, Aldwincle, Northamptonshire.

PLATE 39: Peterborough Psalter, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

PLATE 40: French Book of Hours, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

PLATE 41: Stowe Breviary, British Library, London.

PLATE 42: De Lisle Hours, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

PLATE 43: Glass Panel, Halam, Nottinghamshire.

PLATE 44: John of Wells Manuscript, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

PLATE 45: Peypsian Sketchbook, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

PLATE 46: Old Proctor's Book, University Archives, Cambridge.

PLATE 47: Boucicaut Hours, Musee Jacquemart-Andre, Paris.

PLATE 48: French Book of Hours, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

PLATE 49: French Manuscript, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

PLATE 50: South German Woodcut, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

PLATE 51: Whetenal Psalter, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

PLATE 52: Glass Panel, All Saint's Church, York.

PLATE 53: Buxheim Saint Christopher, John Rylands Library, Manchester.

PLATE 54: German Woodcut, Staatliche Museum Zu, Berlin.

PLATE 55: Dieric Bouts Panel, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

PLATE 56: Giovanni Bellini Polytych, Basilica of Saint Giovanni and Paolo, Venice.

PLATE 57: Glass Panel, Thaxted, Essex.

PLATE 58: Glass Panel, Ludlow, Shropshire.

PLATE 59: Hours of the Holy Spirit, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

PLATE 60: Quentin Massys Panel, Allentown Art Gallery, Philadelphia.

PLATE 61: French Book of Hours, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

PLATE 62: Prayer Book of Charles the Bold, Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

PLATE 63: Joachim Patinir Panel, El Escorial, San Lorenzo El Escorial Spain.

PLATE 64: Book of Hours (Use of Lyons), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

PLATE 65: Hours of Henry VIII, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

PLATE 66: Albrecht Dürer Woodcut, British Museum, London.

PLATE 67: Jost de Negker Woodcut, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.

PLATE 68: Daniel Hopfer Woodcut, Graphische Sammlung, Augsburg.

3) Saint Christopher Images in Brass

PLATE 69: Brass of William and Anne Complyn, Weeke, Hampshire.

PLATE 70: Brass of Thomas Strathum, Morley, Derbyshire.

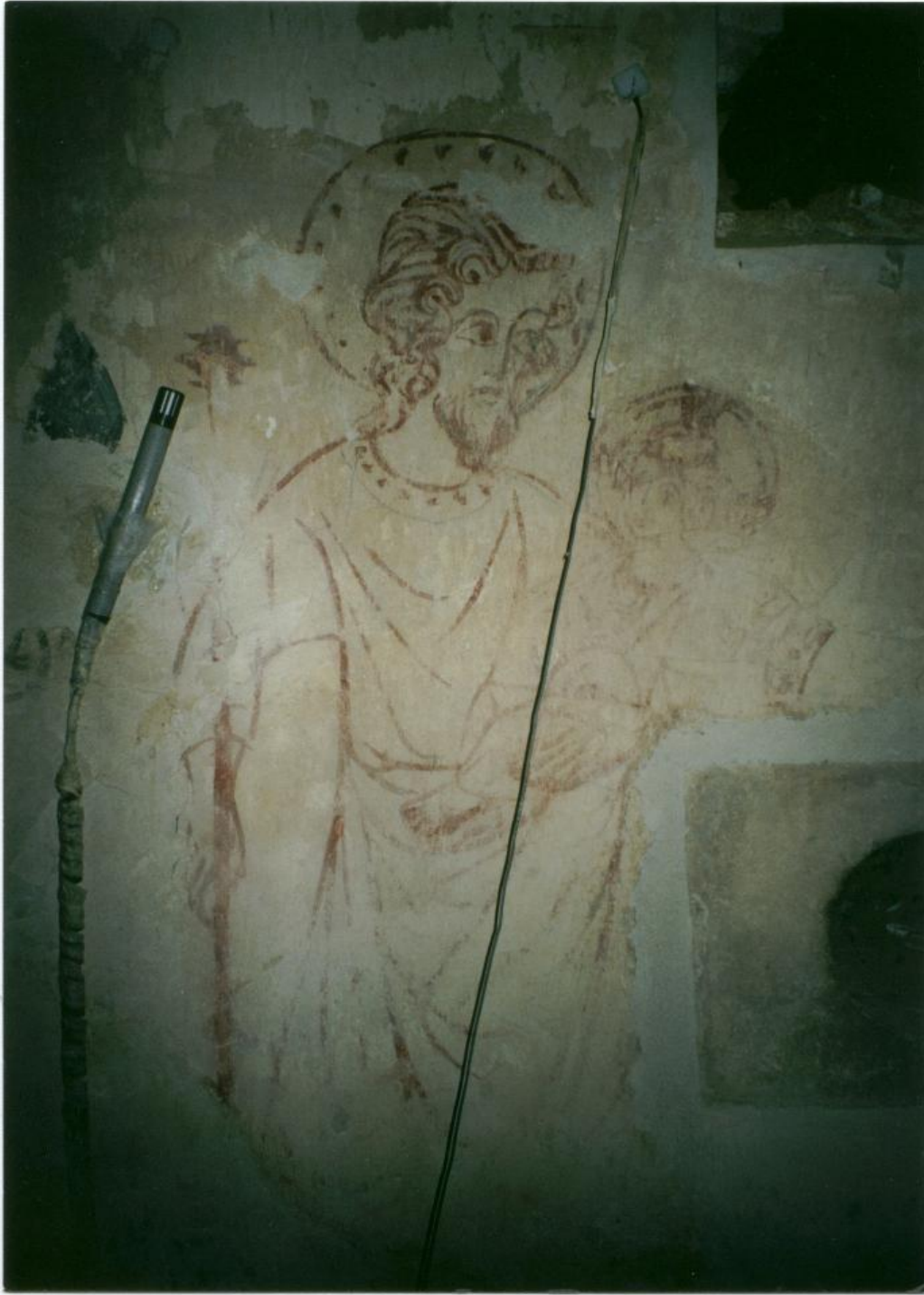


PLATE 1:

LACOCK ABBEY, WILTSHIRE

Late Thirteenth Century

Photograph: Ellie Pridgeon



PLATE 2:
LITTLE WENHAM, SUFFOLK
Early Fourteenth Century

Photograph: Ellie Pridgeon



PLATE 3:

WESTHALL, SUFFOLK
Early Fourteenth Century

Photograph: Simon Knott



PLATE 4:
LITTLE HAMPDEN, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
Early Fourteenth Century

Photograph: Ellie Pridgeon



PLATE 5:
STOKE DRY, RUTLAND
Early Fourteenth Century

Photograph: Alex Fried



PLATE 6:
HARDWICK, NORFOLK
Second Quarter of the Fourteenth Century

Photograph: Simon Knott



PLATE 7a:

WATERCOLOUR OF HARDWICK, NORFOLK BY F. BLOMEFIELD (1801)

Image: Brindley, H.H., 'Saint Christopher', in *Supplement to Blomefield's Norfolk*, London 1929, Plate 57.



PLATE 7b:

WATERCOLOUR OF HARDWICK BY C.J.W. WINTER (1851)

Courtesy of Castle Museum, Norwich. R.J. Coleman Bequest B99 235 951.



PLATE 8

CORBY GLEN, LINCOLNSHIRE BY E. CLIVE ROUSE (UNDATED)

Mid / Third Quarter of the Fourteenth Century

Image: Clive Rouse, E., *Medieval Wall Paintings*, Princes Risborough 1996, Plate 56.

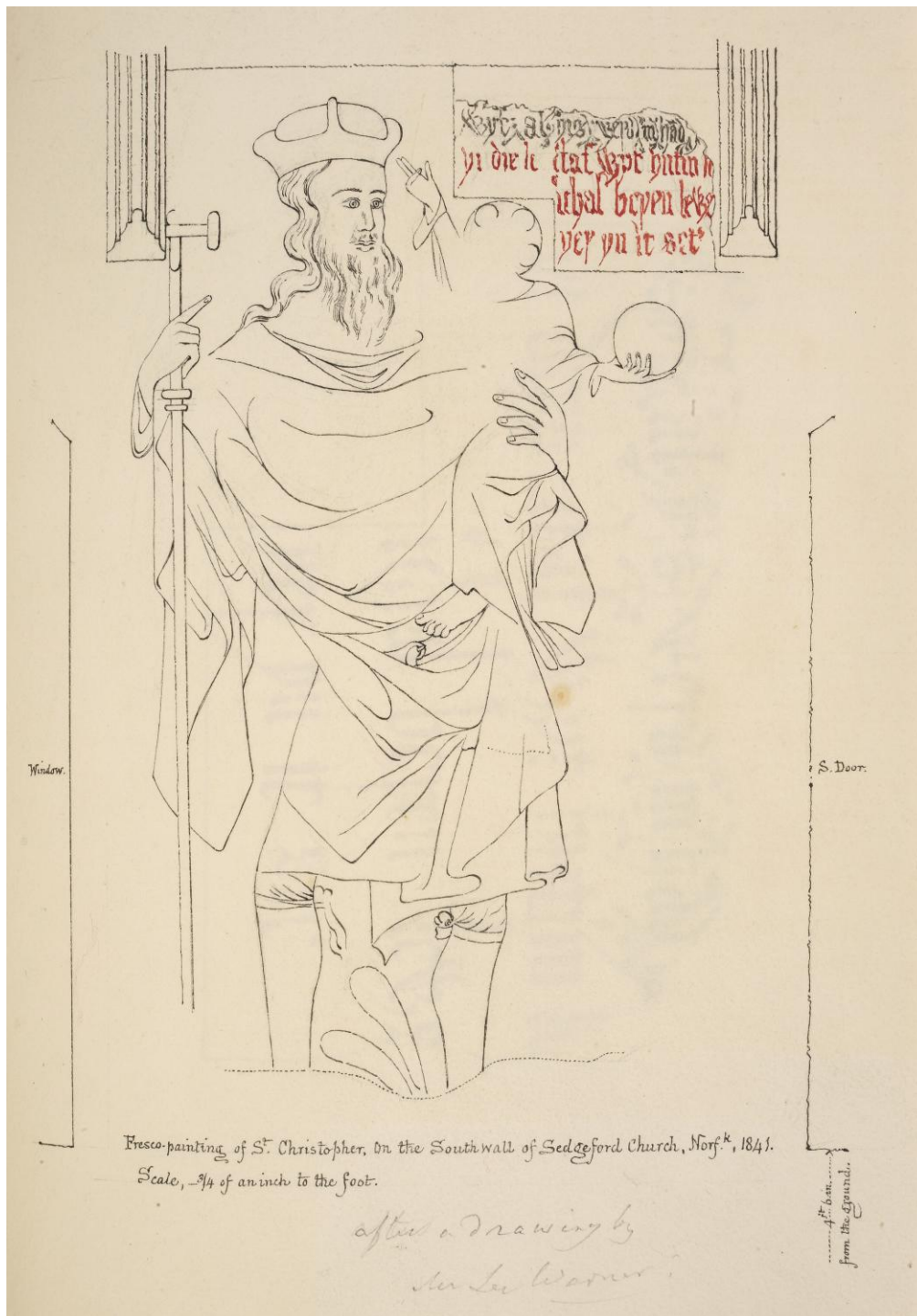


PLATE 9:

SEGEFORD, NORFOLK BY F. BLOMEFIELD (1841)

Mid / Third Quarter of the Fourteenth Century

Courtesy of British Library, London. British Library, London. Add MS 23,043. Collection of Drawings, Etching, Engravings and Original Deeds Formed Towards the Illustration of a Copy of Blomefield's History of Norfolk in the Library of Dawson Turner Esq., Vol. 20, Great Yarmouth Undated, 149.



PLATE 10:

WOODEATON, OXFORD

Mid / Third Quarter of the Fourteenth Century

Photograph: Ann Marshall



PLATE 11:

WICKHAMPTON, NORFOLK

Late Fourteenth Century

Photograph: Simon Knott



PLATE 12:

ASHBY ST LEDGERS, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Early Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Bruce Turton



PLATE 13:
BRISLEY, NORFOLK
Early Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Sinon Knott

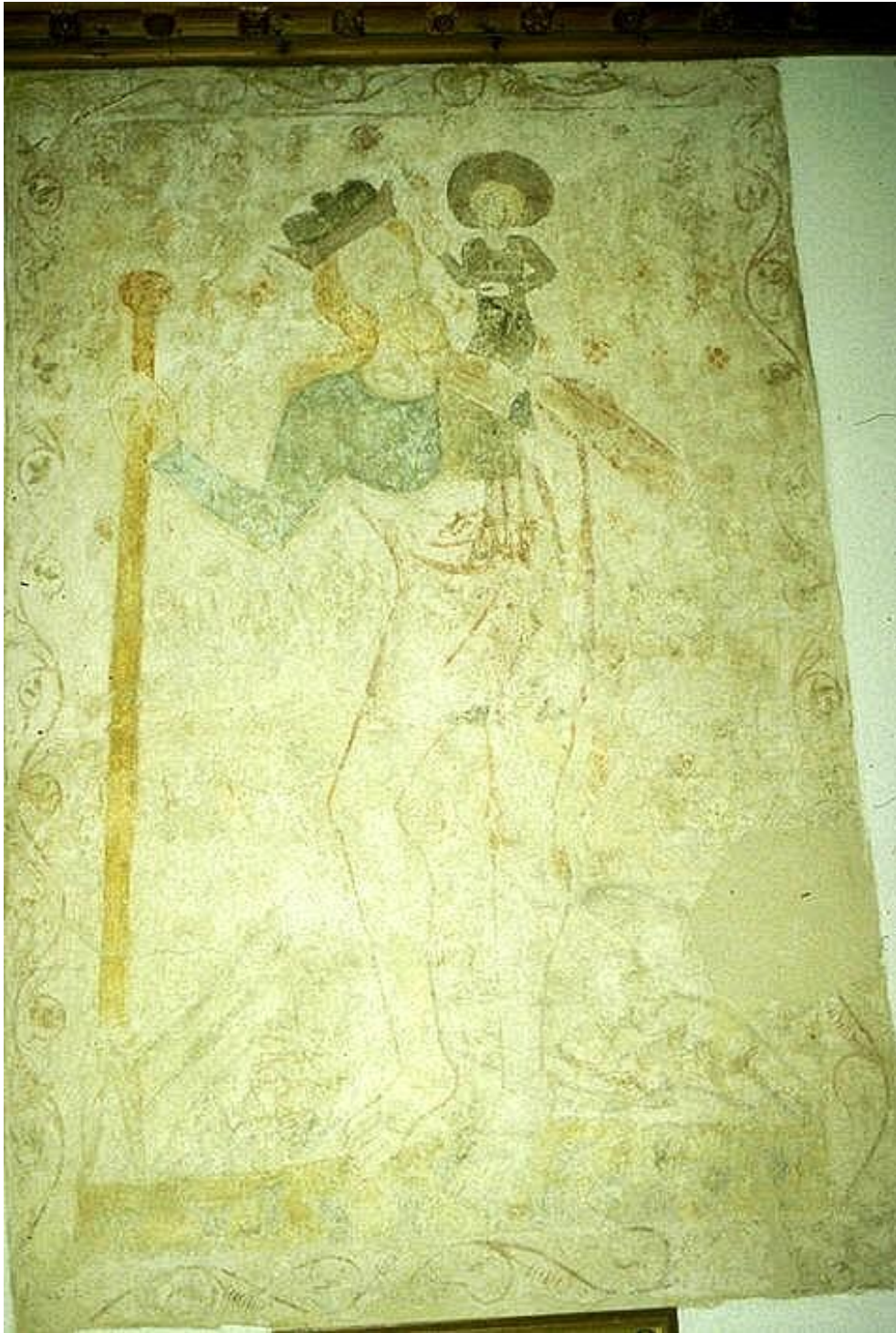


PLATE 14:
FRITTON, NORFOLK
Early Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Ann Marshall



PLATE 15:
IMPINGTON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE
Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Ann Marshall



PLATE 16:

LLANYNYS, DENBIGHSHIRE
Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Anonymous



PLATE 17:
STOWLANGTOFT, SUFFOLK
Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Simon Knott



PLATE 18:

BURNHAM OVERY

Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Ellie Pridgeon



PLATE 19:
BRADFIELD COMBUST, SUFFOLK
Second Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Simon Knott



PLATE 20:
PICKERING, YORKSHIRE
Third Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Judges of Hastings

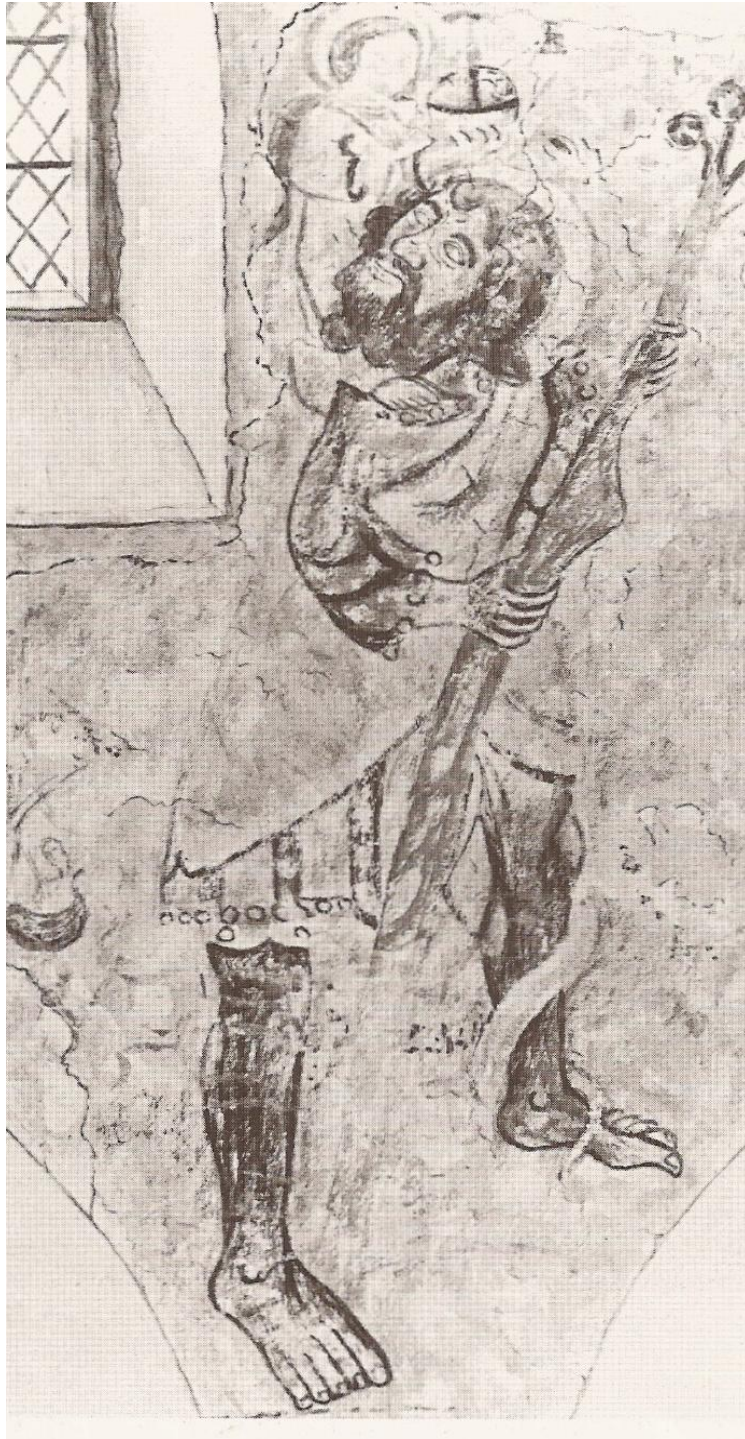


PLATE 21:

LLANTWIT MAJOR, SOUTH GLAMORGAN BY E. CLIVE ROUSE

(UNDATED)

Third Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Image: Clive Rouse, E. *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 4th Edition, Princes Risborough 1996, Plate 38.



PLATE 22:

LATTON, ESSEX BY J. SCHNEBBELIE (c.1796)

Third Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Image: Gough, R., *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, Vol.2, Part 2, London 1796, Plate 87.



PLATE 23:

HUNGERFORD CHAPEL, SALISBURY CATHEDRAL BY J. SCHNEBBELIE

(c.1796)

Third Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Image: Gough, R., *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, Vol.2, Part 2, London 1796, Plate 72.

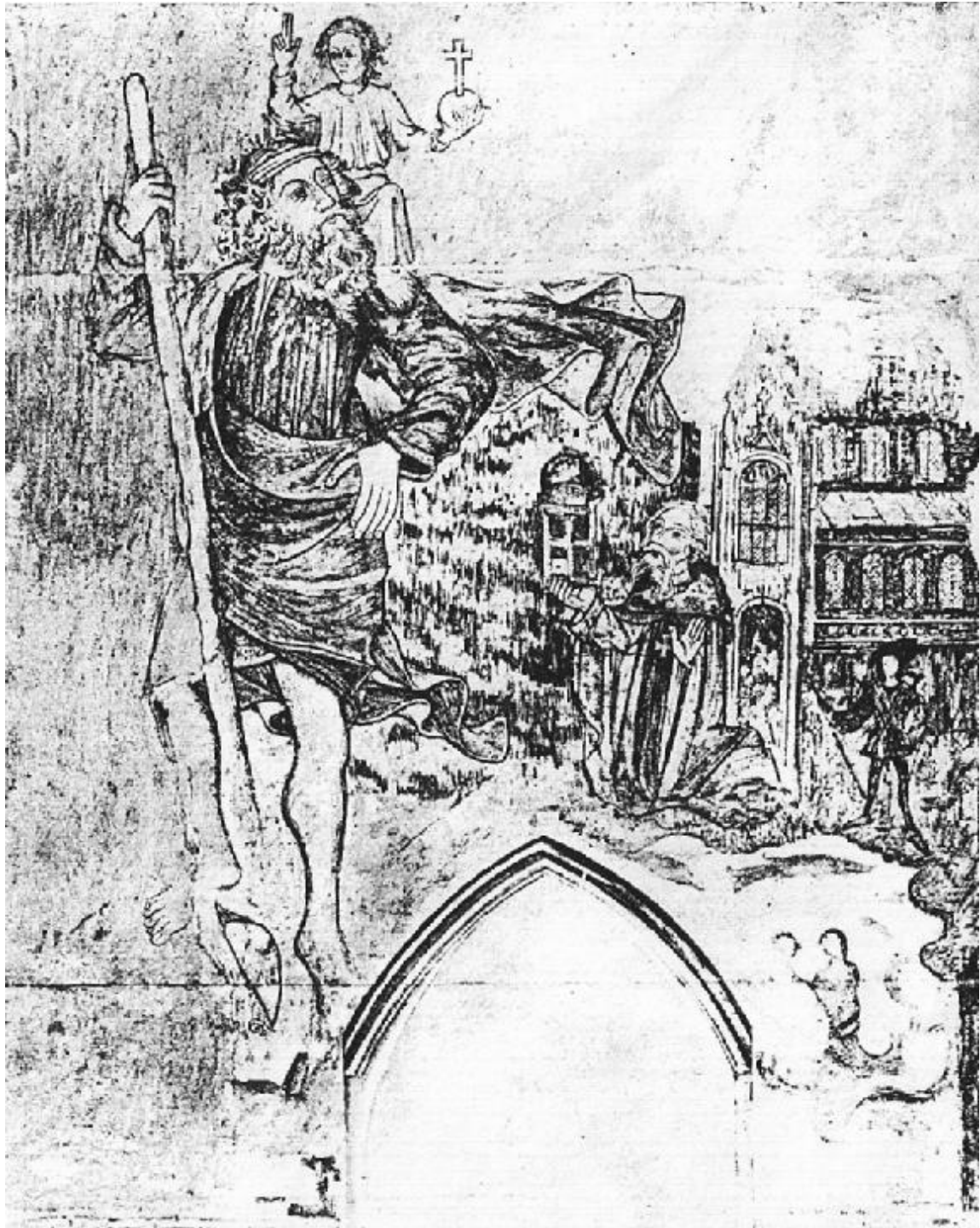


PLATE 24:

BLOXHAM, OXFORDSHIRE BY E.W. TRISTRAM (UNDATED)

Third Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Image: Salmon, J., 'Saint Christopher in English Medieval Art and Life', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. 61, 1936, 76-115, Figure 1.



PLATE 25:

MOLESWORTH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE BY WHAITE (1927)

Late Fifteenth Century



PLATE 26:

LAYER MARNEY, ESSEX

Early Sixteenth Century

Photograph: Ann Marshall



PLATE 27:

BREAGE, CORNWALL
Late Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Ellie Pridgeon

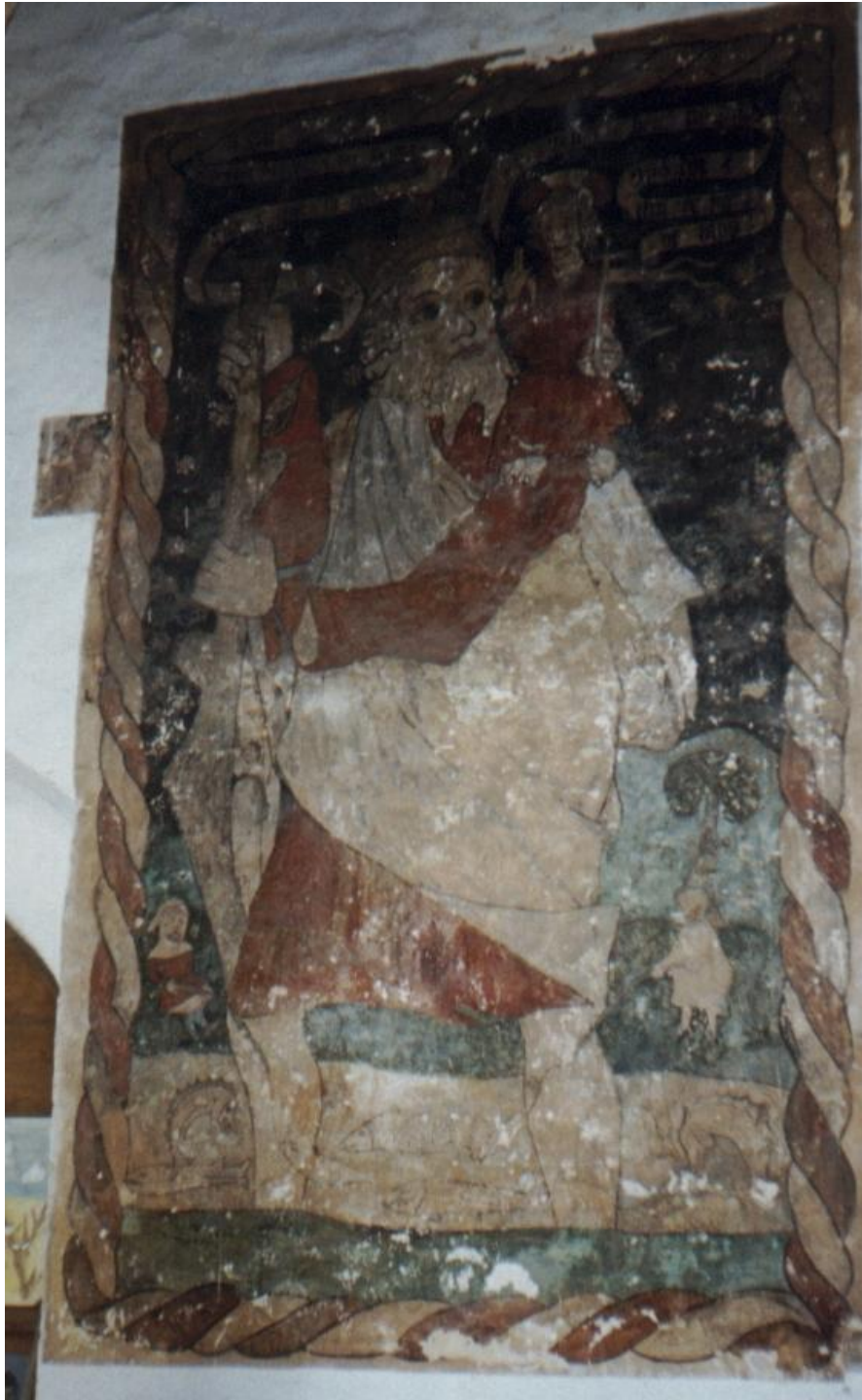


PLATE 28:

HORLEY, OXFORDSHIRE

Late Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Ellie Pridgeon



PLATE 29:
BAUNTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Late Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Ellie Pridgeon



PLATE 30:
HEMBLINGTON, NORFOLK
Sixteenth Century

Photograph: Ann Marshall



PLATE 31:

SHORWELL, ISLE OF WIGHT, HAMPSHIRE

Sixteenth Century

Photograph: Ann Marshall

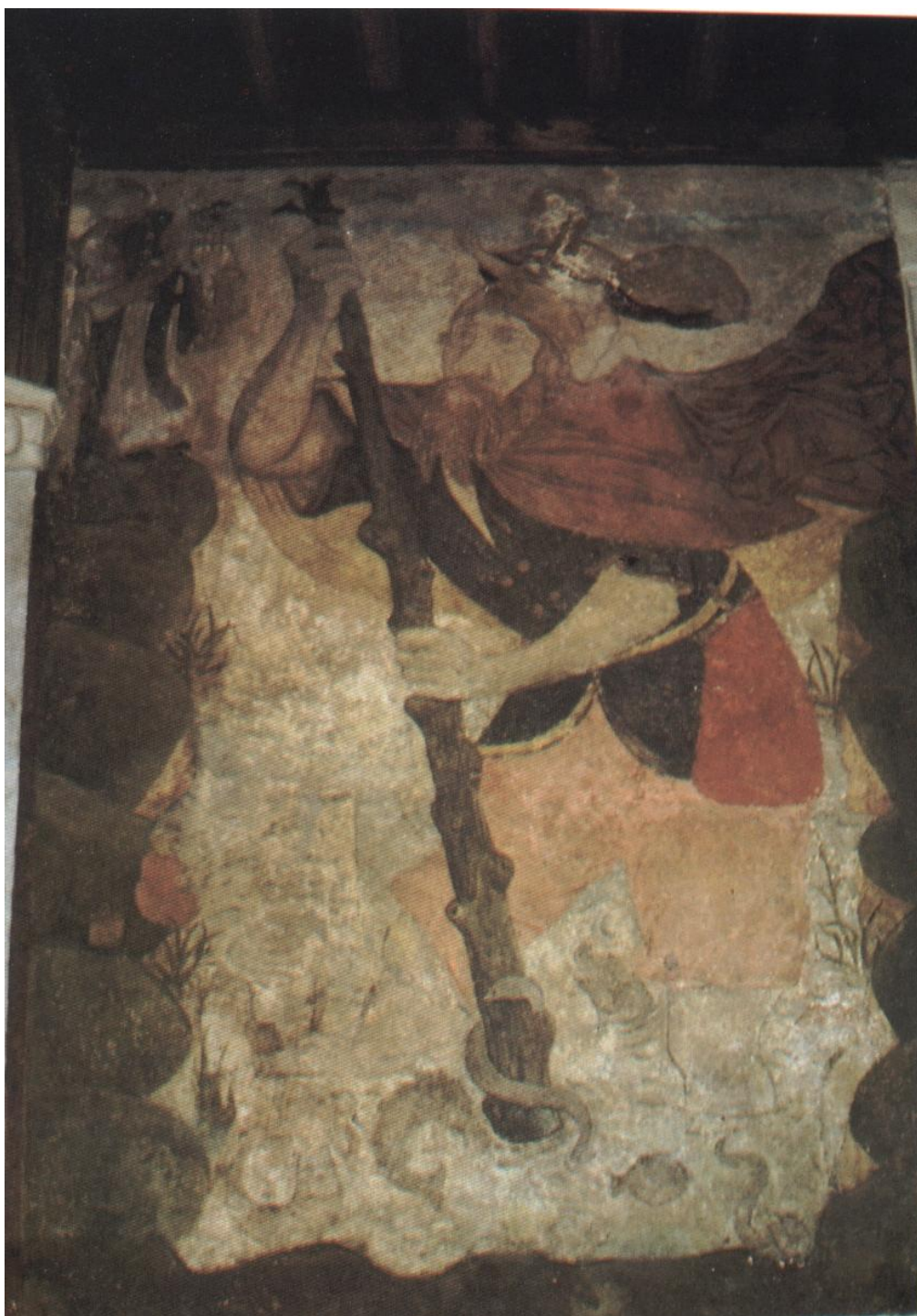


PLATE 32:

HAYES, MIDDLESEX

Sixteenth Century

Image: Clive Rouse, E. *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 4th Edition, Princes Risborough 1996, Plate 55.

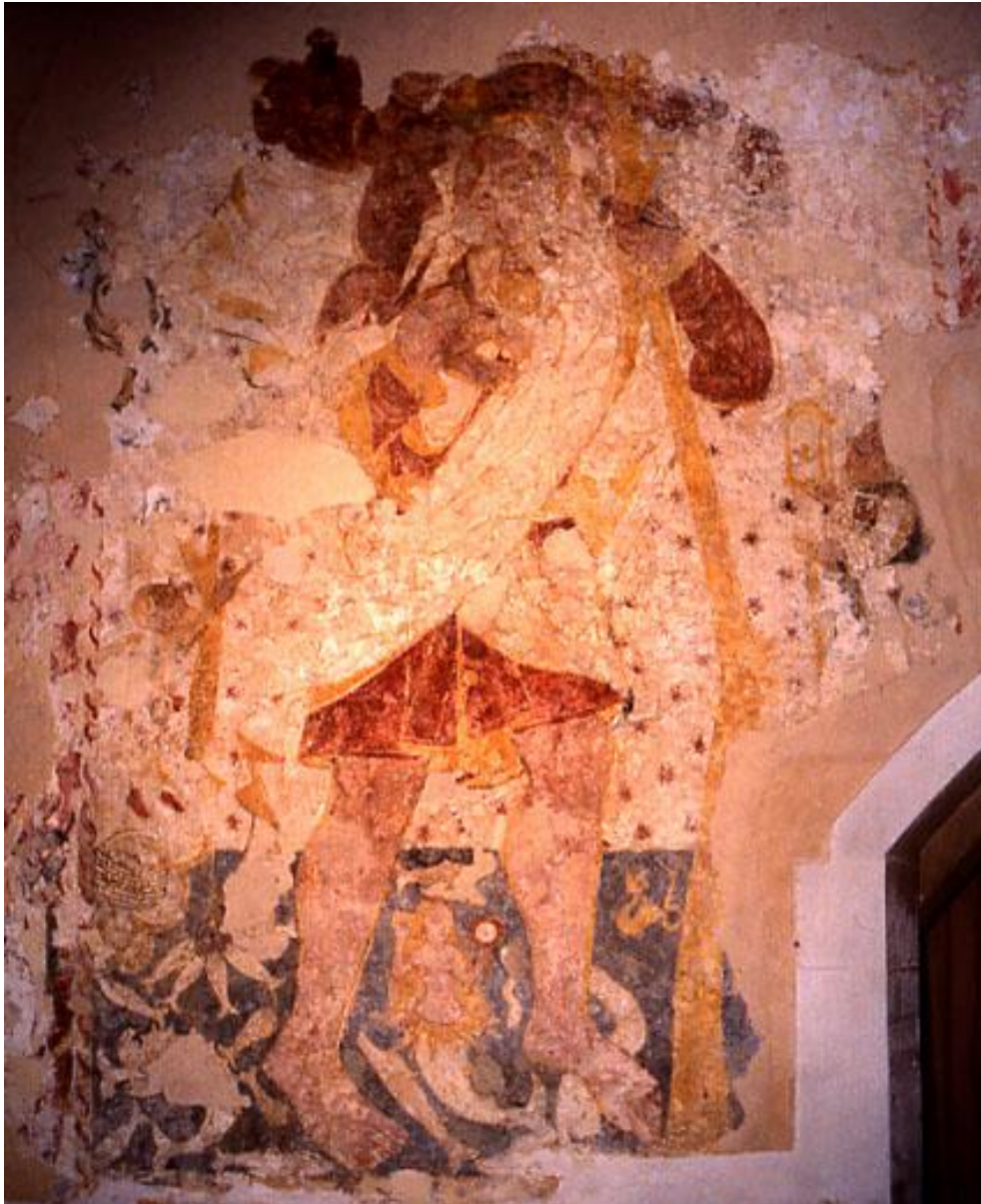


PLATE 33:
OAKSEY, WILTSHIRE
Late Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Ann Marshall



PLATE 34:
CIRENCESTER, GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Late Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Tim Saunders



PLATE 35:

WESTMINSTER PSALTER

c.1250

Courtesy of British Library, London. MS Royal 2A xxii, folio 220b.



PLATE 36:

LAMBETH APOCALYPSE

c.1260-c.1275

Courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library, London. MS 209, folio 40.
Image: Saunders, O.E., *English Illumination*, Vols.2, Florence and Paris 1928, Plate 72.



PLATE 37:

PICTURE BOOK OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST

c.1290-c.1300

Courtesy of Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. MS 370, Folio 9.

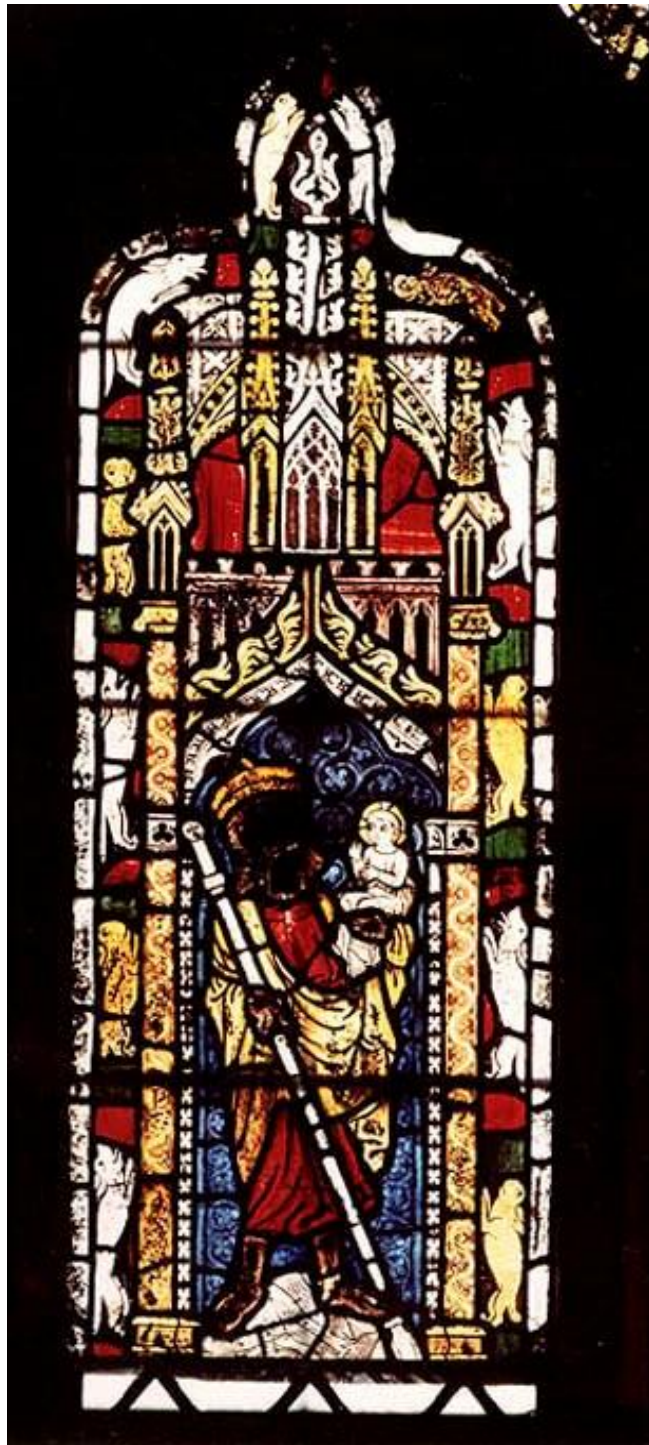


PLATE 38:
GLASS PANEL, ALDWINCLE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
c.1310-c.1330

Photograph: CMVA

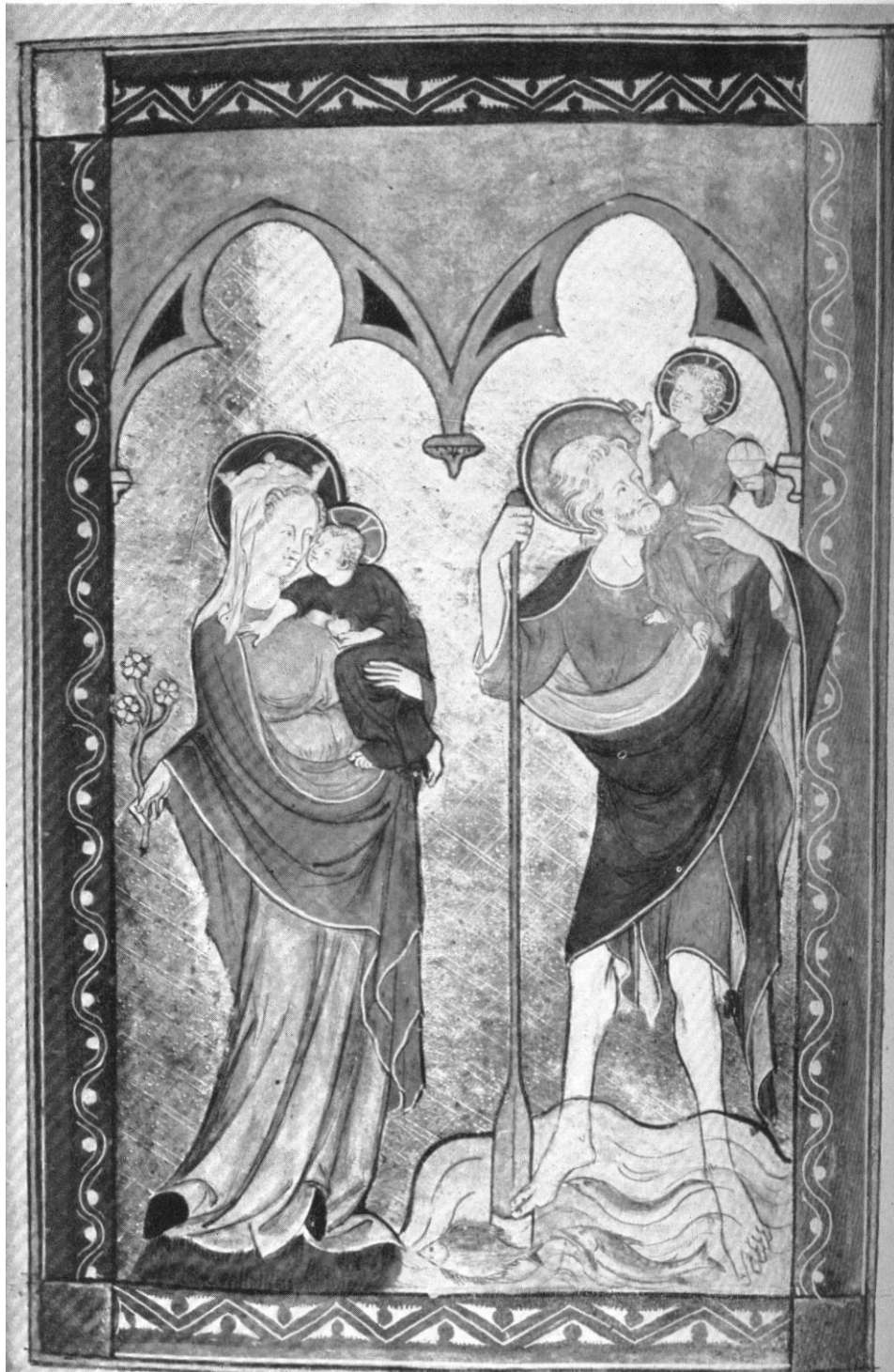


PLATE 39:

PETERBOROUGH PSALTER

c.1310

Courtesy of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. MS 53, folio 16.
Image: Rickert, M., *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, London 1954, 122.

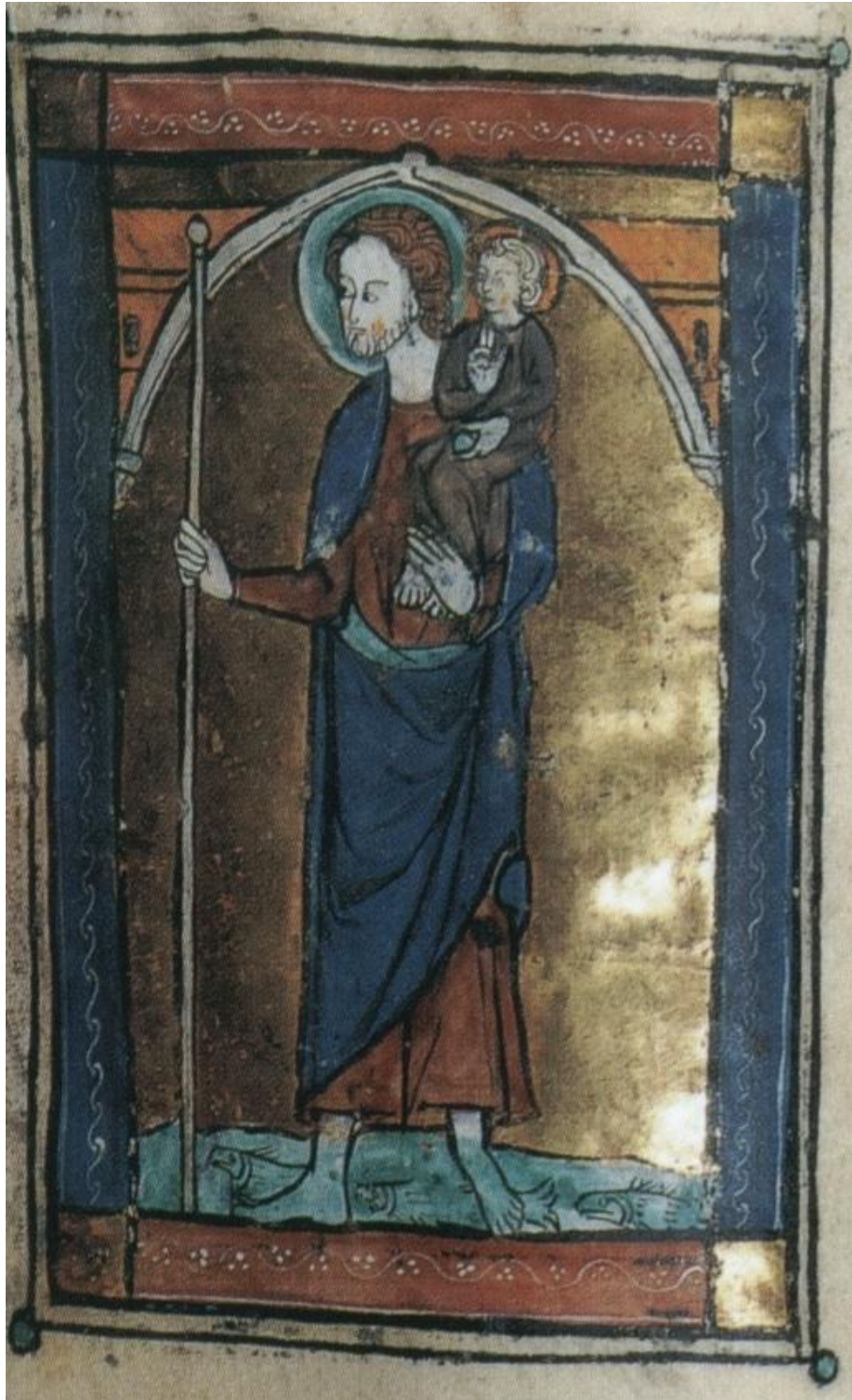


PLATE 40:
FRENCH BOOK OF HOURS
c.1300

Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London. MS L/1902/2074 (Reid 83), folio 19.



PLATE 41:

STOWE BREVIARY

c.1322-c.1325

Courtesy of British Library, London. MS Stowe 17, folio 113v.
Image: Randall, L.M.C., *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, London 1966, Plate 600.



PLATE 42:

DE LISLE HOURS

c.1320-c.1330

Courtesy of Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. MS G50, folio 5b.

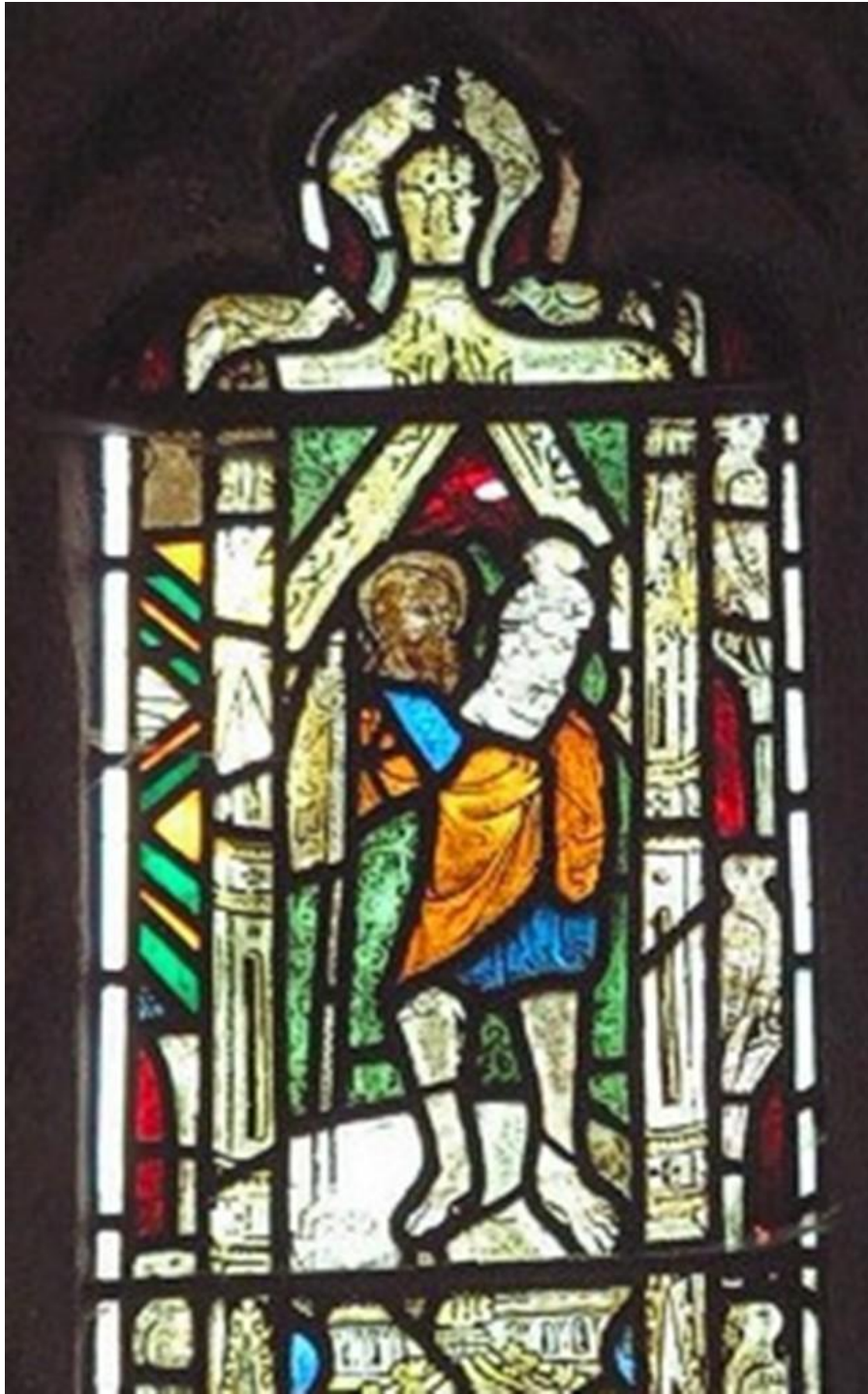


PLATE 43:

GLASS PANEL, HALAM, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Second Quarter of the Fourteenth Century

Photograph: CVMA

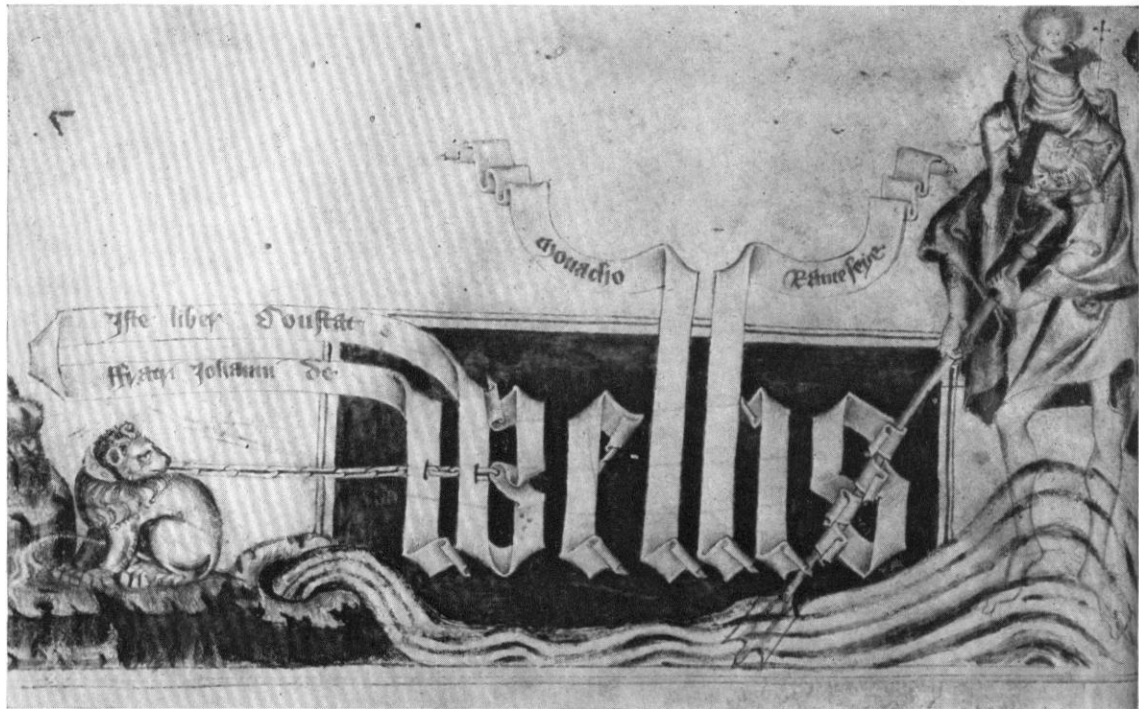


PLATE 44:

JOHN OF WELLS MANUSCRIPT

c.1375

Courtesy of Bodleian Library, Oxford. MS Bodl. 851, folio 6.
Image: Lasko, P., Morgan, N.J., *Medieval Art in East Anglia, 1300-1520*, London 1973, Plate 31.



PLATE 45:
PEYPSIAN SKETCHBOOK
c.1400

Courtesy of Magdalene College, Cambridge. MS Pepysian 1916.
Image: James, M.R., 'An English Medieval Sketchbook, No. 1916 in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge', *Walpole Society*, Vol. 13, 1924-1925, 1-17, Plate 15b.

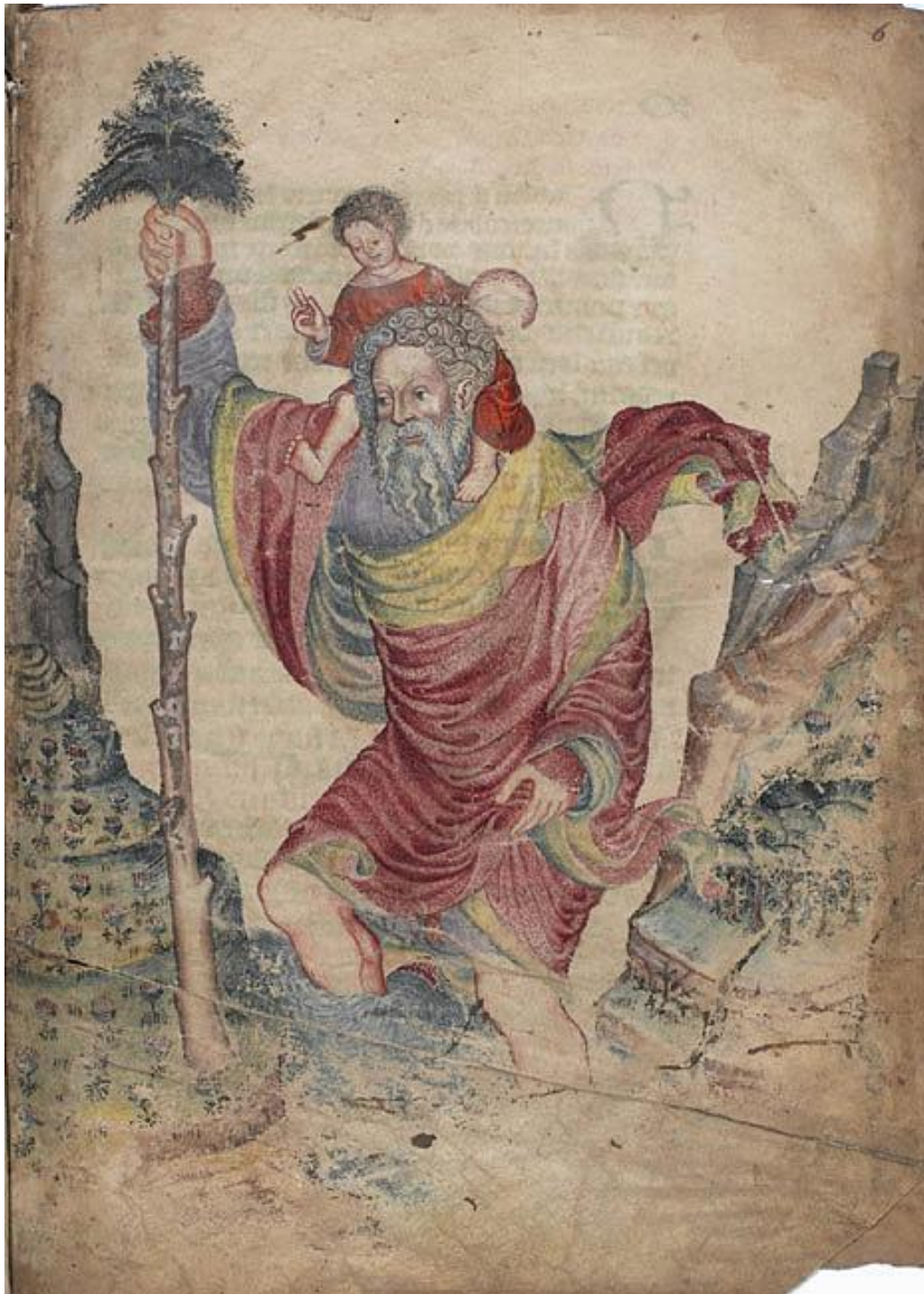


PLATE 46:
OLD PROCTOR'S BOOK
c.1390

Courtesy of University Archives, Cambridge. Collection Admin. 3, folio 6.



PLATE 47:

BOUCICAUT HOURS

c.1420

Courtesy of Musee Jacquemart-Andre, Paris. MS MJAP-M-1311, folio 13.
Image: Clark, G.T., *The Spitz Master: A Parisian Book of Hours*, Los Angeles 2003, 72, Figure 48

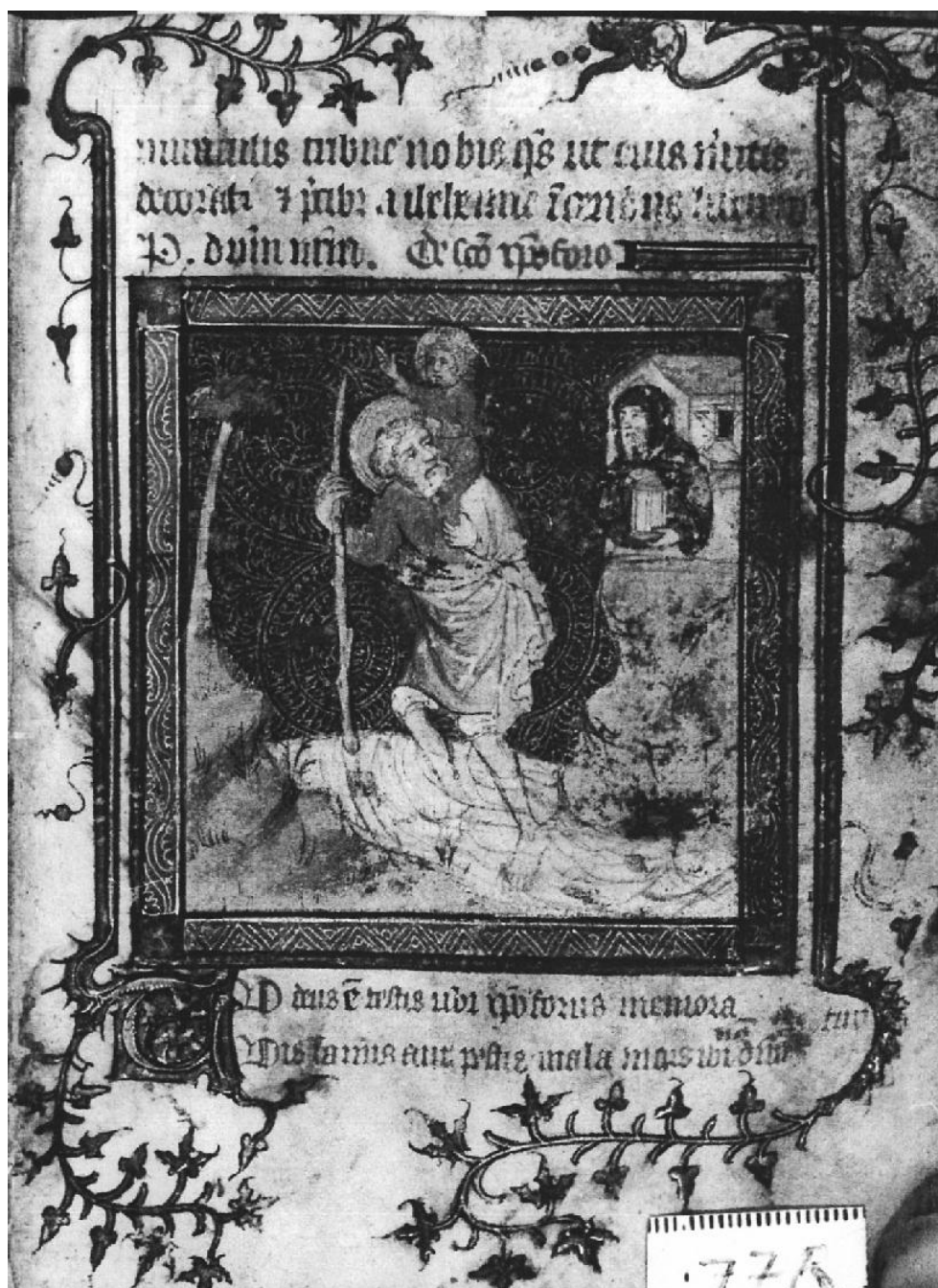


PLATE 48:

FRENCH BOOK OF HOURS

c.1370



PLATE 49:
FRENCH MANUSCRIPT
c.1375-c.1400

Courtesy of Bodleian Library, Oxford. MS Rawl. Lit., folio 28.



PLATE 50:

SOUTH GERMAN WOODCUT

c.1420-c.1430

Courtesy of Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. II, I, 1728.
Image: Parshall, P., Schoch, R. et al, eds., *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and their Public*, New Haven and London 2005, Figure 37.



PLATE 51:
WHETENAL PSALTER
Early Fifteenth Century

Courtesy of Bodleian Library, Oxford. Don. D85, folio 1v (cat.39).



PLATE 52:

**GLASS PANEL, ALL SAINT'S, YORK
c.1412-c.1428**

Photograph: CMVA



PLATE 53:

BUXHEIM WOODCUT

c.1450



PLATE 54:

GERMAN WOODCUT

c.1430-c.1440

Courtesy of Staatliche Museum Zu, Berlin. Kupferstich Kabinett.



PLATE 55:

DIERIC BOUTS PANEL

c.1465

Courtesy of Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



PLATE 56:

GIOVANNI BELLINI POLYTYCH

c.1464-c.1468

Courtesy of Basilica of Saint Giovanni and Paolo, Venice.



PLATE 57:
GLASS, THAXTED, ESSEX
Third Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Photograph: Anonymous



PLATE 58:

LUDLOW, SHROPSHIRE

Third Quarter of the Fifteenth Century

Image: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London. Ref. 454331.



PLATE 59:

HOURS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

Late Fifteenth Century



PLATE 60:

QUENTIN MASSYS PANEL

c.1490

Courtesy of Allentown Art Gallery, Philadelphia

Image: Friedlander, M.J., *Early Netherlandish Art: Dieric Bouts and Joos Van Gent*, Vol. 3, Leiden and Brussels 1968, 73.



PLATE 61:

FRENCH BOOK OF HOURS

c.1470-c.1480

Courtesy of Bodleian Library, Oxford. MS Liturg 41, folio 200v.



PLATE 62

PRAYER BOOK OF CHARLES THE BOLD

1469

Courtesy of Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles. MS 37, folio 36.



PLATE 63:

JOACHIM PATINIR PANEL

Early 1520s

Courtesy of El Escorial, San Lorenzo El Escorial, Spain



PLATE 64:

BOOK OF HOURS (USE OF LYONS)

Late Fifteenth Century

Courtesy of Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. W447, folio 88.
Image: Randall, L.M.C., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery: France 1420-1540*, Vol. 2, Baltimore 1992, Cat. 186.



PLATE 65:

HOURS OF HENRY VIII

Sixteenth Century



PLATE 66:

DURER WOODCUT

c.1501

Courtesy of British Museum, London. Reg. No. 1895, 0122.681.

Image: Boon, K.G., Scheller, R.W., eds., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, c.1400-1700: Albrecht and Hans Dürer*, Vol. 7, Amsterdam 1962, Plate.222.



PLATE 67:

JOST DE NEGKER WOODCUT

Sixteenth Century

Courtesy of Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. Kupferstich Kabinett.
Image: Falk, T., Zijlma, R., eds., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, c.1400-1700: Johann Reinhard Muhl to Nickel Nehrlich the Elder*, Vol. 29, Roosendaal 1990, Plate 6.



PLATE 68:

DANIEL HOPFER WOODCUT

Sixteenth Century

Courtesy of Graphische Sammlung, Augsburg.

Image: Falk, T., Zijlma, R., eds., *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, c.1400-1700: Elias Holl to Hieronymus Hopfer*, Vol. 15, Blaricum 1986, Plate 15.



PLATE 70:

BRASS OF THOMAS STATHUM, MORLEY, DERBYSHIRE

d.1470