

**Memorials and Commemoration in  
the Parish Churches of Late Medieval York**

**(2 Vols)**

**Volume 1**

**Clara Maria Barnett, B.A., M.A.**

**Thesis submitted for the degree of D. Phil.**

**University of York**

**Department of History**

**September 1997**

## **Abstract**

The commemoration of individuals in the parish churches of late medieval York was primarily embodied in chantries, funerary monuments and windows, although other forms, such as misericordes and roof bosses, were also included. This thesis is based on the evidence of late sixteenth- to late eighteenth-century antiquarians who visited the parish churches and noted monuments, windows and other church fittings, most of which no longer exist. In addition the thesis uses medieval testamentary and other documentary evidence as well as surviving visual evidence to flesh out a portrait of the commemorated, particularly with regard to their professional and social activities.

Chapter 1 introduces the topic and discusses the limits of the thesis, reviews the secondary literature on the topic and discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the primary evidence, i.e. the antiquarian evidence, the medieval documentary evidence and the surviving visual material. Chapter 2 sets the parish churches into their historical context and discusses the origins, development and decay of the church fabrics. Chapter 3 discusses general problems of dating and identification, the mechanics of commemoration, and the heraldic evidence; it then analyzes the evidence regarding the commemorated to indicate the social categories involved in parish church commemoration, their activities over the late medieval period and what factors they had in common; it discusses absent social groups; it places commemoration into context by discussing the objects which were found in the late medieval churches and by analyzing testamentary evidence of bequests to parish churches as well as to friaries and the Minster; the chapter concludes with an overview of commemorative genres over time. Chapter 4 discusses the visual components of monuments and windows and their development over time; the use of status symbols in commemorative panels; the iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks; the role of inscriptions and scrolls; and the way in which all the different components of memorials worked together. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis with some observations about the interaction of religious and secular aims in the memorials and with suggestions for further study. Two appendices are also included - the first contains a full transcription of the antiquarian evidence on a church-by-church basis; the second lists the names of the commemorated alphabetically and each entry includes biographical notes and details of their commemoration in the parish churches.

## Contents

### Volume 1

Abstract	2
Contents	3
List of tables	6
List of Illustrations	8
Section I: Map of medieval York with parish boundaries, parish churches and other significant landmarks	8
Section II: Exterior views of churches, both contemporary and antiquarian, including churches now demolished.	8
Section III: Ground plans of existing churches	9
Section IV: Antiquarian and extant visual material:	9
Acknowledgements	15
Chapter 1 Introduction	16
1.1 The topic	16
1.2 Review of the secondary sources	20
1.3 Review of the primary sources	24
1.3.1 The antiquarian evidence	24
1.3.2 The medieval evidence	42
1.3.3 The surviving visual evidence	48
Chapter 2 The Churches in Context: Origins, Development and Late Medieval Changes	67
Chapter 3 The Commemoration of Individuals and Groups	88
3.1 General Problems	88
3.1.1 Dating	88
3.2 The mechanics of the commissioning and production of memorials	94
3.3 Heraldic evidence and aristocratic commemoration	104
3.4 Dominant Groups	114
3.5 Common Factors Among the Commemorated	122
3.6 Absent Groups	130
3.7 The context of commemoration	132
3.8 Conclusion	135
Chapter 4 The Iconography of Commemoration	186
4.1 The visual components of monuments and windows	186
4.2 Status Symbols	195
4.3 Heraldry and Merchants' Marks	199
4.4 Inscriptions and Scrolls	204

4.5 Commemoration and iconography - relationships between different visual components of memorials	207
4.6 Conclusion	213
Chapter 5 Conclusion	247
Appendix	249
A.1 Church-by-church list of antiquarian notes.	249
All Saints North St.	250
All Saints Pavement	255
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	259
Holy Trinity King's Court	263
Holy Trinity Micklegate	265
St. Crux	267
St. Cuthbert	268
St. Denys	271
St. George within Fishergate Bar	275
St. Helen Stonegate	276
St. John Ousebridge	277
St. Lawrence without Walmgate	281
St. Leonard's Hospital	282
St. Margaret	282
St. Martin Coney St.	283
St. Martin Micklegate	290
St. Mary Bishophill Junior	293
St. Mary Bishophill Senior	297
St. Mary Castlegate	299
St. Maurice Monkgate	302
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	302
St. Michael Spurriergate	309
St. Nicholas without Walmgate (Lawrence St.)	311
St. Olave	312
St. Peter Little	313
St. Sampson	313
St. Saviour	315
St. Wilfrid	317
A.2 Alphabetical List of Patrons	318
List of Abbreviations	421
Bibliography	426
Primary Sources	426
Manuscripts	426
Printed Sources	427
Secondary Sources	429

## **Volume 2**

<b>List of Illustrations</b>	<b>443</b>
<b>Section I: Map of medieval York with parish boundaries, parish churches and other significant landmarks</b>	<b>443</b>
<b>Section II: Exterior views of churches, both contemporary and antiquarian, including churches now demolished.</b>	<b>443</b>
<b>Section III: Ground plans of existing churches</b>	<b>444</b>
<b>Section IV: Antiquarian and extant visual material:</b>	<b>444</b>

## List of tables

Table 1.1	York Churches in Antiquarian Evidence	53
Table 1.2	Names of commemorated noted by antiquarians	55
Table 1.3	Heraldic shields noted by antiquarians	55
Table 1.4	Disagreements over names	56
Table 1.5	Disagreements over dates	57
Table 1.6	Disagreements over dates - summary	59
Table 1.7	16C removal of medieval fittings	59
Table 1.8	Dean and Chapter Wills	60
Table 1.9	Wills read for this thesis	60
Table 1.10	Testamentary bequests for glass windows	60
Table 1.11	Examples of testamentary bequests of objects to York parish churches	61
Table 1.12	Names from antiquarian evidence which cannot be traced in medieval evidence	62
Table 1.13	Names of untraced chantry founders	63
Table 1.14	Significant post-Reformation changes to surviving fabrics	64
Table 1.15	List of surviving brasses	65
Table 1.16	Surviving funerary monuments	66
Table 1.17	Wallpaintings in parish churches	66
Table 2.1	Antiquity of York Churches	76
Table 2.2	Summary of Earliest Evidence	77
Table 2.3	Numbers of parish churches in York and other cities	77
Table 2.4	Parish churches decayed in the 14C	78
Table 2.5	The 1586 Unions of Benefices	78
Table 2.6	Parish Church Values 1428 and 1535	79
Table 2.7	Advowsons of Parish Churches	80
Table 2.8	Demolished and Lost Churches up to 16C	82
Table 2.9	Relationship between commemorations, parish church values and advowsons	83
Table 2.10	Late Medieval Changes to York Churches	85
Table 2.11	Coincidence of architectural expansion and chantry foundations in surviving and excavated fabrics	87
Table 3.1	People commemorated by chantries	137
Table 3.2	People commemorated by monuments	141
Table 3.3	People commemorated by windows	146
Table 3.4	Dated window inscriptions	149
Table 3.5	Testamentary provisions for chantries	150
Table 3.6	Testamentary provisions for monuments	151
Table 3.7	Testamentary provisions for windows	152
Table 3.8	Monuments with unfilled dates	152
Table 3.9	Cost of establishing chantries	153
Table 3.10	Value of medieval chantries by 1535	156
Table 3.11	Comparison between foundation values and 1535 values of chantries	157
Table 3.12	People commemorated in other media	157
Table 3.13	People commemorated in more than one medium	158
Table 3.14	Heraldry	160
Table 3.15	The commemoration of the Scropes	167
Table 3.16	The commemoration of the Percies	168
Table 3.17	The commemoration of the Nevilles	169
Table 3.18	Social groups represented in chantries	170
Table 3.19	Social groups represented in monuments	171
Table 3.20	Social groups represented in windows	172
Table 3.21	Memorials displaying merchants' marks	173
Table 3.22	York Minster clergy commemorated in parish churches	173
Table 3.23	Familial links among the commemorated	174
Table 3.24	Political office-holders among those commemorated by chantries	174
Table 3.25	Political office-holders among those commemorated by monuments	175
Table 3.26	Political office-holders among those commemorated by windows	175
Table 3.27	Members of the guild of Corpus Christi among the commemorated	176
Table 3.28	Property ownership among the commemorated	179

Table 3.29	Childless individuals among the commemorated	180
Table 3.30	Guilds in parish churches	181
Table 3.31	Recluses in parish churches	181
Table 3.32	Surviving medieval church fittings	182
Table 3.33	Examples of Lost Church Fittings	183
Table 3.34	Bequests to parish churches among the commemorated	183
Table 3.35	Bequests to parish churches from other York testators	184
Table 3.36	Testamentary bequests to churches, friaries and the Minster from the wills of the commemorated	184
Table 3.37	Frequency of different types of commemoration	185
Table 4.1	Chronological list of monuments	214
Table 4.2	Chronological list of windows	222
Table 4.3	Monuments displaying trade tools	226
Table 4.4	Attributes in commemorative genres	227
Table 4.5	Testamentary bequests of books among the commemorated	232
Table 4.6	The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks	233
Table 4.7	Languages used in inscriptions in windows and monuments	245
Table 4.8	Phrasing of inscriptions in windows and monuments	245
Table 4.9	Special epitaphs	246
Table 4.10	Testamentary evidence of devotion to saints among the commemorated	246

## List of Illustrations

Presented in 4 sections with continuous numbering.

Published material has been photocopied; antiquarian sketches have been reproduced by one of four ways: 1) photocopying an existing photocopy of the manuscript, as in Torre's case; 2) photocopying the printed text, as in Drake's case; 3) photocopying the printout from an existing microfilm of the manuscript, as in Johnston's case; 4) photocopying photographs from the manuscript, as in Glover's and Dugdale's case. For the sake of acknowledging the provenance of manuscript illustrations, all the relevant plates carry the full catalogue entry, together with the name of the antiquarian author. The illustrations from Torre's manuscript are reproduced with the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of York.

### Section I: Map of medieval York with parish boundaries, parish churches and other significant landmarks

Plate 1 Map of 15C York (Gill Andrews, 'Archaeology in York: An Assessment', in *Archaeological Papers from York presented to M.W.Barley*, eds. P.V.Addyman and V.E.Black, (York 1984), p.193)

### Section II: Exterior views of churches, both contemporary and antiquarian, including churches now demolished.

- Plate 2 All Saints North St. W end (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*, (York 1831), unnumbered plates and pages)
- Plate 3 All Saints North St., mid 15C E end and steeple (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 11)
- Plate 4 All Saints Pavement east end (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 5 All Saints Pavement from NW (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 12)
- Plate 6 St. Andrew's Hall, formerly St. Andrew's church, St. Andrewgate, NW 15C (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 20)
- Plate 7 Holy Trinity Goodramgate, S aisle (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 8 Holy Trinity Goodramgate from S 14C and 15C (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 9)
- Plate 9 Holy Trinity King's Square (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 10 Holy Trinity Micklegate (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 11 St. Crux (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 12 St. Crux from SW (W. Monkhouse and F.Bedford, *The Churches of York*, c.1840, reproduced in RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 2)
- Plate 13 St. Cuthbert (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 14 St. Cuthbert from SE (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 10)
- Plate 15 St. Denys (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 16 St. Denys from SE (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 11)
- Plate 17 St. Helen Stonegate (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 18 St. Helen Stonegate (J.C.Buckler, 1816 Society of Antiquaries, based on drawing of 1814, BM, MS.36396, f.114, reproduced in RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 2)
- Plate 19 St. John Ousebridge (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 20 St. Lawrence (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 21 St. Lawrence from SE (1776, YAYAS, reproduced in RCHM, *York 4*, Plate 48)
- Plate 22 St. Margaret (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 23 St. Margaret from SE (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 11)
- Plate 24 St. Martin Coney St. (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 25 St. Martin Coney St. from SE showing 1961-2 reconstruction (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 9)
- Plate 26 St. Martin Micklegate (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 27 St. Mary Castlegate (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)



- Plate 28 St. Mary Castlegate from SE (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 14)
- Plate 29 St. Mary Bishophill Junior (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 30 St. Mary Bishophill Senior (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 31 St. Maurice (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 32 St. Michael Spurriergate (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 33 St. Michael Spurriergate from SE (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 13)
- Plate 34 St. Michael-le-Belfrey (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 35 St. Michael-le-Belfrey from SW (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 13)
- Plate 36 St. Olave (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 37 St. Olave from N (RCHM, *York 4*, Plate 50)
- Plate 38 St. Sampson (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 39 St. Sampson from N (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 10)
- Plate 40 St. Saviour (*Views of the Parish Churches in York*)
- Plate 41 St. Saviour from W (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 12)

### Section III: Ground plans of existing churches

- Plate 42 All Saints North St. (RCHM, *York 3*, p.5)
- Plate 43 All Saints Pavement (RCHM, *York 5*, p.3)
- Plate 44 St. Andrew's Hall, formerly St. Andrew, St. Andrewgate (RCHM, *York 5*, p.10)
- Plate 45 Holy Trinity Goodramgate (RCHM, *York 5*, p.6)
- Plate 46 Holy Trinity Micklegate (RCHM, *York 3*, p.11)
- Plate 47 St. Cuthbert (RCHM, *York 5*, p.13)
- Plate 48 St. Denys (RCHM, *York 5*, p.16)
- Plate 49 St. Helen Aldwark (Jean D.Dawes and J.R.Magilton, *The Cemetery of St. Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark, The Archaeology of York 12/1*, York Archaeological Trust 1980, p.6 fig.4)
- Plate 50 St. Helen Stonegate (RCHM, *York 5*, p.21)
- Plate 51 St. John Ousebridge (RCHM, *York 3*, p.17)
- Plate 52 St. Margaret (RCHM, *York 5*, p.23)
- Plate 53 St. Martin Coney St. showing plan before 1942 and as existing (RCHM, *York 5*, p.27)
- Plate 54 St. Martin Micklegate (RCHM, *York 3*, p.20)
- Plate 55 St. Mary Bishophill Junior (RCHM, *York 3*, p.27)
- Plate 56 St. Mary Bishophill Senior (RCHM, *York 3*, p.32)
- Plate 57 St. Mary Castlegate showing plan before 1974 (RCHM, *York 5*, p.31)
- Plate 58 St. Michael-le-Belfrey (RCHM, *York 5*, p.37)
- Plate 59 St. Michael Spurriergate (RCHM, *York 5*, p.41)
- Plate 60 St. Olave (RCHM, *York 4*, p.26)
- Plate 61 St. Sampson (RCHM, *York 5*, p.45)
- Plate 62 St. Saviour (RCHM, *York 5*, p.47)

### Section IV: Antiquarian and extant visual material:

Groups and individuals commemorated in windows, monuments and other church fittings (includes figures, inscriptions and heraldry)

#### All Saints North St.

- Plate 63 Brass of William Stockton (1471) set into slab of John de Wardale (RCHM, *York 3*, Plate 36)
- Plate 64 Brass of Thomas Clerk 1482 (RCHM, *York 3*, Plate 27)
- Plate 65 Window I (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 98)
- Plate 66 Window I 1a: '*Orate ... aiabz ... Nicholai Blakeburn Junioris quonda(m) maioris Civit... Ebor et M(arga)rete ux(is) ...*' (CVMA)
- Plate 67 Window I 1c: '*Orate pro aiabz Nich(ola)i Blak(eburn) Senioris quondam maioris civitatis (E)bor et Mar(g)ar(ete) ux(or)is eius*' (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 68 Window nII (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 99)
- Plate 69 Window nIII, 'The Prick of Conscience' (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 98)
- Plate 70 Window nIII 1a (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 71 Window nIII 1b (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 72 Window nIII 1c (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 73 Window nIV 'The Six Corporal Acts of Mercy' (RCHM)
- Plate 74 Window nIV 1a Reginald Bawtre: '*Ov(... )s scret(... )*' (RCHM)

- Plate 75 Window nIV 1c possibly Nicholas Blackburn Sr. and wife: '*Ora p(ro) no(bis) ut (...); Ut dign(...) efficanu p(ro) un ff et ...*' (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 76 Window nVI; 1a shows arms of John Alcock (RCHM)
- Plate 77 Window sII (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 99)
- Plate 78 Window sIII (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 100)
- Plate 79 Window sIII 1a James Bagule, Robert Chapman and wife, scroll with '*libera nos*' (RCHM)
- Plate 80 Window sIII 1c (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 81 Misericorde of John Gilyot (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 19)
- Plate 82 Baguley & Chapman; Henrison & Hesyl; Blackburns (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.94<sup>v</sup>/p.185)
- Plate 83 Reginald Bawtre and Blackburn arms; figures in south window of south aisle: 1st stantion: man with scroll *Ora p(ro) no(bis)...*, woman with scroll ... *dign...effican p(ro) un ffiu et*; 3d stantion: man & 2 women (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.95<sup>r</sup>/p.186)
- Plate 84 Bawtry monument: *Johannes Bawtry* (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.95<sup>v</sup>/p.187)
- Plate 85 Nine Orders of Angels (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.96<sup>r</sup>/p.188)
- Plate 86 'The Prick of Conscience' (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.99<sup>r</sup>/p.194)
- Plate 87 John Wardall; William Stockton, Robert Colynson & Isabel; Thomas Clerke monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.620)
- Plate 88 Monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.621)
- Plate 89 Thomas Ilyngwyk, John Rotburn and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.622)
- Plate 90 William Londisdall, Richard Killingholme and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.623)
- Plate 91 John Bawtry, William Graie and other monuments; heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.624)
- Plate 92 Heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.625)

#### All Saints Pavement

- Plate 93 Thomas Beverley monument (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.110<sup>v</sup>/p.215)
- Plate 94 John Gylot mercer monument (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, 111<sup>v</sup>/p.217)
- Plate 95 John Feriby and another monument (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.118<sup>r</sup>/p.226)
- Plate 96 John Acaster monument, heraldry and merchant's mark; William Fenwick's merchant's mark (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.118<sup>v</sup>/p.227)
- Plate 97 Monument of William & Agnes Todd (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.119<sup>r</sup>/p.228)
- Plate 98 Thomas Beverley, Robert Crathorn and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.221)
- Plate 99 John Feriby, Robert Ampilford, John Gillyot priest and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.222)
- Plate 100 John Gylliot mercer and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.223)
- Plate 101 Thomas Brounflete, John Thornton, Thomas Gare and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.224)
- Plate 102 John de Acaster, Robert Bridecale, Richard Welles and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.225)
- Plate 103 Heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.226)

#### Holy Trinity Goodramgate

- Plate 104 Coffin lid (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 40)
- Plate 105 Thomas Danby monument (RCHM, *York 5* Plate 40)
- Plate 106 Howme heraldry and merchant's mark (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 29)
- Plate 107 Window I (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 45)

- Plate 108 Window I heraldry (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 45)  
 Plate 109 E window (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.133<sup>r</sup>/p.256)  
 Plate 110 E window (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, 173<sup>v</sup>/p.336)  
 Plate 111 Heraldry (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, 184<sup>v</sup>/p.358)  
 Plate 112 Monuments and heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.29)  
 Plate 113 Thomas Danby, John Youle, William Pollerneham and other monuments (NB chalice); heraldry  
 (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.30)  
 Plate 114 Heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre p.31)

### **Holy Trinity King's Court**

- Plate 115 Heraldry (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, 176<sup>v</sup>/p.342)  
 Plate 116 William Garton, Thomas Janison and other monuments; NB hammer (York Minster Library,  
 MS. LI/8, Torre, p.133)  
 Plate 230 Heraldry (London, British Library, MS. Harley 1394, Glover, f.154<sup>v</sup>. By permission of the  
 British Library.)

### **Holy Trinity Micklegate**

- Plate 117 Robert Irry and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.692)

### **St. Crux**

- Plate 118 Heraldry and merchant's marks (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14,  
 Johnston, f.120<sup>r</sup>/p.230)  
 Plate 119 John Grinedale monument and merchant's marks (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical  
 Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.120<sup>v</sup>/p.231)  
 Plate 120 Monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre p.167)  
 Plate 121 William Lamb and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.169)  
 Plate 122 Henry Wyman, John Shawe, Ellen Waghen and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS.  
 LI/8, Torre, p.171)  
 Plate 123 Monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.172)  
 Plate 124 Thomas Curtas and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.173)  
 Plate 125 John Lightlampe monument (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.174)

### **St. Cuthbert**

- Plate 126 William Bowes and other monuments; heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.516)

### **St. Denys**

- Plate 127 E window (C.M.Barnett)  
 Plate 128 East window with Percy effigies (Drake, *Eboracum*, p.307)  
 Plate 128a East window with Percy effigies (London, College of Arms, MS. Dugdale's Yorkshire Arms  
 f.127<sup>r</sup>)  
 Plate 129 Window nIII (D.E.O'Connor)  
 Plate 130 Window nIII 1b, figure holding ?19C scroll: '*Domine miserere mei*' (D.E.O'Connor)  
 Plate 131 Window nIV (D.E.O'Connor)  
 Plate 132 Window nIV 1a Robert de Skelton holding model of window: '*Orate (pro anima)bz Rob(er)t(i)  
 (de Skelto)n et (J)o(hanna) (uxoris eius) et Jo(ha)nnis fi(lii eius)*' (D.E.O'Connor)  
 Plate 133 Window nIV 1b Robert de Skelton's wife Joan (D.E.O'Connor)  
 Plate 134 Window nIV 1c Robert de Skelton's son John (D.E.O'Connor)  
 Plate 135 Skelton window; heraldry; figure in SE window with scroll: '*Ihri filij dei miserere mei*' (Oxford,  
 Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.107<sup>r</sup>/p.208)  
 Plate 136 Monuments; NB tailor's shears (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.473)  
 Plate 137 Richard Fugget and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.474)  
 Plate 138 Robert Warde and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.475)  
 Plate 139 Heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.476)

### **St. George Fishergate**

- Plate 140 Monument (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston,  
 f.110<sup>r</sup>/p.214)

### **St. Helen Stonegate**

- Plate 141 Window wI 1c: commemorative effigies; 1d nimbed figure (D.E.O'Connor)  
Plate 142 Monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.307)  
Plate 143 Monuments and heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.308)

### **St. John Ousebridge**

- Plate 144 Richard Yorke monument (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 9)  
Plate 145 Window sII Coronation of BVM, arms of City of York and Neville for Ralph Neville (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 123)  
Plate 146 York Minster nXIX 2-3 a-b clockwise from top left: Corpus Christi 1498; 4 daughters of Richard Yorke 1498; William Grafton and wife Agnes 1320s; Richard Toller, wife Isabel and priest: '*Ricardus Toller et Isabella uxor eius*' 1320s (RCHM)  
Plate 147 York Minster nXX 2-3b from the top: Sir Richard Yorke (*atis Ebor ac is benefactoribus suis Qui ob*) 1498; John Randman and wife Joan (*Johannes Randman et Johanna uxor eius*)  
Plate 148 York Minster 3a: 6 sons of Richard Yorke (C.M.Barnett)  
Plate 149 York Minster nXX 2a Richard Brigenale and wife Katherine (C.M.Barnett)  
Plate 150 York Minster nXIX 1b kneeling priest (C.M.Barnett)  
Plate 151 York Minster nXIX 4-5a from top: kneeling figure and 6 sons (?Richard Orinshead), kneeling figure with lighted candle (C.M.Barnett)  
Plate 152 York Minster nXXI 2a ?two wives of Richard Yorke (C.M.Barnett)  
Plate 153 York Minster nXIX 5a ?Richard Orinshead and sons (*Sca Maria ...tis nobis*) 15C (D.E. O'Connor)  
Plate 154 York Minster nXXII 2a and 3a: probably Roger and Elizabeth Selby and William and Alice Stockton (CVMA)  
Plate 155 NE window: Richard Yorke and sons, wives of Richard Yorke; Richard Brikenale and Katherine; John Randman and Joan; Richard Toller and Isabel; William Grafton and Agnes (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.102<sup>v</sup>/p.199)  
Plate 156 Heraldry; man and 5 sons with scroll *Sca maria ora pro nobis*; man and woman with scroll *sce Thomas*; three couples (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.103<sup>r</sup>/p.200)  
Plate 157 Two monuments (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.104<sup>r</sup>/p.202)  
Plate 158 Monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.639)  
Plate 159 Richard Yorke and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.640)  
Plate 160 Monuments, heraldry and inscriptions (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.641)

### **St. Margaret Walmgate**

- Plate 161 Monuments; NB chalice and pierced coin (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.447)  
Plate 162 Agnes Manars and Richard Clerk monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.448)  
Plate 162a East window with knight's effigy (London, College of Arms, MS. Dugdale's Yorkshire Arms, f.172<sup>v</sup>)

### **St. Martin Coney St.**

- Plate 163 Window nII (former W window) Robert Semer: '*Sancte Martine repelle a m(e) ...ntessime ...*' (RCHM, *York 5*, Plate 54)  
Plate 164 Window sIV 1a-c Holy Family, kneeling female effigy with scroll, Corpus Christi (J.Denmead)  
Plate 165 Figures in east window of north aisle (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.177<sup>r</sup>/p.343)  
Plate 166 Heraldry and Robert Semar window (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.178<sup>r</sup>/p.345)  
Plate 167 Heraldry (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.178<sup>v</sup>/p.346)  
Plate 168 Monuments; NB ?chisels (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.331)  
Plate 169 Monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.332)  
Plate 170 Monuments; NB consecration crosses (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.333)  
Plate 171 Heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.334)  
Plate 230 Heraldry (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1394, Glover, f.154<sup>v</sup>. By permission of the British Library)

### **St. Martin Micklegate**

- Plate 172 Floor slab of Henry Cattall 1460, reused 1826: '*Hic jacet dns Henricus Cattall quondam capell(anu)s cantarie qui obiit vii<sup>o</sup> die Febr(uarij) A dni M<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>mo</sup> ix<sup>o</sup> cui(us) a(n)i(m)e p(ro)picietur D(eus) Amen*' (RCHM, *York 3*, Plate 36)
- Plate 173 Window sII 1a. Inscription c.1340: '*Priet pur Nicho(las Fouke)*'. Male figure probably of Sir Hugh Hastings 15C (RCHM)
- Plate 174 Window sII 1c Female figure probably of Anne Gascoigne, wife of Sir Hugh Hastings 15C (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 175 Window nVII W light: merchant's marks for Richard Toller (P.A.Newton)
- Plate 176 Window nVII E light: merchant's marks for Richard Toller (P.A.Newton)
- Plate 177 Window sII: Nicholas Fouke's merchant's marks in tracery (RCHM, *York 3*, plate 116)
- Plate 178 Window sII 3c: merchant's mark for Nicholas Fouke (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 179 SE window: Hastings and Gascoigne figures and heraldry (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.102<sup>r</sup>/p.198)
- Plate 180 Robert Butteram, Henry Cavall and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.663)
- Plate 181 Monuments and heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.664)

### **St. Mary Bishophill Jr.**

- Plate 182 Heraldry (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.97<sup>v</sup>/p.191)
- Plate 183 John Topham, William Croseby, Brian Middleton, John Middilton and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.709)
- Plate 184 Monuments and heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.710)

### **St. Mary Bishophill Sr.**

- Plate 185 Heraldry and monument (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.98<sup>r</sup>/p.192)
- Plate 186 William Playce and William Santore (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.98<sup>v</sup>/p.193)
- Plate 187 Monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.733)
- Plate 188 Monuments and heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.734)

### **St. Mary Castlegate**

- Plate 189 Graa shield in S chapel (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 29)
- Plate 190 Window sIII (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 191 Window sIII 4a Merchant's mark of ?John Blackburne (P.A.Newton, photo taken 1974)
- Plate 192 William Graa, John ?Sullingbee and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre p.383)
- Plate 193 John Blackburne, William and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.384)
- Plate 230 Heraldry (London, British Library, MS. Harley 1394, Glover, f.154<sup>v</sup>. By permission of the British Library)

### **St. Michael-le-Belfrey**

- Plate 194 Window I 1a-1b Figure with model of window and two kneeling figures (D.E.O'Connor)
- Plate 195 Window I 1d Two kneeling figures (RCHM)
- Plate 196 Window nV 2b-c Martin Soza with 7 sons on right and wife Ellen with 3 daughters on left (J.Haselock)
- Plate 197 Window nVI 2b-c John Lister and 3 wives (J.Haselock)
- Plate 198 Window nVII 2b reconstructed figure possibly of Christopher Ceel 1537 (J.Haselock)
- Plate 199 Window nVII 2c reconstructed figure (J.Haselock)
- Plate 200 George Evers monument (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.176<sup>r</sup>/p.341)
- Plate 201 Monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.64)
- Plate 202 Gilbert Pynchebek, Agnes Buller and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.65)
- Plate 203 William Cokeburn and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.66)
- Plate 204 Monuments; NB ?woodworking tool (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.67)

- Plate 205 George Evers and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.69)  
 Plate 206 Monuments and heraldry; NB spur, nails and pliers (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.70)  
 Plate 230 Heraldry (London, British Library, MS. Harley 1394, Glover, f.154<sup>v</sup>. By permission of the British Library)

### **St. Michael Spurriergate**

- Plate 207 William Wilson monument (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 40)  
 Plate 208 Window sV 1b St. Margaret and kneeling cleric, possibly William Appilgarth (D.E.O'Connor)  
 Plate 209 Window sV 4c St. John the Baptist and kneeling lay figure, possibly John Dautre (D.E.O'Connor)  
 Plate 210 Alan Hamerton's merchant's mark (F.A.Girling, *English Merchants' Marks*, (London 1964), p.18)  
 Plate 211 Merchants' marks and William Langton monument (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.105<sup>r</sup>/p.204)  
 Plate 212 Robert Johnson monument (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.105<sup>v</sup>/p.205)  
 Plate 213 William Wilson and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.349)  
 Plate 214 Nicholas Vicars, Oliver Middleton and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.350)  
 Plate 215 William Hancock, William Langton and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.352)  
 Plate 216 Robert Appulgarth, Thomas Vicars and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.353)

### **St. Nicholas Walmgate**

- Plate 217 Richard de Grimston monument (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.110<sup>r</sup>/p.214)  
 Plate 218 Richard de Grimston monument (Gent, *City of York*, p.171)  
 Plate 219 Richard de Grimston monument (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.423)

### **St. Olave**

- Plate 220 John Mawldyng, Richard Kendall, William Vendor, Jannet Walton, Robert de Malturas and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.595)  
 Plate 221 Laurence Jole, Robert Alby and other monuments; NB cross and ?mason's tool (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.596)

### **St. Sampson**

- Plate 222 John Karr's merchant mark on W tower SE pier (RCHM, *York 5*, plate 29)  
 Plate 223 John Karr's heraldry and merchant's mark; other heraldry and merchant's marks (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.177<sup>r</sup>/p.343)  
 Plate 224 Monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.281)  
 Plate 225 Monuments and heraldry; NB consecration crosses (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.282)  
 Plate 230 Heraldry (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1394, Glover, f.154<sup>v</sup>. By permission of the British Library)

### **St. Saviour**

- Plate 226 Heraldry (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Johnston, f.172<sup>v</sup>/p.334)  
 Plate 227 Roger de Moreton and other monuments (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.575)  
 Plate 228 Robert Verdenel, Robert and Helen Duffeld and other monuments; NB consecration crosses (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.576)  
 Plate 229 John Kapwyck and other monuments; heraldry (York Minster Library, MS. LI/8, Torre, p.577)  
 Plate 230 Heraldry from St. Sampson's, Christ Church (i.e. Holy Trinity King's Court), St. Martin's Coney St., St. Martin's Castle Garth (sic - St. Mary Castlegate) and St. Michael-le-Belfrey (London, British Library, MS. Harley 1394, Glover, f.154<sup>v</sup>. By permission of the British Library)

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. E. C. Norton for his help during my work on this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge the help I have received from the members of my thesis advisory panel, namely Dr. A. Lillie, Dr. S. Rees-Jones and Prof. R. Marks. I have also benefitted from the help of various members of the History and Medieval Studies departments at the University of York, in particular Dr. J. Binns, Dr. P. J. P. Goldberg, Mrs. L. Harrison and Ms. R. Gibson. The staff of the J. B. Morrel Library, the King's Manor Library, the York Minster Library and the York City Reference Library all provided generous help and encouragement. Special thanks are due to Mr. Keith Parker, senior librarian at the King's Manor Library, for his patience, kindness and helpfulness on innumerable occasions. The British Academy funded part of my research. I would also like to thank Mr. I. Pattison, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, York; Dr. Francine de Nave, Historical Museums, Antwerp, Belgium; Mr. Robert C. Yorke, College of Arms, London; Mrs. Ann Payne, British Library, Department of Manuscripts, London; and the staff of the Victoria and Albert Museum Prints and Drawings Room, London, and of the Society of Antiquaries, London, for their kind help. My thanks are also due to the Dean and Chapter of York, to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and to the British Library, London, for their kind permission to reproduce illustrations from manuscripts in their care. I have also received many helpful suggestions from both lecturers and other graduate students too numerous to mention across the Internet. Any errors remaining in this work are my own.

Above all I would like to express my gratitude to my family for their help and support over the years and for reminding me of what really matters.

In loving memory of

Timothy Barnett z"l

(d. 9 January 1993)

May his memory be for a blessing

## Chapter 1 Introduction

### 1.1 The topic

York was a great medieval city, famous for its medieval churches and stained glass which have been the subject of much study. However, the impressive surviving visual material merely overlies a complex and largely undiscovered tapestry. We are fortunate to have a large body of antiquarian evidence regarding the parish churches of York, which can provide us with important and unique information on funerary inscriptions, stained glass and monumental brass designs, heraldry and iconography, the greatest part of which has now been lost. The major theme to emerge from this evidence is that of commemoration - windows, monuments and heraldry all served to commemorate specific individuals, in the hope that these objects would encourage prayers for their souls, thus improving their fate in the afterlife.

The antiquarian evidence provides us with a list of names of people commemorated in windows and monuments - most of these names can be traced in medieval documents such as wills and civic records, which help us to flesh out a portrait of these people, especially with regard to their prosopography, social networks and motivations. It also provides us with information on aspects of lost iconography such as the decoration of figure brasses and stained glass. The issue of commemoration introduces an additional category not covered by the antiquarian evidence - chantry foundations. This category consists in fact of two distinct aspects - monetary foundations for the commemoration of souls at an altar, and occasionally, in addition, the physical rebuilding of a church with provision for a chantry chapel with an altar for commemorative masses. This category was chosen to set the other memorials into context - chantries were an important form of commemoration, and the foundation deeds which can be retrieved through the Calendar of Patent Rolls provide information on the status and social identity of the founders.

Before proceeding to describe the thesis in greater detail it is necessary to outline its boundaries. The antiquarian evidence on which the thesis is based was collated between the years 1584 and 1785 and although this evidence contains details which include post-medieval parish church art as well as art in York Minster, for the purposes of this thesis we will confine ourselves to consider the evidence which dates up to the Reformation and which concerns parish churches only.<sup>1</sup> The earliest antiquarian evidence on parish churches starts with the late thirteenth-century coffin of Robert Verdenel at St. Saviour's - we then have a fairly large gap, and the next evidence relates to the late fourteenth-century brass of Roger Moreton, also from St. Saviour's, which is then followed by a chronologically continuous stream of evidence until the 1540s which are taken as our arbitrary

---

<sup>1</sup> The time boundaries 1584 to 1785 encompass the relevant antiquarian evidence from Glover to Brooke, see discussion below.



boundary as they herald the Reformation. However, the thesis also includes chantries as a form of commemoration, and the chantry evidence begins in the late thirteenth century with the chantries of Robert Verdenel (pre-1281), Robert Graa (1293) and Andrew Toller (late thirteenth century) and continues through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and finishes with the chantry of Sir John Gilliot (1513). Thus, the time boundaries of the thesis are roughly from the late thirteenth century until the Reformation. This approach enables us to make a number of exclusions. York Minster is a subject in its own right which would expand the scope of this thesis beyond the constraints of time and space, besides introducing a different set of issues and concerns. Commemoration in the Minster is primarily centred on the aristocracy and higher clergy rather than the citizens of York, and the forms of commemoration are on a considerably larger scale. The great Benedictine foundation of St. Mary's Abbey is similarly a subject in its own right, as are the Friaries, which would constitute an interesting comparative study with the parish churches, should they ever be undertaken as a subject for research, and the Hospitals.<sup>2</sup> The work carried out so far on the friaries suggests that commemoration there was also focused on the aristocracy rather than the townspeople of York. We will be discussing the value of the antiquarian evidence in relation to its contribution towards a better understanding of the iconography of commemoration in the parish churches but we will not be undertaking a complete iconographic survey of such art. This is also not a study in lay piety, in that it concentrates almost exclusively on the individuals commemorated in the parish churches, although it does use the evidence of wills to determine the extent of the preoccupations of these individuals. Finally, although production is an integral part of art historical study, this is not an aspect which is dealt with here because it does not feature in the antiquarian evidence and because it introduces issues which are better discussed in relation to York art as a whole rather than exclusively in relation to parish churches. Overall, questions of production, stylistic analysis and the detection of different hands or workshops in the surviving visual material are not issues that are tackled. Workshop practices and organization are similarly not delved into due to their disassociation from the focus on antiquarian material and its complementary medieval sources.

It is necessary at this point to introduce some of the terminology used in this thesis and to explain its meaning. 'The commemorated' is the term used to refer to the people whose names appear in inscriptions on stained glass and on monuments, the latter including brasses, limestone coffins,

---

<sup>2</sup> For York Minster see G.E.Aylmer and R.Cant (eds.), *A History of York Minster*, (Oxford 1977); for St. Mary's Abbey see Christopher Norton, 'The Buildings of St. Mary's Abbey, York and their Destruction', *AJ* 74 (1994), pp.256-288; Renée Marcouse, *Figure Sculpture in St. Mary's Abbey York*, (York 1951); James Raine, *The Founding of St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital*, (York 1898); Christopher Wilson and Janet Elizabeth Burton, *St. Mary's Abbey York*, (York 1988). For the friaries see R.B.Dobson, 'Mendicant Ideal and Practice in Late Medieval York', in *Archaeological Papers from York presented to M.W.Barley*, (eds.) P.V.Addyman and V.E.Black, York Archaeological Trust, (York 1984), pp.109-122; VCHY, pp.283-296. For the Hospitals see VCHY pp.363-4 and P.H.Cullum, 'Hospitals and Charitable Provision in Medieval Yorkshire 936-1547', York D.Phil. (1990).

tombchests and floor slabs. The same term applies to people in whose name chantries are founded, whether the licence was granted to the commemorated themselves or to a third party such as their executors. All chantries commemorated more than one, sometimes several, individuals - in this thesis we shall be dealing with the principal founders or co-founders, and, if appropriate, their immediate next of kin. We shall also come across several cases of monuments and windows which commemorate more than one person. Sometimes, for various reasons, one individual stands out above the rest and in such cases we shall use the term 'primary commemorated' to refer to such an individual, while the other individuals commemorated will be referred to as 'secondary commemorated'. In a few cases, 'the commemorated' also applies to members of aristocratic baronial families who appear to be commemorated by heradic devices in stained glass, on stonework and on woodwork, or by effigies and inscriptions in stained glass.

In discussions of medieval art one often encounters the use of the terms 'donor' and 'patron'. These are problematic terms in that they are sometimes used interchangeably and at other times used to refer to different concepts.<sup>3</sup> We may for example consider the use of the former term as meaning the person commemorated in a window or funerary monument, while the latter term may be used to indicate the person who paid for the object in question - this distinction can be made to point out that the two were not necessarily the same person. Given the ambiguous nature of these terms, it was found preferable to invent a new term altogether to deal with the concept of commemoration. Similarly, we shall not be making use of the term 'donor figures' to indicate depictions of the commemorated - we will instead be using the term '(commemorative) effigy' or '(commemorative) figure', which will be equally applied to figures in windows and on monuments without implying that the individuals represented were financially responsible for the memorials.

There are other important terms which will be frequently used. 'Memorials' is used to refer to any object or foundation whose primary function is the commemoration of the categories of individuals described above. The term encompasses windows, funerary monuments, chantries and a small number of other church fittings which may be seen to perform a commemorative function - such as misericordes, lecterns, bench-ends and other woodwork and stonework which bear heraldic devices or merchants' marks. It is used whether the commemorated in question were dead or alive at the time of the production or foundation of the memorial. 'Urban classes' refers to individuals and groups of people who had an identifiable connection with the city of York, usually through any one of the following ways: acquisition of the freedom of the city; participation in civic affairs; practice of a trade within the city; residence within the city; and affiliation to a particular church or churches. The term will also be used to refer to close relatives of such individuals, such as wives,

---

<sup>3</sup> See Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, (London 1993), chapter 1, pp.3-27 for a recent discussion of the subject.

husbands, children, parents. It will be assumed that both clerical and lay people belong to such a group. Thus, the parish clergy will be considered as much a part of the urban classes as merchants, craftsmen, the professional classes (i.e. notaries, lawyers) and the urban nobility (i.e. those men who identify themselves as 'armigers' or 'gentlemen' in their wills). 'Urban elite' refers to the group of people from the urban classes who dominate the higher civic offices - primarily the offices of mayor, sheriff and bailiff, in descending order of importance. This term is equivalent to what other writers refer to as 'patrician class' or 'civic elite'.

The thesis consists of five chapters and a two-part appendix. Appendix A.1 contains all the antiquarian evidence relating to York parish churches. This constitutes the core of the thesis but can also be used as an independent research tool in its own right. This central evidence is supplemented by that in Appendix A.2 which contains an alphabetical list of all the commemorated, plus some other relevant individuals. Each entry contains all the available medieval evidence concerning that individual - this evidence enables us to make extensive connections between the commemorated and to detect patterns in the process of commemoration. The Appendices include a full discussion of the editorial principles which have been followed in the writing of this thesis in relation to dating, interpretation of heraldry and transcription of the antiquarian and medieval evidence.

Chapter 1 sets out the aims of the thesis. The antiquarian evidence represents the main body of original research of the thesis. It is a body of material which has occasionally been dipped into for individual studies but has not yet been approached in its entirety. Different types of antiquarian evidence are discussed and their limitations set out; the general background of the antiquarian writers themselves is also sketched. The medieval evidence and the surviving visual evidence are then discussed, including the principles according to which particular wills were selected and read; and the limitations of both types of evidence and the particular problems relating to this kind of evidence are also discussed. The secondary evidence is discussed - this is particularly important in relation to those studies, such as the Royal Commission inventories, which provide much of the groundwork on which the thesis is based. While some of this material has to be approached critically, it is precisely because this secondary material already exists that it is possible to undertake a study such as this thesis, which seeks to go beyond the assessment of the remaining art and uncover as much lost material as possible.

The antiquarians were only able to describe the interiors of 25 out of a total of 46 churches which existed in medieval York, albeit not all at the same time. This was due to the decay and demolition of church fabrics which occurred first in the early fourteenth and again in the sixteenth century. However, while the core of the thesis will concentrate on those churches visited by the antiquarians, we will also need to bear in mind the general patterns defined by all 46 churches. These 46 parochial churches include intra- and extra-mural churches and those churches attached to convents and priories, such as St. Clement and Holy Trinity Micklegate which performed a

parochial function - the nave of Holy Trinity Micklegate was parochial even though the church belonged to the Priory of Alien Benedictines;<sup>4</sup> the priory churches of All Saints Fishergate, St. Andrew Fishergate and St. Clement, and the hospital church of St. Nicholas (Lawrence Street outside Walmgate), all performed parochial functions. Chapter 2 aims to describe the historical background in order to build up a picture of York in the late medieval period and to explain issues such as the number and size of churches, their relative values and the reasons for their decay and demolition.

Chapters 3 and 4 are the principal chapters of the thesis, in which the antiquarian evidence is fully exploited. Chapter 3 concentrates on the mechanics of the commissioning and production of memorials and on the prosopography of individuals and groups commemorated in the parish churches. These groups range from the urban classes - merchants, craftsmen, professionals and parish clergy - to the wider social groups of local nobility, major baronial families, Minster clergy and higher clergy. Chapter 4 assesses the contribution of the antiquarian evidence in relation to iconography. This is particularly significant in the fields of heraldry and effigial art. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis.

## 1.2 Review of the secondary sources

The secondary literature on art and commemoration in York parish churches can roughly be divided into three categories: general surveys of York which usually include material from York Minster; individual case studies in which a particular commission or church or iconographic scheme are investigated; and a wide range of historical studies.

In the first group belong the studies by Knowles, Harrison, Benson, the Royal Commission, the Victoria County History and Davidson and O'Connor.<sup>5</sup> Harrison records the iconography and heraldry of the surviving glass, as well as some names of the commemorated, supplementing his work with some information gained from the antiquarian sources. Because of the work's early twentieth-century date, it records glass which has since been moved (e.g. at St. Saviour's, which is now in the west window of All Saints' Pavement) but no effort is made to go beyond a record of the glass at the time of writing. Benson's survey is a straightforward catalogue of the glass, supplemented by historical details based on Drake and Browne.<sup>6</sup> Like Harrison he records glass which has now been rearranged - notably the glass of St. Michael Spurriergate which was extensively reordered in the 1950s under the direction of Dean Eric Milner-White.

---

<sup>4</sup> John Solloway, *The Alien Benedictines of York, being a Complete History of Holy Trinity Priory, York*, (Leeds 1910), pp.4, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Knowles 1936; Harrison 1927; Benson 1914; RCHM, *York 3-5*; *VCHY*; D&O'C.

<sup>6</sup> Drake; J. Browne, 'Notices on the Painted Glass of the Churches of York', *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute* (1846).

Knowles presents a more complex picture. First of all his study is analytical, and it considers Minster and parish glass in the same context. This approach obscures the differences in terms of scale and commemoration between the Minster and the city. More seriously, it heavily influences Knowles towards a retrogressive view of the development of stained glass painting in York, according to which the best production took place in the early fifteenth century, followed by 'a gradual deterioration in artistic and technical accomplishment' as well as 'a decline in output'.<sup>7</sup> This view is also prominent in Knowles's many articles on individual windows and churches. On a positive note, Knowles devotes two interesting chapters on glass painters, whom he sees as members both of interacting workshops with shared practices and of a restrictive guild.

The Royal Commission books are particularly valuable in that they provide a body of work in which the identity of the people commemorated in and the iconography of extant windows and monuments have now been mostly catalogued.<sup>8</sup> They also provide some information from medieval and antiquarian sources. This amounts to a major achievement, and in spite of occasional inaccuracies it represents a useful reference work which has served as a starting point for the present research. As with any text, it is necessary to cross-check the Royal Commission transcriptions of inscriptions in the glass - those at All Saints' North Street, for instance, sometimes differ in detail from those reported by E.A.Gee in his article on the glass of All Saints'.<sup>9</sup> This problem points to a more general difficulty with regard to inscriptions which will be discussed below.

The York volume of the Victoria County History provides a useful section on parish churches which reviews their advowsons, chantries and stained glass. While it makes no claim to represent an art historical survey it provides a great deal of useful references and material on all York churches.

Davidson and O'Connor's *York Art* is a highly abbreviated reference work. This is not an analytical or critical study but rather a subject list of extant and lost art from the Minster, the parish churches, the friaries, St. Mary's Abbey, other chapels including the Merchant Adventurers', and the Guildhall. The art is primarily stained glass but also includes alabasters, embroideries, ivory carvings, jewellery, manuscript illumination, painted cloths, sculpture including wood carving and roof bosses, tapestries, wall paintings, vestments and Easter sepulchres. The index, compiled by

---

<sup>7</sup> Knowles 1936 p.13.

<sup>8</sup> Those cases which lead to disagreement with the work of the Royal Commission will be dealt with individually.

<sup>9</sup> Compare the transcriptions of the same inscription in window sVI at All Saints' in RCHM, *York 3* p.9 which reads '*Accipe hoc care me(us) p(ro) qui(bus) cu(mqu)e pecieris impenetrabis*', with that in E.A.Gee, 'The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York', *Archaeologia* 102 (1969), p.175, which reads '*Accipe hoc de me p(ro) q(u)iuscu(m) que petieris impenetrabis*'. Gee ascribes the quote to the passage '*Et omne quod petieris a me impetrabis*' (I will do for you whatever you ask) from 2 Kings 19, 38. The existing inscription currently reads: '*Accipe hoc p q...uscu... pecie...is impetrabis*'.

Joan and Michael Rossi, can be used to look up subjects and sometimes testators but not locations.<sup>10</sup> The evidence for lost art comes from Gent and from medieval wills, the latter mainly culled from Raine's *Medieval York*, with a few taken from *Testamenta Eboracensia*.<sup>11</sup> The evidence from lost churches is limited to 11 out of the 18 churches destroyed since the sixteenth century and includes one only partially demolished church, i.e. St. Lawrence. The iconographic index omits scenes whose identification is dubious, e.g. the panel of Noah building the Ark from St. Michael Spurriergate, which is considered to be a made-up panel.<sup>12</sup> The work includes a comprehensive bibliography which however contains items which are untraceable.<sup>13</sup> For primary evidence, the bibliography mentions Dodsworth 145 and 147 but omits 157 and 161 which contain extensive material on the parish churches - it also omits Keepe, Dugdale, Hutton and Glover. On the whole, this is a useful work of reference for those who are primarily interested in iconography although the extensive use of abbreviations makes it laborious to use. It is unfortunate that the book does not contain a fuller discussion of discarded iconographic identifications, such as that at St. Michael Spurriergate.

To conclude this section we might briefly mention two guide books which contain relevant material. Pevsner's guide to York discusses the 19 now remaining medieval churches primarily from the architectural standpoint, with brief references to fittings including stained glass. Morris's guide gives brief architectural notes and somewhat lengthier accounts of the interior fittings of 23 churches such as stained glass, monumental brasses (including inscriptions), stonework and woodwork. Both books include post-medieval material and represent useful introductions to the topic.<sup>14</sup>

In the second group can be counted a large number of case studies. Those which focus on a particular window or other art form provide much useful information on commemoration, iconography and the value of antiquarian sources.<sup>15</sup> There are also studies on individual churches which provide useful background information over an extended period of time, from early medieval

---

<sup>10</sup> Joan Rossi and Michael Rossi, *Index to York Art*, Medieval Institute Publications, (Kalamazoo, Michigan 1985).

<sup>11</sup> See below for a review of both these works.

<sup>12</sup> D&O'C p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> For example M, F.J., *All Saints Pavement, York*, (York, no date).

<sup>14</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, (London 1972), pp.114-129 and article on 'Stained Glass' by Ben Johnson pp.58-67; Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 2nd ed., (London 1995), pp.157-177 and article on 'Stained Glass' by Ben Johnson, revised by David O'Connor and David Neave, pp.50-59; Joseph E. Morris, *York*, (London 1924), pp.71-119. York churches are also discussed in a large number of newspaper articles, individual church guides and leaflets. I do not propose to discuss this body of literature, as it is of an essentially non-scholarly nature.

<sup>15</sup> In order to abbreviate the next few footnotes, articles will be referred to by surname and year only, the latter if necessary to avoid confusion. See bibliography under Gee 1980; Knowles 1922, 1924, 1939, 1955, 1962; Lennon; Milner-White 1945 and 1948; Routh 1986; Rowe; Sommer.

to post-Reformation.<sup>16</sup> Iconographic studies are especially useful in breaking down the narrow focus on York art and in setting the iconography into a wider context, which includes continental art.<sup>17</sup> We have a few important studies of parish church art other than stained glass - but not enough of them to convey the idea that stained glass was only one of several art forms to be seen in late medieval parish churches.<sup>18</sup>

However, as a body of research these studies do not amount to a comprehensive account of parish church art, which embraces more than just stained glass, and reflects a complex network of commemoration and production that can only be perceived if the churches are studied in their entirety. Notable omissions in the secondary literature include a satisfactory account of the early sixteenth-century glass of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, and of the role of the Percies at St. Denys.

From a historical point of view, medieval York is the subject of a large and diverse body of scholarship, ranging from R.B. Dobson's work on the city of York, its chantry foundations, its register of freemen, as well as the ecclesiastical and political aspects of the Minster, to J.I. Kermode's work on the merchant class, P.J.P. Goldberg's work on social and economic patterns, P.H. Cullum's work on hospitals and charity, S.R. Rees Jones's work on property and rents and D.M. Palliser's work on social and economic change in late medieval and Tudor York.<sup>19</sup> An intensely debated issue has been that of urban decline, a debate which began in the late 1950s with J.N. Bartlett's work on late medieval York, and which has since spawned a lively succession of studies.<sup>20</sup> This debate is of great relevance to a study of York's parish churches - we have already seen it reflected in Knowles's work, in which he makes use of the idea of urban decline to justify qualitative judgements about the late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century glass.<sup>21</sup>

Special mention should be made of a previous attempt to relate testamentary bequests to particular features in the parish churches - Raine's book on medieval York.<sup>22</sup> This is an invaluable compilation which attempts to reconstruct the appearance of the medieval city, street by street and building by building. Where possible, for each parish church, extensive testamentary evidence is adduced - e.g. bequests to lights or altars dedicated to particular saints - as well as to chantries, anchorites and the fabric itself. Raine's major drawback is that none of the testamentary evidence is

---

<sup>16</sup> See bibliography under Benson 1904; Brunskill; Dawes and Magilton; French 1962; Knowles 1939; Magilton; Richard K. Morris 1988; Ramm; Shaw; Tringhan; Wenham, Hall, Briden and Stocker.

<sup>17</sup> See bibliography under Caviness 1968-70; Crewe 1980; J.Fowler 1873; J.T.Fowler 1915; Newton.

<sup>18</sup> See bibliography under Badham; Hogarth; Stephenson 1905.

<sup>19</sup> I am grateful to Dr. S. Rees Jones for providing me with an extensive reading list on medieval York. See bibliography under: Dobson, Cullum, Goldberg, Kermode, Palliser, Rees Jones.

<sup>20</sup> See bibliography under Bartlett; Dobson 1977; Kermode 1982 and 1987; Palliser 1978 and 1988.

<sup>21</sup> Much of Knowles's work in fact predates the onset of the debate but his views on York art can be seen to fit into a general pattern of urban decline.

<sup>22</sup> A. Raine, *Mediaeval York*, (London 1955).

referenced, leaving the reader with the mammoth task of chasing up the individual wills.<sup>23</sup>

Additionally, Raine is not always accurate in reporting from wills, so he has to be cross-checked whenever possible. For example he states that

'in 1446 William Revetour, a Chaplain, gave to the guild [of St. Christopher] a play about St. James, written on six pages. He also gave them a play about the Creed, with books of the parts'.<sup>24</sup>

Comparing this statement with the will itself we find that Revetour did indeed leave to St. Christopher's guild

*'quendam librum de Sancto Jacobo Apostolo in sex paginis compilatum'*.<sup>25</sup>

However, the preceding sentence runs as follows:

*'lego fraternitati Corporis Christi in Eboraco quendam librum vocatum Le Crede Play cum libris et vexillis eidem pertinentibus'*<sup>26</sup>

thus indicating that the intended beneficiary of the Creed Play was the guild of Corpus Christi.

On the whole, a considerable amount of groundwork has been laid for the study of art in the parish churches of late medieval York. The work of the Royal Commission and of the Victoria County History have proved useful in offering a starting point for more in-depth work and as continuous reference works. This has been supplemented by personal inspection of the medieval fabrics and their contents as well as of the documentary evidence and by a critical reading of the identification of the iconography of the glass.

### 1.3 Review of the primary sources

#### 1.3.1 The antiquarian evidence

From as early as the fifteenth century there developed in Britain an interest in the monuments of earlier times which were to be found in local churches. This compilation of antiquarian evidence continued and flourished in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Wills deposited in the York registers are listed in: F. Collins, *Index of Wills from the Dean and Chapter's Court at York AD 1321 to 1626*, YASRS 38 (1907); F. Collins, *Index of Wills in the York Registry 1389 to 1514*, YASRS 6 (1889); F. Collins, *Index of Wills in the York Registry 1514-1553*, YASRS 11 (1891). A full discussion of the problems of wills as historical evidence follows.

<sup>24</sup> Raine, *Mediaeval York*, p.134.

<sup>25</sup> *TE II*, p.117.

<sup>26</sup> *TE II*, p.117, which translates as 'I leave to the fraternity of Corpus Christi in York a certain book called Le Crede Play with books and banners pertaining to it', thus indicating the existence of a second legatee, as well as the fact that Revetour owned not only the text but also the props for the play.

<sup>27</sup> On antiquarians in general see: Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the seventeenth Century*, (Oxford 1995); J. Mordaunt Crook, *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival*, vol.17 of occasional papers from the Society of Antiquaries, (London 1995); Stuart Piggott, *Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism*, (Edinburgh 1976); Joseph Mordaunt Crook, 'Introduction', to Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, (1872, repr. Leicester 1978),



What is referred to as antiquarian evidence in this thesis consists in fact of two separate categories of evidence - the evidence of the heralds, who had a professional interest in the parish churches, and the evidence of the antiquarians proper, who toured the churches out of personal interest.

Glover and Dugdale belong to the former category, and their interest in York parish churches was determined by their need to catalogue and if necessary censor the illegitimate use of arms.<sup>28</sup> The earliest record comes from the heraldic Visitation of Yorkshire made in 1584-5 by Robert Glover (1544-1588), Somerset herald.<sup>29</sup> Manuscript copies of this Visitation exist both in the British Library and in the College of Arms, London, while a printed version was edited by Joseph Foster and published in 1875. The manuscript versions of Glover's Visitation contain slightly different church notes, while the printed version attempts to represent the fullest version, collated from all the different manuscript copies.<sup>30</sup> The manuscripts of Glover's Visitation contain sketches of heraldic shields from six York churches, which are translated as blazons in the printed version (see table 1.1). The herald appears to have had some difficulty in identifying these arms, probably because they were not officially registered aristocratic arms but rather arms adopted by ordinary citizens of York.

The antiquarian Roger Dodsworth (1585-1654) was a Yorkshire gentleman from Oswaldkirk, whose father was the registrar of York Minster.<sup>31</sup> He seems to have spent his whole life pursuing antiquarian studies and left a large number of manuscripts (161 volumes altogether, now in

---

pp.<13>-<57>; Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, (Oxford 1956); Stuart Piggott, *William Stukeley: an eighteenth century Antiquary*, (rev. ed. London 1985); Stuart Piggott, *Antiquaries*, (London 1974); Francis Maddison, Dorothy Styles and Anthony Wood, *Sir William Dugdale 1605-1686*, (Warwick 1953); Philip J. Lankester, 'Two Lost Effigial Monuments in Yorkshire and the Evidence of Church Notes', *Journal of the Church Monuments Society* 8 (1993), pp.25-44.

<sup>28</sup> For general texts on heraldry see *Boutell's Heraldry*, rev. by C.W.Scott-Giles, (London 1950); Richard Marks and Ann Payne, *British Heraldry from its Origins to c.1800*, (London 1978); Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, (London 1978); Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford 1956); Charles Boutell, *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, revised by A.C. Fox-Davies, (London 1914); Sir Francis J.Grant (ed.), *The Manual of Heraldry*, (Edinburgh 1937); John E.Cussans, *Handbook of Heraldry*, (London 1882); S.T.Aveling (ed.), *Boutell's Heraldry*, (London 1898); Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, (Oxford 1988).

<sup>29</sup> London, College of Arms, MS. 'The Book of Entrances made in the tyme of the Visitacion of Yorkeshire begon 1584 and continued Anno domini 1585 by Robert Glover alias Somerset Herald'; London, British Library, MS. Add. 18011, 'The Book of Entrances made in the tyme of the Visitacion of Yorkeshire begon 1584 and continued Anno domini 1585 by Robert Glover alias Somerset Herald'; London, British Library, MS. Harley 1394, 'The Visitation of Yorkeshire by Robert Glover Somerset Herald' 1584-5; London, British Library, MS. Harley 1415, 'The Visitation of Yorkeshire 1585, the book of entrances by Robert Glover'; London, British Library, MS. Harley 1420, 'The Visitation of Yorkeshire by Robert Glover Somerset Herald' 1584-5; London, British Library, MS. Harley 1487, 'The Visitation of Yorkeshire by Robert Glover Somerset Herald' 1584-5; ; Joseph Foster (ed.), *The Visitation of Yorkshire made in the Years 1584/5 by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald*, (London 1875); *DNB* 8, pp.7-8.

<sup>30</sup> See Foster, *Visitation of Yorkshire*, p.viii for list of sources used. See also Lankester, 'Effigial Monuments', pp.36-8, for a discussion of the different Glover manuscripts.

<sup>31</sup> *DNB* 5, pp.1081-1082.

the Bodleian Library, Oxford) containing a vast array of documents including: genealogies; transcriptions of medieval documents such as monastic charters, Pipe Rolls, Charter Rolls, and extracts from the chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey; and church notes, mainly from Yorkshire, among which two particular volumes (157 and 161) provide a detailed account of church monuments in York.<sup>32</sup> Dodsworth's particular value lies in pre-dating the civil war, especially the siege of York in 1644, when the city churches suffered damage to varying degrees.<sup>33</sup> Dodsworth provides the earliest evidence for inscriptions in windows and monuments.<sup>34</sup> His contribution is outstanding as he records the highest percentage (65%) of the names of the commemorated in the entire antiquarian *opus* (see table 1.2).

In 1641 and 1665 the herald William Dugdale (1605-1686), Norroy King of Arms and author of the '*Monasticon Anglicanum*' and of the '*Antiquities of Warwickshire*', made a survey of York churches, describing the coats of arms in the glass, on monuments and carved on church furnishings such as sedilia, for the purpose of correcting any unlawful arms.<sup>35</sup> Dugdale's '*Yorkshire Arms*', which is kept at the College of Arms, London, also contains some sketches of effigies and arms in the glass - most notably the effigies in the east window of the chancel at St. Denys Walmgate which were also reproduced by Drake in 1736 (see plates 128 and 128a).<sup>36</sup> The British Library also holds copies of Dugdale's Visitation but these mainly contain pedigrees and lack the extensive church notes to be found in the manuscript at the College of Arms.<sup>37</sup> Dugdale was knighted and made Garter King of Arms in 1677.

Matthew Hutton (1639-1711) was the great-grandson of Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York (1529-1606). He graduated as Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford and later

---

<sup>32</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.xxx; Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. Dodsworth 157 and 161 compiled in 1618-19; see also Joseph Hunter, *Three Catalogues; describing the contents of the Red Book of the Exchequer, of the Dodsworth Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and of the Manuscript Library of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, (London 1838), pp.57-249; Falconer Madan, *A Summary catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Vol.V*, (Oxford 1905), p.339; and Falconer Madan, H.H.E.Craster and N.Denholm-Young, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford Vol.II Part II*, (Oxford 1937).

<sup>33</sup> St. Nicholas Lawrence St. was apparently destroyed (see table 1.1) although as late as 1730, Gent could still see its south wall and part of the steeple, see Appendix A.1 sub St. Nicholas. However, it is worth bearing in mind that much else did survive, and war damage was remarkably slight.

<sup>34</sup> Short bibliographical notes on Dodsworth, Torre, Gent and Drake can be found in James M. Biggins, *Historians of York*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications no.10, Borthwick Institute of Historical Studies, (London and York 1956), pp.6-9 and 16.

<sup>35</sup> In Dugdale's manuscript, folios 127<sup>v</sup> and 127<sup>r</sup> belong to a group of pages dated 1641, whereas folios 168<sup>v</sup>-173<sup>v</sup> belong to a different set of notes dated 1665, see also London, College of Arms, Francis Steer, *Catalogue vol.4*, f.673<sup>v</sup>; RCHM, *York 3*, p.xxx; *DNB 6*, pp.136-142.

<sup>36</sup> London, College of Arms, MS. Dugdale's Yorkshire Arms f.127<sup>r</sup>. For a discussion of the two versions of the window see chapter 3 section 3.3.

<sup>37</sup> The British Library manuscripts which contain Dugdale's 1665-6 Visitation of Yorkshire are: Add. MS.24469; Add. MS.29644; and Add. MS.38017.

served as rector of Aynhoe in Northamptonshire.<sup>38</sup> In 1659 he compiled a short list of York church notes, now kept at York Minster Library, in which he recorded brass inscriptions and heraldic descriptions of arms in the windows, and described a few commemorative effigies in the glass of All Saints North St.<sup>39</sup> Another set of church notes in Hutton's hand and also dated 1659 can be found in British Library, MS. Lansdown<sup>e</sup> 919. However, this manuscript has not previously been identified as being by Hutton, but is rather described in the Lansdown<sup>e</sup> catalogue as 'a collection of armorial ensigns and monumental and other inscriptions in various churches in the counties of York etc'.<sup>40</sup> The two Hutton manuscripts are essentially identical, except that the Lansdown<sup>e</sup> manuscript also notes the Langton and Johnstone brasses at St. Michael Spurriergate, while the York Minster manuscript has fuller descriptions of the Baguley window and of the Nicholas Blackburn Jr. inscription. Both manuscripts cover the same three churches.

Henry Johnstone (1640-1723) was born in Methley near Leeds and served as a Benedictine monk, mainly in France where he was prior of the English monastery of St. Edward the King at Paris. Before becoming a Benedictine monk, Johnstone had been a clerk for William Dugdale and had accompanied him during his Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665-6; in 1669-70 Johnstone compiled one of the most important antiquarian works on York churches, while collecting information for his elder brother Nathaniel for the latter's work on a history of Yorkshire.<sup>41</sup> Henry's account of the church interiors, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, includes transcribed inscriptions from funerary monuments and stained glass, but more importantly sketches of stained glass windows which show the religious subject-matter of the glass as well as the commemorative effigies; he also made sketches of the designs of monumental brasses.<sup>42</sup> Johnstone's work has already been used to some extent, notably for the reconstruction of the Nine Orders of Angels and Prick of Conscience windows at All Saints North St., while his sketches of the East window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate have been studied by Pauline Routh in her article on the window.<sup>43</sup> However, Johnstone also made several sketches of the monumental brasses in the parish churches, some of them quite detailed, and these have so far been overlooked. The importance of this evidence lies in

---

<sup>38</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, pp.xxx; *DNB 10*, pp.357-358.

<sup>39</sup> YML MS. XVII.L.14, Matthew Hutton, 'Antiquities of Yorkshire'.

<sup>40</sup> There is no doubt in my mind that the Lansdown<sup>e</sup> document is by Hutton as it displays the same handwriting, the same spelling, the same sketches and the same turns of phrase as the York Minster version. For example in both versions, the blazon describing the arms seen in the east window of the south aisle at St. Martin Coney St. show the same sketch of a funnel rather than use the word 'funnel', see Appendix A.1.

<sup>41</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, pp.xxx, xxxii; Lankester, 'Effigial Monuments', p.32; also P. Sheppard Routh, 'Henry Johnstone' (text of a lecture read at the Church Monuments Society biennial Symposium, 1986) *Church Monuments Society Newsletter II no.2* (Winter 1987), pp.11-13; and *DNB 10*, pp.950-1.

<sup>42</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Top.Yorks. C14, Henry Johnstone.

<sup>43</sup> Gee, 'Glass of All Saints', pp.192-194; RCHM, *York 3*, pp.8-9; Routh, 'Holy Trinity Goodramgate', pp.116-117.

the fact that the present survivals of medieval brasses are few and of ostensibly indifferent quality, and in their present state they give a misleading impression of what York medieval brasses were originally like.

Henry Keepe (1652-1688) was born in London where he studied law at the Inner Temple.<sup>44</sup> In 1680 Keepe prepared a manuscript which is now in the library at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in it recorded funerary inscriptions and heraldic arms in the stained glass, and supplemented these with information on the chantries in each parish church.<sup>45</sup> His background information on the churches is not always reliable - he claims for instance that Holy Trinity Micklegate belonged to the Austin Friars whereas in fact it belonged to the Alien Benedictine Priory.<sup>46</sup>

James Torre (1649-1699) came from Haxey in Lincolnshire and studied at the Inner Temple, then settled at York and devoted his life to antiquarian and genealogical studies.<sup>47</sup> Torre's manuscript study of York parish churches, compiled in 1691 and now kept at York Minster Library, represents one of the major bodies of evidence for this thesis.<sup>48</sup> Unlike earlier antiquarians, who had confined themselves to recording what they had seen in the surviving medieval churches, Torre made a comprehensive study of all the medieval churches, including those that no longer existed in his day, with the exception of two which had been demolished in the fourteenth century (see table 1.1). In those churches which he was able to visit himself in 1691, Torre recorded funerary inscriptions and their position in the churches and sketched all brasses and memorial stones - not only those which still retained figure brasses but also those which had been reduced to a simple slab with indents and those which had been simple incised slabs.<sup>49</sup> He also sketched the arms in the glass - again, giving their position - and supplemented the information supplied by the churches with evidence gained from the city archives. Next to each inscription where the names and dates are identifiable Torre adds a potted history of the deceased with details of the political offices he held in the city of York. Additionally, he provides a list of 'testamentary burials' for most of the churches he mentions - requests made by citizens of York in their last will and testament to be buried in a particular parish church. For each will Torre gives details of the date of the will, the date of probate, the name and occupation of the testator, and insofar as it has been possible to check, the references

---

<sup>44</sup> *DNB 10*, p.1194.

<sup>45</sup> *RCHM, York 3*, p.xxxi; Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O.4.33, Henry Keepe '*Monumenta Eboracensia*'.

<sup>46</sup> Raine, *Mediaeval York*, p.227; Solloway, *Holy Trinity Priory*, pp.4, 10; *RCHM, York 3*, p.10.

<sup>47</sup> *DNB 19*, pp.989-990.

<sup>48</sup> *RCHM, York 3*, p.xxx; YML MS. LI/8, James Torre, '*Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York concerning Churches Parochiall*', 1691.

<sup>49</sup> Plates 87-92, 98-103, 112-114, 116-117, 120-126, 136-139, 142-143, 158-162, 168-171, 180-181, 184, 187-188, 192-193, 201-206, 213-216, 219-221, 224-225, 227-229. See below for a speculative discussion of the loss of monumental brasses.

given by Torre are correct. This work is therefore of great value in reconstructing the lost art of York parish churches, particularly for the monumental brasses.

The antiquarian evidence continues in the first half of the eighteenth century with two printed sources: Thomas Gent's *Antient and Modern History of the Famous City of York* and Francis Drake's *Eboracum*.<sup>50</sup> Thomas Gent (1693-1778) was an Irish printer who settled in York in 1724 and published several books among which are two books on York and Ripon respectively.<sup>51</sup> His main contribution consists in attempting to identify the subject-matter of the stained glass in the parish churches. He did transcribe inscriptions but he generally records far fewer inscriptions than his predecessors. Thus, at St. Crux, where both Dodsworth and Johnston recorded six medieval inscriptions, Gent records only three.<sup>52</sup> In 12 out of the 24 churches he mentions, Gent attempts to record the iconography of the glass, struggling with his imperfect knowledge of medieval and Catholic iconography and against the deterioration of the glass. Commenting on the order of the panels from a Passion Cycle he had seen in the East window of Holy Trinity King's Court he wrote

'here the Reader may perceive I have taken 'em as they really are; tho' I think it a great Pity that they should be so very much displac'd in the Parts of True and Scriptural History'.<sup>53</sup>

Gent has left us with some unique evidence of the contents of parish church glass which is now lost. His account is particularly important for St. Michael Spurriergate where he confirms the existence of a window cycle dedicated to St. John the Baptist (now fragmented and scattered among the rearranged church glass); he also records the iconography of the glass of St. Saviour's, now in the west window of All Saints Pavement, and that of the lost glass of Holy Trinity King's Court and St. Sampson. He provides rare evidence of wall paintings at St. Saviour and in each case gives the position of the windows he describes, a practice less rigidly followed by other antiquarians.

Francis Drake (1696-1771) was the city surgeon at York from 1727, having settled in the city in 1718.<sup>54</sup> His work is itself based on antiquarian sources, particularly Dodsworth, some of whose work Drake had in his possession and donated to the Bodleian Library in 1736.<sup>55</sup> *Eboracum* contains the earliest examples of published illustrations of medieval art in York parish churches - including the Percy window from St. Denys Walmgate, and exterior views of All Saints Pavement and St. Margaret Walmgate. Drake set out to write the first comprehensive history of York tracing

---

<sup>50</sup> Published in 1730 and 1736 respectively.

<sup>51</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.xxxi; *The History of the Famous City of York*, published in 1730; and *The History of the Loyal Town of Ripon*, published in 1733; DNB 7, pp.1000-1002.

<sup>52</sup> Dodsworth 161 ff. 29<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>v</sup>; Johnston pp.230-231; Gent p.164. Note that in the same church Keepe had recorded 4 funerary inscriptions, Keepe p.137. We shall be discussing the possible reasons for these discrepancies below.

<sup>53</sup> Gent p.188.

<sup>54</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.xxxi; DNB 5, pp.1347-1350.

<sup>55</sup> Drake, unnumbered pages in preface; see also Hunter, *Three Catalogues*, p.247; Madan, *Catalogue*, p.339.

its ecclesiastical and secular institutions as well as its social and economic development from the pre-Roman period to his own time. We shall be making limited use of Drake in this thesis as his evidence overlaps with that of Dodsworth and Dugdale.

Apart from these sources, an extensive search for additional antiquarian material was carried out at the College of Arms, the Department of Manuscripts at the British Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum's Prints and Drawings Room and at the Society of Antiquaries. No relevant material exists in the last two sites.<sup>56</sup> The British Library holds, in addition to the sources mentioned above, a variety of manuscript sources with brief references to York parish churches, which do not, however, contain any new or relevant material.<sup>57</sup> The only other relevant source from the College of Arms is a set of five notebooks by John Charles Brooke, Somerset Herald, dated 1785, in which is noted the east window of the south aisle at St. Martin Micklegate, together with the inscription to Nicholas Fouke and the two effigies of a lady and a knight, which are already known to us from Johnston and which partially survive to this day.<sup>58</sup> John Charles Brooke (1748-1794) was born near Sheffield and later moved to London where he gained entrance into the College of Arms. He became Rouge Croix pursuivant in 1773, was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1775 and became Somerset herald in 1777. His manuscript collections relate chiefly to Yorkshire and were bequeathed by him to the College of Arms.<sup>59</sup>

There are no other known sources, either manuscript or printed, either pre-dating or post-dating the antiquarian sources described here, which contain any further information relevant to commemoration in the parish churches, with the exception of the medieval sources, which will be discussed below.

Several observations need to be made with regard to the strengths and weaknesses of the antiquarian evidence. The evidence provides us with the most complete record of inscriptions in windows and funerary monuments in York parish churches - not a single inscription survives which is not noted in the antiquarian record. It also provides us with most of our knowledge of heraldry and merchants' marks in the windows and funerary monuments, although there are shields surviving

---

<sup>56</sup> The two collections hold sketches of existing stained glass (decorative details and figures of saints), brass rubbings of existing brasses, and interior and exterior views of churches; the Society of Antiquaries also holds a variety of printed nineteenth- and twentieth-century material on York churches.

<sup>57</sup> These include: (1) sketches of windows (main lights, tracery and saints only, no commemorative content) in Add. MS.6752 ff.105<sup>r</sup>-106<sup>r</sup>, Add. MS.6747 f.52<sup>r</sup>, Add. MS.37139 f.46<sup>r</sup>; (2) brass rubbings of existing brasses by the Rev G. Rowe in Add. MS.32481 w10 and w11 and by Rev. H. Addington in Add. MS. 32490 E14; (3) sketches of floor slabs by the Rev. G.Rowe, mainly cross designs and two surviving inscriptions in Add. MS. 39913, Add. MS.39914, Add. MS.39915, Add. MS.39916; (4) topographical drawings of parish churches which include saints in stained glass, needlework, woodwork and external views by John Carter in Add. MS.29929 ff.53<sup>r</sup>, 54<sup>r</sup>, 64<sup>r</sup>, 71<sup>r</sup>, 72<sup>r</sup>, 75<sup>r</sup>; and (4) other drawings of exterior views by Edward Blore in Add. MS.42006 f.85<sup>r</sup>, and in Add. MS.42003 f.97<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> London, College of Arms, MS. Five notebooks in a slipcase by John Charles Brooke, Somerset Herald, 1785, vol.'20', p.2.

<sup>59</sup> *DNB* 2, pp.1338-1339.

in the parish churches which were not noted by the antiquarians.<sup>60</sup> At the same time this evidence does not note the other form of memorials - chantries - which had all disappeared by the time the evidence was collected.<sup>61</sup>

However, when different antiquarians are reporting the same inscription we sometimes find that there are slight variations in the wording. Additionally, the antiquarian writers do not all report the same inscriptions, not do they all visit the same churches. In order to explain why words reported by one writer are not transcribed by another we need to consider a variety of causes. The antiquarian evidence from Glover to Brooke spans 201 years. Over this period of time changes must have taken place in the churches, which may have led to funerary monuments being defaced, removed or reused.<sup>62</sup> However, it is very hard to prove decay or deterioration of inscriptions from the antiquarian evidence as, for instance, Johnston and Keepe report inscriptions not noted by Dodsworth, while Dodsworth does not consistently offer the most fully worded transcriptions.<sup>63</sup> Additionally, the surviving inscriptions in brass do not appear to have suffered from decay, although the inscriptions in stained glass were rather more vulnerable (plates 63, 64 and 105 for surviving brass inscriptions).

So, for example, we could attempt to demonstrate decay at All Saints Pavement, where in 1618-19 Dodsworth saw the brass of William Todd and his wife Agnes inscribed:

*'Orate pro aiabus Willemi Todd quondam vic hujus civitatis et Agnetis uxori sue qui quidem Willemus obiit...die...Anno domini MCCCC...et dicta Agnes obiit ultimo die Augusti Anno Domini MCCCCLXXIX quorum aiabz etc'*<sup>64</sup>

which by 1669, when Johnston transcribed it, read:

*'Orate pro aiabus.....et Agneti uxori ejus qui obiit...die...mensis...MCCCC...et dna Agneta ob...MCCCC...cujus aie ppitur deus'*<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> The antiquarians provide us with unique knowledge for 74% of the shields in parish churches, whereas the visual evidence provides us with unique knowledge for 12%. The remaining 14% was both noted by the antiquarians and survives in the visual evidence, see chapter 4 section 4.4 and table 4.6.

<sup>61</sup> Although Dodsworth does note that Isolda de Acaster founded a chantry at All Saints Pavement in 1386 (sic - chantry licensed 1383), and that Robert Ampleford founded another chantry in the same church in 1378, see Appendix A.1 sub All Saints Pavement and Appendix A.2 sub de Acaster, Isolda and de Ampilford, Robert.

<sup>62</sup> In the seventeenth century alone, three medieval funerary monuments were reused - those of Thomas and Margaret Clerke (1482) at All Saints North St. (plates 64, 87), of William and Katherine Lambe (1484) at St. Crux (plate 121), and of William and Ellen Hancock (1485) at St. Michael Spurriergate (plate 215), see chapter 4 table 4.1. A slightly later example is the surviving slab of Henry Cattall (1460) at St. Martin Micklegate, reused in 1826, plates 172, 180.

<sup>63</sup> Johnston and Hutton are the first to provide the evidence for monumental brasses at All Saints North St., see Appendix A.1 sub All Saints North St. Johnston and Torre both transcribed a full date for William Crosby's memorial at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. while Dodsworth omits the day, see A.1 sub St. Mary Bishophill Jr. and table 1.5.

<sup>64</sup> Dodsworth 161 f. 33<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Johnston p.228. The discrepancies in the wording between the two inscriptions also point to a particular problem with the antiquarian evidence which will be discussed below.

However, an equally likely explanation could be that Johnston simply had more difficulty reading the inscription. The problem of legibility can be illustrated by the different versions of the memorial of William Crosby at St. Mary Bishophill Junior. Dodsworth gives two versions of it. The first reads:

*Orate specialiter p anima Willmi Crosby nup de Ebor cartwright Johane & Marg ... eius qui quidem Willms obiit ... die decembris anno dni millimo CCCC LXXX IIIJ<sup>o</sup>.*<sup>66</sup>

His second version reads:

*Orate p aia Willmi Crosby nuper de Ebor cartwright Johanne et Margarete uxoris (sic) ejus qui quidem Willmi obiit ... die decembris A dni M CCCC<sup>o</sup> LXXX IIIJ<sup>o</sup>.*<sup>67</sup>

Johnston's transcription gives:

*Orate specialiter p aia Willmi Cropley (could be Croxley) nuper de Ebor cartwright Elene et Margarete uxoris ... qui quidem Willielmus obiit septimo die septembris A dni M CCCC LXXX IIIJ.*<sup>68</sup>

Keefe and Gent have no record of this inscription but Torre reports it as:

*Orate specialiter p aiabus Willi Croseby nuper de Ebor cartwright ... & Margarete uxoris ejus qui quidem Willus obiit decimo die Januarij Ano dni millimo CCCC LXXX IIIJ<sup>o</sup>.*<sup>69</sup>

This is a rather extreme case, in which there is so much disagreement among the antiquarian writers. Nevertheless, the nightmarish quality of this particular inscription does serve to question the assumption of decay in inscriptions and illustrate the problems posed by legibility. We shall return to discuss this problem from the point of view of the surviving visual evidence.

We also find grammatical discrepancies in the Latin transcriptions - this is almost certainly due to the fact that medieval inscriptions were abbreviated, thus leaving room for ambiguities even among seasoned antiquarians, and, worse still, were written in black-letter style. The latter point can easily be illustrated from surviving evidence. Most of the inscriptions in York are of the late medieval black-letter type, with a few exceptions in Lombardic script in the early fourteenth-century glass at St. Martin's Micklegate and St. Denys Walmgate. In window sII at St. Martin Micklegate a fragmented Lombardic inscription of c.1340 reads '*Priet pur Nicho[las Fouke]*' (plate 173). Despite its early date, this is in fact much more easily legible than the much later, early fifteenth-century, black-letter inscription in the Blackburn window at All Saints North St. (plates 66, 67). The illegibility of black-letter is exacerbated in the brass medium, as we can see from the late fifteenth-century brasses of William Stockton (1471) and Thomas Clerk (1489) at All Saints North St. (plates 63, 64).

---

<sup>66</sup> Dodsworth 157 f.16<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Dodsworth 161 f.44<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> Johnston p.191.

<sup>69</sup> Torre p.709.



The vast majority of late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century inscriptions written in Latin are of two types - '*Orate pro*' and '*Hic jacet*'.<sup>70</sup> A typical example of the '*Orate pro*' type was seen at St. Saviour by Dodsworth:

*'Orate pro animabus Rogeri Moreton quondam majoris civitatis Eboraci qui obiit V<sup>o</sup> die mensis Julij A dni M CCC LXXXIJ<sup>o</sup> et Isabella uxoris sue que obiit vj<sup>o</sup> die mensis Martij A dni M quadingentesimo xij<sup>o</sup> quorum animabus etc*<sup>71</sup>

Dodsworth does not say where the inscription occurs and its wording is suitable for both funerary inscriptions and inscriptions in stained glass. We can see this versatility at work in a north window at St. Cuthbert where Dodsworth saw the commemorative figures of a man, a woman and four children with the inscription

*'Orate p aiabus Johannis Blackborne et Johane uxor ejus qui fecerunt istam fenestram*<sup>72</sup>.

It is only by supplementing Dodsworth with the evidence of Gent, Keepe and Torre and with the surviving visual evidence that we can establish that the inscription at St. Saviour's was on a gravestone - but in many cases there is no such corroboration.<sup>73</sup> The other type of inscription '*Hic jacet*' leaves us in no doubt over its location as it can be only found on a funerary monument such as that of the priest John Boulington at St. Crux (1480):

*'Hic Jacet dominus Johes Boulington qui obiit xij die mensis Martij A dni millo quadingentesimo octogesimo cujus aia etc*<sup>74</sup>.

The confusion which can be generated by the '*Orate pro*' inscriptions is further exacerbated by Dodsworth's occasional lapses in specifying where the inscriptions were seen - a problem which is particularly awkward when later antiquarian writers fail to supply the missing evidence. The ten inscriptions recorded by Dodsworth at St. Olave all appear to have come from tomb monuments but this is not made clear for the four '*Orate pro*' inscriptions.<sup>75</sup> Torre and Keepe confirm that three of them are funerary inscriptions, leaving a question mark over the inscription for Isabel Sparry.<sup>76</sup> In chapter 3 we shall see that most of the memorials noted by the antiquarians will be listed under

---

<sup>70</sup> See a detailed discussion of this issue in chapter 4.

<sup>71</sup> Dodsworth 161 f.34<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Dodsworth 157 f.17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Gent p.186 gives Isabella's date as 6 March 1415; Keepe p.160 gives Roger's date as 5 July 1389 and Isabella's as 6 March 1420; Torre p.575 gives Roger's date as 2 June 1382 and Isabella's as 3 March 1403. Mill Stephenson in 'Brasses in York' p.67 gives Roger's date as 5 July 1382 and Isabella's as 6 March 1412, just like Dodsworth. The dates on the surviving inscription are 5 July 1382 and 6 March 1412. This indicates that antiquarian evidence is not always reliable as to transcription of dates. See introduction to Appendix A.1 for a discussion on how to resolve the ambiguities of inscriptions.

<sup>74</sup> Dodsworth 161 f. 29<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> '*Orate pro aia ffratris Ricardus Kendall monachus*'; '*Orate p aia Willmi Briggys qui obiit xij die mensis Junij A dni M CCCC nonagesimo cujus etc*'; '*Orate p aia Laurentij Jole*'; '*Orate p aia Isabella Sparry*', Dodsworth 161 ff. 42<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> 'Funerall Inscriptions viz *Orate pro anima fratris Roberti Kendall monachi hujus Monasterij etc*', Keepe p.158; 'Monuments in the nave John Spaldynge brother Richard Kendall William ... Laurence Jole', Torre pp.595-6. Note that Richard Kendall in Dodsworth and Torre becomes Robert Kendall in Keepe.

either windows or monuments. In order to draw up such lists it was necessary to make decisions regarding the original locations of some inscriptions and to resolve the ambiguities arising out of a lack of specific details for their locations. The inscription for William Santore at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. is entered in table 3.3 (people commemorated in windows) because although Johnston did not specify that he saw the inscription in a window he sketched the commemorative effigy as kneeling (plate 186), and we shall see in chapter 4 that kneeling effigies come from windows whereas standing and reclining effigies come from funerary monuments.<sup>77</sup> The commemoration of John Chapman at Holy Trinity King's Court presents us with the same problem (plate 230). Glover is our only source for this shield and, more unusually, only one of the various copies of Glover's Visitation contains this commemoration. The text which accompanies the Chapman shield is rather different from most medieval inscriptions, which further raises the issue of exactly where Glover's information came from.<sup>78</sup> It is unlikely that the text should have come from a monument as Glover says that Chapman was buried in the Minster.<sup>79</sup> It can in fact be argued that the 'inscription' came from a window. In his notes, Glover only transcribed the Middleton inscription from St. Sampson and summarized the Ashton, Beckwith and Ceel inscriptions from St. Michael-le-Belfrey. In the Ashton case he used English to summarize a Latin inscription, as can be seen by comparing Glover's notes with Dodsworth's.<sup>80</sup> It is therefore highly likely that he followed the same procedure in the Chapman case. The inscription for Isabel Sparry at St. Olave is listed as a funerary inscription because all the other inscriptions from the same church come from monuments. Similarly, the inscriptions for Agnes Brounlete and Richard Welles at All Saints Pavement and for Roger Marton at St. Mary Castlegate are listed under monuments as there are no recorded window inscriptions from the two churches.

As we can see from tables 1.2 and 1.3, Dodsworth, Johnston and Torre offer the most extensive evidence with regard to names, while Dugdale, Torre and Keepe provide us with the bulk of the heraldic evidence.

Given such a large body of evidence, it is unsurprising that there should be discrepancies in the record. Out of the total 312 names of the commemorated, there are 19 cases (6%) in which the antiquarians give conflicting evidence with regard to names (see table 1.4). In nine of these cases it is possible to find other evidence to indicate the correct reading of the name. It is worth noting that, apart from the two heralds Glover and Dugdale who record very few names, all the other antiquarian authors are responsible for at least one such misreading.

---

<sup>77</sup> Appendix A.1 sub church heading and A.2 sub name heading.

<sup>78</sup> For a discussion of commemorative inscriptions see chapter 4 section 4.4 and tables 4.7 and 4.8.

<sup>79</sup> This is corroborated by Chapman's testamentary request to be buried in St. Stephen's chapel at York Minster, see Appendix A.2 under Chapman.

<sup>80</sup> See Appendix A.1 under St. Michael-le-Belfrey.

In the cases of Ellen Hancock, Oliver Middleton and Alan Hamerton it is easy to resolve the discrepancies by resorting to surviving visual evidence. In the case of Alice Spawldinge we may argue that as Dodsworth and Johnston saw the monument at an earlier date and both noted the name as Alice they are more likely to be correct than Torre who saw the monument later - this argument can also be used for the date of the monument (see table 1.5 disagreements over dates). For Richard Brigenale and John Coupeland we may use the testamentary evidence to resolve the disagreements over the name, while for Richard Toller we may use the documentary evidence from the Freeman's Roll, the York Memorandum Book and the Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls.<sup>81</sup> In the remaining eight cases we must accept that some ambiguity remains over the names.

Similarly, there are disagreements over the dates mentioned in the inscriptions. Tables 1.4 and 1.5 show some important limitations. Apart from a few straightforward cases in which it is possible to determine the correct reading of the dates, there are eight cases in which there is insufficient evidence to reach a conclusion.<sup>82</sup> In addition, Dodsworth's reading of the Kirkes' inscription suggests that it carried a date for Alice whereas Stephenson, who examined the brass in 1905, saw no indication that a date ever existed.<sup>83</sup> Matilda Danby's inscription can be securely dated thanks to its survival but here we have a different problem - she cannot have died on 4 Jan 1463 as her will was proved on 31 Dec 1463, i.e. 4 days earlier.<sup>84</sup> This is the only known case in which the memorial itself can be shown to carry an incorrect date. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that there may be others like it - especially among the eight uncorroborated cases mentioned above.

Table 1.6 shows the numerical summary for table 1.5. From it we can see that Dodsworth made 10 errors, Keepe made 9, Gent 6, while Johnston, Torre and Hutton made no more than 5 errors each. However, this needs to be seen against the overall contribution each antiquarian makes (table 1.2). By comparing tables 1.6 and 1.2 we can see that the greatest number of errors was made by Keepe (16% of his total number of names) and by Gent (12% of his total number of names), whereas Dodsworth, Johnston, Torre and Hutton's errors amounted to no more than 5% of their overall total of names.

Regrettably, 17% of the heraldry described by the antiquarians is unidentifiable by means of present scholarship - Dugdale, Glover, Torre, Keepe and Johnston were able to identify those arms connected with well-known aristocratic families and it is possible to corroborate their evidence and

---

<sup>81</sup> All the evidence is listed in Appendix A.2 under surname headings.

<sup>82</sup> These are: Millicent Feriby, Thomas Kirke, John Shaw, Robert Warde, Brian Middleton, William Crosby, Nicholas Vicars, Thomas Vicars.

<sup>83</sup> Stephenson, 'Brasses in York', p.12. As the brass does not survive we cannot corroborate Stephenson's reading.

<sup>84</sup> Throughout our period the year changed at Easter rather than on 1 Jan.

identify the majority of shields by consulting the standard dictionaries of British coats of arms.<sup>85</sup> It is likely that some of the unidentified heraldry may be post-medieval, as could also be the case for some of the 21% of unidentifiable shields, which were recorded as blank by the antiquarians. With regard to reliability, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Glover and Dugdale who were professional heralds. Of the other antiquarians, the persistent use of heraldry in the monuments of their own time indicates a familiarity with the genre which certainly surpasses modern standards and although we can see that different writers give slightly different wordings for the same coats of arms, the descriptions are recognizably the same.<sup>86</sup> The study of the heraldry reported by the antiquarians, which will be discussed in chapter 4, shows that out of 541 shields seen in the parish churches, only one shield was wrongly interpreted by one antiquarian.<sup>87</sup> At St. Cuthbert, Keepe identified the arms *cheque or & B a bordure Gules charged with 8 lyoncells pass gardant of ye first over all a canton Ermine* as being those of John Dreux (duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, fl. 1305).<sup>88</sup> However, Torre - who sketched the arms as *chequy a bordure a canton ermine* - identified them as being those of the Warren or Warenne family, who were earls of Surrey. Burke describes the Warren arms as *chequy or and azure on a bend gules three leopards rampant of the first*, and he also confirms that the arms of John Dreux duke of Brittany were *chequy or and azure a bordure gules powdered with lioncels passant guardant of the first a canton ermine*,<sup>89</sup> so in this one case Torre can be shown to have misinterpreted the arms. As for the drawings of the shields, these do not suggest any fundamental inaccuracies, although some shields are drawn untinged and some are difficult to read due to the deterioration of the manuscripts.<sup>90</sup>

The reliability of the antiquarians with regard to the sketches of windows and monuments in the churches also needs to be discussed. There is one particular example of a monument which no longer survives but which was noted by Johnston, Torre and Gent (plates 217-219). The monument of Richard de Grimston at St. Nicholas is reproduced by the three antiquarians with varying degrees

---

<sup>85</sup> The three dictionaries used to identify coats of arms described in the antiquarian record are: John W. Papworth and Alfred J. Morant, *Ordinary of British Armorial*, (London 1874); Sir Bernard Burke, *The General Armory*, (London 1884); and Hubert Chesshyre and Thomas Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary Vol.1*, (London 1992).

<sup>86</sup> Compare the arms '*Or a fess of five fusills sable*' described by Keepe with '*Or five fusills in fesse sable*' described by Dugdale, see Appendix A.1 sub All Saints North St. Throughout A.1 similar descriptions are cross-referenced as much as possible.

<sup>87</sup> This total includes all shields noted by the antiquarians, including blank ones, and shields which survive but were not noted by the antiquarians.

<sup>88</sup> The Dreux arms are in fact described as *chequée or and azure within a bordure gules charged with the lions of England over all a canton of Brittany* (i.e. ermine) in Charles Boutell, *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, revised by A.C.Fox-Davies, (London 1914), p.163. For Dreux's activities see George Holmes, *The Later Middle Ages 1272-1485*, (New York & London 1962), p.97.

<sup>89</sup> Burke p.1078 for Warren arms and p.125 for Dreux arms.

<sup>90</sup> An example of a damaged drawing can be seen in the shields for the Graa monument at St. Mary Castlegate, plate 192.

of accuracy - Johnston's sketch is the most believable as it shows the effigy wearing medieval mass vestments, whereas Gent's illustration (which is based on a drawing supplied by John Dugdale) appears to be a highly interpretative sketch which no longer faithfully reproduces the priest's robes; Torre's sketch is not only vague but also small in scale and shows that he was not overly interested in the details of the effigy. Both Johnston and Torre provide us with unique evidence for the lost figural monuments in York churches - Johnston sketches only a few but in detail; Torre on the other hand gives us valuable evidence about the numbers of figural monuments originally in existence but rarely indicates anything more than the number of figures, the position of the inscription and whether the effigies were standing in niches or not.

We also need to raise the question of the accuracy of the antiquarians with regard to reported iconography. Gent was sufficiently learned to recognize the Seven Sacraments and the Creed as subjects in the glass; he was also remarkably honest in admitting where his knowledge was insufficient to interpret the glass and gave a straightforward description of what he saw, such as figures of bishops or kings.<sup>91</sup> His description of the Nine Orders of Angels window at All Saints North St. is literal rather than interpretative but nevertheless substantially correct. There is however one instance in which one might query his interpretation. In the glass of St. Sampson's he claimed to have seen a scene depicting Paul and Silas in prison. This is a rather unusual subject in medieval stained glass, and the original panel may in fact have been a representation of a different topic altogether. However, it is very difficult to say what it might have been, as Gent does not provide us with a description of the scene, only his interpretation of it. Johnston avoided the pitfalls of interpretation altogether by sketching the iconography as he saw it - thus providing us with valuable material for reconstruction work.

We must acknowledge that even by the time of the earliest account - that of Glover - the parish churches of York had already suffered a considerable amount of damage. Out of the 41 churches in use during the fifteenth century, 16 (39%) had already fallen into disuse or been demolished by 1584.<sup>92</sup> Of the remaining 25 (61%) churches which were visited by antiquarians, we have to speculate as to the degree of surviving medieval fittings.

By examining the antiquarian evidence we can see that different writers reported different numbers of inscriptions and took an interest in different aspects of what survived in the churches. We may account for this by supposing that, as time went on, inscriptions decayed and were removed so that later writers reported smaller numbers of them, but we need to bear in mind that different writers had different interests and so the absence of any description of - for example - a particular

---

<sup>91</sup> Appendix A.1 sub St. Martin Coney St. and St. Sampson. This is very similar to although not as detailed as the method adopted by Torre with regard to York Minster iconography.

<sup>92</sup> See table 1.1 and chapter 2 for details.

inscription or iconographic detail does not necessarily imply its demise. Therefore, it is very dangerous to use the antiquarian evidence to draw conclusions regarding actual losses.

For instance, it is very difficult to use antiquarian evidence to address the issue: how much of the types of evidence recorded by the antiquarians - i.e. funerary monuments, stained glass, and heraldry in various media - had already been lost by the late sixteenth century? Glover is a difficult place to start because his only interest was heraldry, so we should be asking this question of Dodsworth instead. He was not interested in iconography so we can only comment on the extent of monument survival - and the first thing we notice is that he missed inscriptions reported by Johnston 50 years later.<sup>93</sup> Because of Dodsworth's lack of interest in iconography we cannot comment on the loss of stained glass during the Civil War, but if we compare Johnston's with Gent's accounts of the iconography we can see that the former omitted to describe the glass at St. Saviour's, while at St. Sampson's he limited himself to describing the heraldry and the iconography of the east window while Gent noticed the iconography of two other windows. In other words, the antiquarian evidence cannot be used to determine the extent of losses either before or during the period when it was being collected.

Another possible approach to this problem is to assess the degree to which parish church art would have been offensive to the religious reformers of the sixteenth century. We have some sixteenth-century evidence to help us assess the extent and types of removals of some parish church fittings but this evidence has nothing to say on the removal of commemorative art (see table 1.7).

Apart from the dissolution of the chantries, which took place in 1547,<sup>94</sup> we need to acknowledge that it is impossible to say to what extent, if any, the commemoration of medieval people in the parish churches had already been lost by the late sixteenth century. One important question concerns the extent of the monumental brasses. As late as 1691 many figure brasses were still in place, co-existing with post-Reformation funerary monuments, which leads one to speculate as to why there are no figure brasses left now. Two pieces of evidence from the antiquarian record suggests a possible answer. At St. Mary Castlegate both Dodsworth and Johnston saw the tomb of William Graa and his wife Joan - in 1618-19 the former saw 'a very fayr engraven tomb' with figure brasses and was able to read the inscription; in 1669-70 the latter noted a marble slab from which the brasses - figures and inscription plate - had already been removed.<sup>95</sup> At St. Denys, Johnston saw a tomb said to be of one of the Earls of Northumberland from which the figure brasses had also been removed.<sup>96</sup> Thus, we have evidence of removal of brasses taking place between 1620 and

---

<sup>93</sup> Of the 10 funerary inscriptions (brasses *et. al.*) at All Saints North St., Johnston is the first to record eight of them, while the remaining 2 are first noticed by Keepe and Gent respectively, see Appendix A.1.

<sup>94</sup> J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, (Oxford 1984), pp.112-113.

<sup>95</sup> It is worth noting that Dugdale in 1641 was able to describe at least one of the four coats of arms on the Graa tomb, see Appendix A.1 sub St. Mary Castlegate.

<sup>96</sup> Appendix A.1 sub St. Denys.

1670, and what is particularly significant about this evidence is that both cases seem to have come from particularly fine examples of the genre - Dodsworth described the Graa engravings as 'very fayr', a term he does not apply to any other York parish church brass; while the Percy brasses, if such they were, would have had to reflect the status of the baronial family. As it is noticeable that no figure brasses are now left (see table 1.15 for surviving brasses), the removals may well have been due to the actions of collectors who appreciated their quality rather than iconoclasts who found them offensive.

It is also very difficult to use the antiquarian evidence to estimate the number of windows actually seen in the period 1584-1736. It is problematic to speculate as to the number of actual windows seen by the antiquarians, as few of them consistently indicate the type of memorial which they describe. Dodsworth identifies 29 separate windows in MS. 157 and 18 windows in MS. 161, although several of these overlap; Johnston and Gent identify 21 and 58 separate windows respectively. The other writers generally describe 'arms in the windows' without indicating numbers, and only single out a few specific windows. The names of the commemorated appeared in 42 different windows listed in the antiquarian evidence. The antiquarians may however have seen a greater number of windows, some of which exclusively contained heraldry, and whose numbers are therefore hard to assess. Out of the surviving 73 windows which contain medieval glass, at least 47 contain rearranged fragments from more than one window.<sup>97</sup>

The antiquarian evidence can provide information on the extent to which windows and sometimes monuments appear to have been moved from one part of a church to another. For example, sometime after the seventeenth century a swap took place at All Saints North St. between the east window of the chancel and the east window of the north aisle.<sup>98</sup> Can we make use of the antiquarian evidence to make further comments on the original location of church fittings which survive to this day? In addition, can we use the antiquarian evidence to determine the original appearance of a window whose constituent parts - not only the commemorative effigies and the main lights, but the tracery as well - have somehow become separated?

The antiquarian evidence has already been exploited by Pauline Routh to recreate the original appearance of the east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, some of whose components can still be seen scattered between the east window of the chancel and the east windows of the north

---

<sup>97</sup> These are: All Saints North St. nVI; St. John Ousebridge sII and sIII; St. Martin Micklegate nII-VIII, sII and sV; St. Mary Bishophill Jr. sIII; St. Olave I; All Saints Pavement wI; St. Cuthbert nIII-IV, sII-V; St. Denys I, nII, nV, sII and sIII; St. Helen Stonegate I, sII and sVII; St. Martin Coney St. sIV-sVIII; St. Mary Castlegate sIII; St. Michael-le-Belfrey I, nV-VII, sIII-VI; St. Michael Spurriergate sII, sV and sVI; and St. Sampson wI, see RCHM, *York* 3-5.

<sup>98</sup> Appendix A.1 sub All Saints North St., Dodsworth and Gent's evidence; Gee, 'Glass of All Saints', p.154.

and south aisles, while other parts are irretrievably lost.<sup>99</sup> In comparing the records of Johnston and Gent with present-day locations we can see a certain amount of movement both within and across aisles, such as the movement of the Nine Orders of Angels window at All Saints North St. from the third window in the south aisle (sIV) to the adjacent location of sV where it now is; or the Assumption of the BVM, seen by Gent in the little window over the north door, which is now in sIII.<sup>100</sup> However, the position of a window is not always so accurately described - for example, the Holy Family panel which is now in window sIV at St. Martin Coney St. was seen by Gent in a south window with no further specification.<sup>101</sup> Additionally, the antiquarians rarely describe the contents of an entire window so that only in a few cases can we say whether the tracery, main lights and commemorative effigies still belong to the original arrangement.<sup>102</sup>

On the whole, it is easier to determine whether a particular existing window panel was seen in a different location by the antiquarians, while with regard to whole windows we only have four secure examples, mainly due to Johnston's sketches, from which to draw some conclusions - the Prick of Conscience window at All Saints North St.; the east window at Holy Trinity Goodramgate; the former west window at St. Martin Coney St.; and the east window at St. Denys.<sup>103</sup> What we cannot ascertain through the antiquarian evidence is whether the fourteenth-century commemorative effigies at St. John Ousebridge originally shared the east window of the north aisle with the late fifteenth-century Yorke window, or whether medieval glass from different windows was moved to the same site after the Reformation, perhaps to allow more light through the windows.

The funerary inscriptions, as reported in the antiquarian evidence, raise a series of important points. Some antiquarian writers report more inscriptions than others, but we should dismiss this as in any way indicative of losses during the period when the antiquarian evidence was being collected. For instance, it is noticeable that the late thirteenth-century inscription on the coffin of Robert Verdenel was reported only by Dodsworth and Torre, and ignored by the other writers. It would be foolhardy to assume that this indicates that the monument disappeared after 1691 as the coffin lid survives to this day. We need to bear in mind that during the time when the antiquarians collected their evidence the medieval churches were being used as places of worship and that consequently some of the medieval fittings may have been hidden from view by contemporary fittings - pews, altar tables etc. - at various times. Thus, Verdenel's coffin may have been plainly visible in 1618 and 1691 but somehow hidden in the intervening period and thereafter.

---

<sup>99</sup> P.E.S.Routh, 'A Gift and Its Giver: John Walker and the East Window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, York', *YAJ* 58 (1986), 109-121.

<sup>100</sup> Appendix A.1 sub All Saints North St.

<sup>101</sup> Appendix A.1 sub St. Martin Coney St.

<sup>102</sup> Johnston's sketches are the most valuable in recreating the total appearance of a window; see plates 85, 86, 109, 110.

<sup>103</sup> See chapter 4 section 4.5 for an integrative account of windows and monuments.



The memorial inscriptions of John Yhole and Alan Hamerton were found by antiquarian writers - and can still be found today - in the churches of Holy Trinity Goodramgate and St. Michael Spurriergate respectively.<sup>104</sup> However, an examination of their wills reveals that the testators had in fact requested to be buried in a different place altogether - John Yhole at St. Leonard's Hospital and Alan Hamerton at St. Peter Little.<sup>105</sup> Since both these sites were demolished in the post-medieval period, I would suggest that the memorials were moved from their original locations to two churches which survived the restructuring of York's parish churches in the sixteenth-century.<sup>106</sup> It is due to the antiquarian evidence that we can determine that the memorials were moved quite early.

We have seen how Johnston and Gent are the only writers to display an interest in the iconography of the church glass.<sup>107</sup> Since presumably such glass was *in situ* during the time of Glover, Dodsworth, Dugdale and Hutton - indeed the last two describe some commemorative effigies in the glass - it is worth asking why the other writers displayed such a marked lack of interest in what is after all an eye-catching feature of parish churches. The answer can be most easily provided by Torre. In 1690-91 Torre was busy compiling a survey of York Minster rather similar to that of the parish churches.<sup>108</sup> In it he attempted to describe the iconography of the stained glass in painstaking detail but in many cases he had to limit himself to a literal rather than an interpretative description of what he saw.<sup>109</sup> The changes in religious orientation which England underwent from the sixteenth century allowed much of the medieval iconography to fall into disuse and ignorance of its meaning to develop.

Altogether the antiquarian evidence offers an irreplaceable record of some types of the medieval fittings in York churches - its intrinsic value lies in the connection which most of these fittings have with particular personalities in late medieval York and in the poor survival rate of most of this material.

---

<sup>104</sup> Yhole's memorial was seen by Torre in 1691, Hamerton's was first seen by Dodsworth in 1618-19.

<sup>105</sup> Appendix A.1 sub Holy Trinity Goodramgate, St. Michael Spurriergate, St. Peter Little and St. Leonard's Hospital; Appendix A.2 sub Hamerton and Yhole.

<sup>106</sup> See map of medieval York plate 1: the parish of St. Peter Little is directly adjacent to that of St. Michael Spurriergate; Holy Trinity Goodramgate, while not directly adjacent to St. Leonard's hospital, was the next parish but one.

<sup>107</sup> See above for a discussion of the reliability of Johnston and Gent with regard to iconography.

<sup>108</sup> YML MS.LI/7, J.Torre, 'York Minster', 1690-91.

<sup>109</sup> See for example his detailed description of the St. Cuthbert window, in which he primarily describes figures, settings and colours without attempting to ascribe a meaning to what he sees; Torre, 'York Minster', pp.85-91; C.M.Barnett, 'The St. Cuthbert Window of York Minster and the Iconography of St. Cuthbert in the Late Middle Ages', York M.A. (1991), Appendix pp.99-151.

### 1.3.2 The medieval evidence

The evidence of the antiquarian writers yielded a list of names of people commemorated in stained glass, monuments and heraldry as well as stonework and woodwork - the next step consisted of tracing these names in the medieval sources in order to acquire more information about them.<sup>110</sup>

Insofar as they exist, all the wills of the commemorated whose names occur in the antiquarian record were read in their original manuscript form. Even when those wills exist in published sources - as a few of them do - it is not possible to tell from the text how much of the original will has been left out, so it was not considered suitable to rely on published texts only.<sup>111</sup> However, since we are fortunate enough to have large numbers of published wills, these were also read in addition to the manuscript wills in order to give a general feel for the kind of bequests that one may reasonably expect to find in wills. As not all the printed wills were made by York citizens but rather encompass a much wider social spectrum, only those wills relevant to parish churches have been considered in detail, and of these only a few have been abstracted for Appendix A.2.<sup>112</sup> For some of these it has been possible to cross-check the details in the manuscript versions, although given the numbers involved this could not be done comprehensively. It was not considered necessary to read the wills of all York citizens for this study in that such an enterprise would have been more suited to a study of lay piety in general rather than of a narrow and rather privileged group of people whose common link resides in their personal contributions to parish churches.

The objective in examining wills and other medieval sources was to acquire a greater knowledge of the identities of the commemorated, of their religious, political, financial and social concerns, such as their family relationships, their contacts with other commemorated, their interest in particular saints and devotional literature, the level of their wealth, their participation in civic government, their activities with regard to churches other than their own parish church, and their involvement with other institutions in York and beyond so as to create a useful context in which to set these people's connections with the parish churches.<sup>113</sup>

A great deal of recent scholarship has been carried out by studying the evidence of large numbers of wills.<sup>114</sup> Most studies carry a cautionary note as to what can and cannot be expected of

---

<sup>110</sup> This method follows and expands on Torre's precedent of adding a list of 'testamentary burials' to the details of funerary monuments in each parish church.

<sup>111</sup> Printed wills can be found in the volumes of *Testamenta Eboracensia*, *Testamenta Vetusta*, *North Country Wills, Wills and Inventories I* and *York Clergy Wills I*, see bibliography for details. *YCW* is the only text in which wills are reproduced in their entirety.

<sup>112</sup> See introduction to Appendix A.2 for an explanation of principles followed in abstracting wills of parishioners of York churches whose names do not appear either in the antiquarian record or in the surviving evidence as individuals commemorated by parish church art.

<sup>113</sup> All these issues will be explored in chapter 3.

<sup>114</sup> On wills in general see B.G.Bouwens, *Wills and their Whereabouts*, (Bridge Place near Canterbury 1963); J.S.W.Gibson, *Wills and Where to Find Them*, (Salisbury 1974); Michael M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, (Toronto 1963); Michael M. Sheehan, 'English Wills and the Records of the

wills evidence, and it is necessary to introduce such a discussion here with specific reference to the York wills used for this study. The names of those commemorated in chantries, windows and monuments can sometimes be traced through the two main registers of York wills. The wills registered with the Dean and Chapter's Court begin in 1321 but although this is an encouragingly early date, the names of the commemorated do not begin to appear in significant numbers in this register until the second quarter of the fifteenth century (see table 1.8). The testators whose wills were proved in this court were mainly Minster clerics and layfolk living in the liberty of St. Peter's, so on the whole the Dean and Chapter's register only yields a handful of relevant wills (7% of manuscript wills read), primarily of the commemorated in the early sixteenth-century glass at St. Michael-le-Belfrey and of Minster clergy who were also parish priests or chaplains (see table 1.9).

The other wills are mainly registered in the Archbishop's Exchequer Court and the records for this do not begin until 1389. This means that we have no wills for those commemorated in the early fourteenth-century glass of St. John Ousebridge and of St. Martin Micklegate, and the problem is compounded by the existence of 14 gaps in the register between May 1398 and April 1501. Most of these gaps last only a few months but there are also two major gaps between October 1408 and 1426 which last 9½ and 8 years respectively.<sup>115</sup> Large numbers of relevant wills have probably been lost due to these gaps, thus depriving us of potentially important information.<sup>116</sup>

We have very few wills compared to the overall numbers of the commemorated. Out of a total of 216 people commemorated in monuments we only have the wills of 53 (25%); and out of 187 people commemorated in windows we have 30 wills (16%). Similarly, out of 123 individuals commemorated by chantries, only 18 wills (15%) could be found. This leaves 425 names whose will either could not be traced or never existed.<sup>117</sup> Thus it is not possible to expect the testamentary evidence to provide us with a complete record of every individual commemorated in the churches, which is why supplementary medieval evidence has to be used in order to fill some of the gaps.

Of the wills we do have, it is important to bear in mind that for the most part they are death-bed statements compiled with one eye on Purgatory and the other on ensuring that one's earthly possessions are distributed among one's heirs with all eventualities considered. A typical will is that

---

Ecclesiastical and Civil Jurisdictions', *Journal of Medieval History* 4 no.1 (March 1988), 3-12; for wills-based studies see bibliography under P.H.Cullum, P.J.P.Goldberg, J.B.Friedman, P.Heath 1984, J.I.Kermode, P.V.Mcgrath, A.K.McHardy, H.C.Swanson and N.P.Tanner.

<sup>115</sup> Collins, *Index of Wills in the York Registry 1389-1514*, pp.199-202.

<sup>116</sup> For example, we do not have the wills of Roger Moreton, Richard Kendall, William Briggys, Lawrence Jole, Isabella Sparry, John Boulington, Nicholas Fouke, or Thomas Kirke, even though they were all apparently wealthy enough to afford an inscribed funerary monuments and can therefore be assumed to have had sufficient property to bequeathe to necessitate writing a will.

<sup>117</sup> There are 401 individuals commemorated in monuments and windows, but in the antiquarian evidence 77 are either mentioned only by their first name or not mentioned by name at all, so it is impossible to trace their wills. See chapter 3 tables 3.2, 3.3, 3.19 and 3.20. The 28 wills of people commemorated in

of John Coupeland, tanner and parishioner of All Saints North St. He leaves money and wax for his burial, prayers and masses for his soul; and he bequeaths his lands and tenements to his wife for the duration of her life, then to his elder son John after her death and to his younger son Henry if John should die without heirs. If Henry should also die without heirs, all lands and tenements are to be sold for an annual obit for John Senior and for pious works of charity for the good of his soul.<sup>118</sup>

York wills often contain bequests to the fabric of the testator's parish church, sometimes for specific items such as windows or vestments, sometimes for repairs and improvements to the fabric itself. By themselves these bequests are rather out of context, as we can see from table 1.10 in which are listed the bequests of glass windows to parish churches.

What these bequests do not specify are the size of the windows, the type of glass to be used and the subject-matter, so we cannot know from this evidence alone whether we are dealing with large or small windows, with figurative or heraldic glass, with religious iconography and/or commemorative effigies, with clear or stained and painted glass. Other evidence has to be brought in to supply the right context in which to interpret these bequests - this will be done in chapter 3 in which we shall also be comparing the relative costs of monumental brasses and chantries as well.

R.N. Swanson has suggested that many testamentary bequests are of a routine nature, with many of them being suggested by the scribe, who was most likely a parish clerk, and that therefore they cannot be accepted as voluntary or spontaneous or indicative of personal piety.<sup>119</sup> In dealing with York testators and their bequests to the parish churches, while many bequests to parish clergy and for funeral arrangements are of a routine nature and may indicate a certain amount of social pressure to fulfil ecclesiastical expectations, the diversity of the specific bequests to the church fabric suggests that these are the original choice of the testator.

Testators nearly always express a wish to be buried in their own parish church. When burial is requested in a place other than the local parish church, this is usually explained by the testator's wish to be buried near a close relative such as a spouse or parents. Richard Bridesall of St. John Ousebridge (1392) wanted to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers near his mother; Margaret Blackburn Sr. of All Saints North St. (1433) wished to be buried near her husband Nicholas in York Minster; and William Selby of St. Michael Spurriergate (1438) wanted to be buried near his father Roger in St. John Ousebridge.<sup>120</sup> Even in such cases the testator would have

---

windows include those of William Appilgarth, John Bolton and John Dautre whose names do not appear in the antiquarian evidence (see Appendix A.2 and chapter 3).

<sup>118</sup> BI Reg.4 f.135<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> R.N.Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford 1989), p.266; for an alternative view see Peter Heath 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages:the Evidence of Hull Wills', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, (ed.) R.B.Dobson, (Gloucester and New York 1984), 209-234.

<sup>120</sup> *TE I*, p.174; *TE II*, p.46; BI Reg.3 ff.415<sup>v</sup>, 528<sup>r</sup>.

made a significant bequest to his or her parish church. Bequests range widely - money, altar cloths and vestments, wax candles, images and silverware are all bequeathed to parish churches (see table 1.11).

Wills provide a useful glimpse into the interaction between parishioner and parish church even though they cannot help in determining the parishioner's lifetime involvement with his or her church. We cannot expect to find detailed instructions in wills relating to memorials in the parish church, which for the most part appear to have been commissioned during the parishioner's lifetime.<sup>121</sup>

Wills often supply important information about the testators, such as their professions (or in the case of women their husband's profession) which are sometimes omitted from inscriptions on tomb monuments and in stained glass. This particular factor is crucial in determining what social categories are represented in commemorative parish church art and, by extension, which categories are missing.

Another important aspect of wills is the information they supply on family relationships which enables us to see the extent of family commemoration through the parish churches of York and also see how succeeding generations behaved. This latter issue however is hampered by the difficulty of finding the wills of more than two successive generations of testators of the same family before the Reformation, due primarily to the gaps in the probate register.

The evidence of wills can be cross-referenced and augmented with that provided by civic government records, such as the Freeman's Register, the Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi and the York Memorandum Books, as well as some sixteenth-century records such as the chantry surveys and, in one case, churchwardens accounts. Again we need to recognize the limitations of this evidence.

The Freeman's Register is a document compiled between the years 1272 and 1558, in which are listed the names of those admitted to the freedom of the city of York by appearing in person before the mayor to swear an oath of loyalty to him and to the king.<sup>122</sup> However, before 1378 only immigrants are registered, and those who were children or apprentices of freemen are not listed. Before 1397 admissions *per patres* are omitted as they were entered on a separate, and now lost, manuscript. Not all residents in the city were in a position to need freeman status, for instance those who lived within the ecclesiastical liberties, or those whose work was exclusively designed for the

---

<sup>121</sup> There are a few exceptions to this - notably, one of Reginald Bawtre's windows at All Saints North St. (see table 1.10) and a few cases in which the testator leaves instructions regarding posthumous memorials (see chapter 3 tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6).

<sup>122</sup> F. Collins (ed.), *The Register of the Freeman of the City of York I 1272-1558*, SS 96 (1896).

export market.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless the register has proved useful in confirming the mercantile status of many of the commemorated in windows and monuments (whose occupation is not mentioned in any other source) as well as in revealing the occupation of the other social classes involved in commemoration.

The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi runs from 1408 to 1546.<sup>124</sup> In it we find many of the commemorated, often with their spouses and children. The main drawback of the register is that it cannot be used to provide evidence before the early fifteenth century - also, as membership of the guild was not compulsory, we cannot find in it all the commemorated in the right period.

In the York Memorandum Books and York civic records we find piecemeal evidence on chantries, guild ordinances, regulations and disputes, appointments of incumbents to chantries and lists and values of parish churches.<sup>125</sup>

Parish church values are an important issue and it is possible to trace changes between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by comparing the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 with the evidence of the Subsidy Roll of 1428.<sup>126</sup> Other important sixteenth-century evidence can be found in the Chantry Certificates of 1546.<sup>127</sup> By comparing the sixteenth-century survey with the known chantry foundations traceable in the Calendar of Patent Rolls we can see how many chantries had already decayed by the sixteenth-century. We must however beware of using the Chantry Certificates as a guide to when the chantries were founded as the commissioners appear to have been given a great deal of inaccurate information.<sup>128</sup> The CPR is by far the best source on chantry licences, providing details such as the occupation of the founders and the circumstances of the foundation - its date, its location within the parish church and - usually - whether the chantry was founded during the lifetime of the commemorated or by his/her executors. An important piece of information to emerge from these chantry licences is that all chantries were founded to commemorate more than one individual. At the very least, this included the principal founder and his/her spouse, whether deceased or living,

---

<sup>123</sup> R.B.Dobson, 'Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York in the Later Middle Ages', *EcHR* second series no.1 (1973), 1-21; D.M.Palliser, 'The York Freeman's Register 1273-1540: Amendments and Additions', *York Historian* 12 (1995), pp.21-27.

<sup>124</sup> R.H.Skaife (ed.), *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, SS 57 (1871).

<sup>125</sup> *The York Memorandum Book vols. I and II*, (ed.) M. Sellers, SS 120 (1912) and 125 (1914); *Vol. III*, (ed.) J.W.Percy, SS 186 (1969); *York Civic Records Vols. III and IV*, (ed.) A.Raine, YASRS 107 (1942) and 108 (1943).

<sup>126</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henrici VIII, Vol.V*, (eds.) J.Caley and J.Hunter, Record Commission (1825). See chapter 2 for full discussion.

<sup>127</sup> *The Certificates of ther Commissioners appointed to Survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals etc. in the County of York*, (ed.) W. Page, Part I SS 91 (1892); Part II SS 92 (1893); see also J.T.Rosenthal, 'The Yorkshire Chantry Certificates of 1546: an Analysis', *Northern History* 9 (1974), 26-47.

<sup>128</sup> For example, William Graa's chantry at St. Mary Castlegate is dated 1403 instead of 1377; Nicholas Blackburne's chantry of St. Anne on Fossbridge is called 'Chantry of St. Agnes', *YCC I* pp.44, 61.

sometimes their respective parents and/or other individuals, some of whom were clergy.<sup>129</sup> The children of the founder(s) were not included in the commemorative list.

In the case of St. Michael's Spurriergate we are fortunate enough to have two surviving pre-Reformation church accounts. These provide essential information on lost church fittings which cannot be found in wills or other contemporary documents and which help to fill out the picture of the interior of the church. However, we cannot claim that they provide an exhaustive account of the medieval fittings. Furthermore, in the case of the evidence regarding some 'images', the wording is ambiguous and does not enable us to distinguish between wallpaintings and sculpted images.<sup>130</sup>

We must accept that all this evidence combined does not provide us with a full picture of the people commemorated in the parish churches of late medieval York. A great deal had already been lost before the antiquarians set about their work, both in terms of church buildings and in terms of contents. Sometimes names mentioned by the antiquarian writers cannot be found elsewhere - no will can be traced, and they do not appear in civic records or sixteenth-century surveys.

Table 1.12 serves to illustrate the variety of reasons which underlie the inability to trace all the names of the commemorated from the antiquarian evidence. We have three women - Agnes de Brounflete, Jannet Walton and Isabel Sparry - who appear to be single and unattached. It has not been possible to establish the relationship between Agnes de Brounflete and other members of the Brouneflete/ Brounfleet family, several of whom are also commemorated at All Saints Pavement, although she is quite likely to have been connected with them in some way. There are no other commemorated by the name of Sparry or Walton. Two other women - Margaret Northebye and Matilda Westbe - state a relationship with a particular male relative in their inscriptions, a son and a husband respectively, but, out of all four, only Margaret's son can be traced with certainty. At least seventeen individuals date from the fourteenth century and may thus pre-date the testamentary and much of the civic evidence. Other individuals may have written wills which have been lost in the gaps of the testamentary evidence, while others may not have been wealthy enough to need to make a will or to become involved with civic duties. There are eleven cases of missing surnames and two cases of individuals belonging to some kind of monastic establishment. Finally, some of these names may refer to individuals who did not belong to any of the urban classes and who would therefore be difficult to trace through civic records - for instance Margaret and George Percy, who were almost certainly minor members of the baronial family. Altogether these 72 individuals constitute 23% of the total number of 312 individuals commemorated in the antiquarian evidence. In addition to the untraceable names from the antiquarian evidence we must add the 21 names of chantry founders of whom we have no information other than that provided by the chantry licence. These represent 36%

---

<sup>129</sup> For instance, Roger Basy's chantry at St. Mary Bishophill Sr.; see Appendix A.2 sub Basy, Roger.

<sup>130</sup> BI PR Y/MS.3 and PR Y MS.4; see table 1.17.

of the total number of 59 chantry founders (table 1.13). As these 21 individuals all date from fourteenth-century, they are likely to pre-date most of the usual sources.

We have little information on commemoration in the parish churches that were affected by the sixteenth-century unions of parishes - among these only the churches of St. Maurice and St. George Fishergate were allowed to stand and were therefore visited by some antiquarians.<sup>131</sup> The surviving churches and their contents tend to dominate our perception of parish church art - to some extent we can change this by using the antiquarian evidence but even that cannot supply any information on, for example, the church of St. Helen Aldwark. We can supplement these gaps with evidence from wills, although we cannot hope to fully reconstruct the medieval church landscape in this way.<sup>132</sup>

Even so, the evidence produced by cross-matching these sources has resulted in a great deal of interesting material being uncovered.

### 1.3.3 The surviving visual evidence

A particular set of problems is presented by the remaining visual evidence, because the types and numbers of survivals have a profound effect on our perception of York parish church art. Apart from the numbers of churches that have been demolished (see tables 1.1 and 1.14), a number of the surviving fabrics have been affected in some way in the post-Reformation period (see table 1.14). What we are left with is a series of mainly small churches (except for St. Michael-le-Belfrey), which give the impression that medieval York had a nice line in cute chapels. The loss of St. Crux means above all the loss of the largest medieval parish church in York - the fifteenth-century fabric was seven bays long and had north and south aisles, a tower at the south-west corner and a clerestory.<sup>133</sup> We have to be careful when comparing York parish churches with those of other cities and make allowances for the changes which have taken place.

After the Reformation the demand for new figurative religious art effectively ceased. This in turn seems to have led to a slow but persistent erosion of the state of the stained glass so that panels were moved out of sequence or repaired unintelligibly. We need only look at Harrison's description of the glass of St. Michael Spurriergate before its 1950s rearrangement and restoration to catch a

---

<sup>131</sup> See table 1.1; chapter 2 table 2.4 and note; also D.M.Palliser, 'The Unions of Parishes at York 1547-1586', *YAJ* 46 (1974), 87-102.

<sup>132</sup> In the case of St. Helen Aldwark we do have a few wills from its parishioners, see Raine, *Mediaeval York*, pp.52-3; with regard to its monuments only a small piece of a stone slab, inscribed with the word (*s*)*pecialiter* in black letter script, apparently from a recumbent floor slab dating after c.1350, has been revealed by the archaeological excavations, see J.R.Magilton, *The Church of St. Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark*, The Archaeology of York, The Medieval Walled City north-east of the Ouse, 10/1, York Archaeological Trust (York 1980), pp.30-31.

<sup>133</sup> RCHM, *York* 5, p.11; VCHY p.378.



glimpse of the level of confusion from which some parish church art could suffer.<sup>134</sup> The effects of restoration, rearrangement and reconstruction can be just as devastating - at St. Michael Spurriergate three out of the five windows now containing medieval glass consist of panels which have no apparent connection to one another, many of them being made-up scenes.<sup>135</sup> Identifying the original iconography of such an assemblage, even with the help of antiquarian evidence, is a difficult and sometimes ultimately fruitless task. In other cases we know what the original glass was meant to represent, because we have good antiquarian evidence for it, but it is impossible to see it in the surviving glass. At St. Martin Micklegate there is a series of fourteenth-century windows which used to contain Old Testament scenes but the present condition of the glass - fragmentary and overloaded - make this impossible to recognize.<sup>136</sup>

A problem of the visual evidence which arises from the successive restorations and repairs to which the stained glass in particular has been subjected, relates to the movement of memorials within churches.<sup>137</sup> While in a few cases we can see clearly how one window is moved from one place to another,<sup>138</sup> in many cases it is difficult to reconstruct the original position of medieval fittings such as monuments and windows.<sup>139</sup> It is also futile to attempt to determine from the available evidence whether during the Middle Ages any of the earlier, fourteenth-century fittings were moved to make space for the later, fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century ones - the only exception to this being the fourteenth-century slab of John Wardall at All Saints North St. into which was inserted in the fifteenth century the brass of William Stockton, Robert Colynson and their wife Isabel.<sup>140</sup>

Mill Stephenson recorded the surviving brasses in the parish churches in 1905 - they included 13 medieval brasses, one of which is the fifteenth-century Stockton-Colynson brass set into the reused fourteenth-century Wardall slab (see table 1.15). Of these, only two display some form of imagery - the Evangelist symbols and the chalice - although four others carried heraldic devices. No figure brasses survive.<sup>141</sup> Although Stephenson comments that the inscriptions are fine and neat, the

<sup>134</sup> Harrison 1927, pp.167-172. A similar state of confusion was noted by Morris, *York*, p.116.

<sup>135</sup> RCHM, *York* 5, p.42: windows sII, sV, sVI.

<sup>136</sup> RCHM, *York* 3, pp.24-5.

<sup>137</sup> See Appendix A.1 sub All Saints North St., Holy Trinity Goodramgate, St. Michael Spurriergate, and St. Saviour for windows and monuments which have moved from one church to another and within churches.

<sup>138</sup> The current east window at All Saints North St. was seen by Dodsworth in the east window of the north aisle while Gent saw the current east window of the north aisle in the east window of the chancel, see Appendix A.1 sub All Saints North St.

<sup>139</sup> A particularly confusing attempt to determine such movements can be seen in Gee, 'Glass of All Saints', pp.151-202.

<sup>140</sup> Appendix A.1 sub All Saints North St.; Appendix A.2 under surname headings.

<sup>141</sup> However, indents with figure outlines can still be seen in the south aisle at All Saints North St., possibly in the nave at All Saints Pavement, at the west end of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, at the east end of the south aisle at St. John Ousebridge, in the former nave at St. Martin Coney St., in the north aisle at St.

absence of figure brasses may leave us with a sense that this particular art form was neglected in York, perhaps because of a lack of skilled craftsmen. In fact, the antiquarian writers supply ample evidence that this was not so, and I have already suggested that the disappearance of figure brasses may be related to their appeal to post-medieval collectors. Yet the lack of original evidence makes it impossible for us to discuss stylistic developments, different workshop hands and chronological changes for this particular art form.

We have 20 examples of non-brass funerary monuments. These can be divided into two categories: monuments and floor-slabs, and coffins or coffin lids. Several examples of coffin lids also survive although many are no longer freestanding but have been incorporated into the fabric of the churches, including a fragment of a late thirteenth-century coffin lid built into the outer face of the north nave aisle of St. Martin Micklegate which is probably all that remains of the Scrope burial.<sup>142</sup>

Other art forms fare even worse. While this thesis is not the place to discuss medieval fittings in York parish churches in general, there is evidence to suggest that some types of memorials other than windows and monuments existed. At All Saints North St. the arms of Giliot occurs on the surviving misericorde and on a roof boss in the chancel - they commemorate John Gillyot, rector of All Saints 1467-1473. The misericorde also carries the letter GIM (for *Magister Johannes Giliot*) and the Pelican in its Piety, which was a device connected with the Guild of Corpus Christi of which John Gylot had been master in 1472. Torre is the only antiquarian writer to note the arms on the roof boss, while the misericorde seems to have escaped detection (plate 81).<sup>143</sup> Similarly, at St. John Ousebridge, four roof bosses carry devices which commemorate Sir Richard Yorke - these were also noted by Torre.<sup>144</sup> While the commemorative function of the misericorde and the roof bosses have been noted by the RCHM and by Gee,<sup>145</sup> two other similar cases have so far passed unnoticed. From St. John Ousebridge survives a late fifteenth-century lectern bearing a merchants' mark which is likely to refer to Sir Richard Yorke, who was extensively commemorated in the church.<sup>146</sup> Similarly, the merchants' marks of John Karr survive at St. Sampson, one to be seen on a roof boss

---

Mary Bishophill Junior, in the nave at St. Mary Castlegate, in the nave at St. Michael-le-Belfrey, in the north aisle at St. Sampson, and in the nave at St. Saviour. See RCHM, *York 3* pp.7, 18, 29; RCHM, *York 5*, pp.3, 7, 28, 34, 37, 46, 48. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to link these with any particular figure brasses from the antiquarian evidence, although such an attempt is made in chapter 4.

<sup>142</sup> Unidentified and fragmentary coffins and coffin lids are listed in: RCHM, *York 3*, pp.7, 15, 19, 24, 29, 34; RCHM, *York 4*, pp.25, 28; RCHM, *York 5*, pp.3, 7, 14, 21, 24, 28, 34, 42, 48. See chapter 3 table 3.2 for details of funerary monuments connected with specific individuals.

<sup>143</sup> Arms on roof bosses also survive at St. Anthony's Hall, York; see T.W.French, 'St. Anthony's Hall: an Architectural and Functional Reconsideration', *York Historian* 11 (1994), p.6.

<sup>144</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.18. The devices are: arms of Yorke, arms of Yorke impaling Maleverer (a reference to his first wife Joan), merchants' mark and arms of Merchants of Staple of Calais.

<sup>145</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, pp.5, 7, 10; Gee, 'Roofs of All Saints', p.3.

<sup>146</sup> The lectern, which is now in the church at Upper Poppleton, is noted in RCHM, *York 3*, p.19 but no attempt is made at attributing the merchants' mark.

in the north aisle and another on the south arch of the west tower.<sup>147</sup> Johnston's evidence reveals that Karr was even more extensively commemorated at St. Sampson's. His arms appeared on the font, in the west window and in a north window, as well as on the arch of the tower and on woodwork (plates 222, 223).<sup>148</sup>

We know from the antiquarian evidence that wall paintings were seen in three parish churches (see table 1.17). We can speculate that more existed but were whitewashed over during the Reformation, just as we may assume that any sculptured images would have been an easy target for iconoclasts - so we can comment only sparingly with regard to these art forms. To a large extent, these problems set limitations on what can be achieved and therefore affect how the research material is approached and discussed.

We have already seen that most inscriptions are of black-letter type and difficult to read.<sup>149</sup> Overall, out of a total of 179 inscriptions preserved in the antiquarian record, only 26 have survived to the present day, that is only 15% of the total. The poor survival rate emphasizes our dependence on what the antiquarian sources have to tell us. In addition, when we are faced with inconsistencies regarding the wording of inscriptions,<sup>150</sup> we can easily see from the surviving material how difficult it is to assess the original ending of words which were initially abbreviated and which have since lost more letters due to the inevitable process of decay. A typical example is the wording of the scroll above the figure of St. Christopher in window I at All Saints North St. Of the two versions of the inscription offered by the RCHM and by Gee, neither can be said to be more accurate than the other from looking at the surviving evidence because not enough letters remain to determine whether the inscription originally said '*Christofori dominus sedeo ...*' or '*Christofori hic sedeo ...*'.<sup>151</sup> However, it is necessary for me to admit that I have also found it difficult to read surviving inscriptions, both in the windows and on the monuments, particularly those on monuments which are written in the small, cramped, black-letter style. My own reading of the surviving inscription in window I at All Saints North St. is: '*Christ(o)fori sedeo qui ciuuuuuuia ...lo*'.<sup>152</sup> In the list of illustrations I have attempted to reproduce the surviving inscriptions, but some of these inscriptions, such as that reproduced in the caption to plate 75 (All Saints North St., window nIV), proved to be rather difficult to decipher.

---

<sup>147</sup> RCHM, *York 5*, p.45.

<sup>148</sup> Appendix A.1 sub St. Sampson.

<sup>149</sup> For example, the main inscription in the St. Martin window at St. Martin Coney St. See introduction to Appendix A.1 for a discussion of the problems of editing inscriptions.

<sup>150</sup> As well as in the antiquarian record, there are differences between the RCHM and Gee's work on the inscriptions at All Saints North St.

<sup>151</sup> Plate 65; RCHM, *York 3*, p.7; Gee, 'Glass of All Saints', p.155.

<sup>152</sup> The 8 'i's denote undecipherable minims in the inscription.

This thesis' main contribution thus rests on the value of the antiquarian evidence in uncovering aspects of commemorative art and memorials in the parish churches. The practice of combining the antiquarians' evidence with medieval evidence, particularly wills, leads to a fuller picture of the activities and concerns of the people commemorated in the parish churches.

Having introduced the topic, it now time to dissect it into its constituent parts, and we begin with a look at the broader context of the archaeological, documentary and architectural background.

Church name	Status	Demolished	GI	Do	Du	J	T	H	K	Ge
All Saints Fishergate	P; cell of Whitby Abbey	16C					X			
All Saints North Street	P		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
All Saints Pavement	P		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
All Saints Peaseholme	P	16C					X			
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	P		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Holy Trinity King's Court	P	1937	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Holy Trinity Micklegate	P; also known as St. Nicholas			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. Andrew St. Andrewgate	P						X			
St. Andrew Fishergate	P; Gilbertine priory						X			
St. Benet Patrick Pool		pre-1338								
St. Clement Clementhorpe	P; priory church	16C					X			
St. Crux Pavement	P	1887	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. Cuthbert Peaseholme	P		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. Denys Walmgate	P			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. Edward Lawrence St.	P	16C					X			
St. George Fishergate	P	18C							X	X
St. Giles Gillygate	? chapel of St. Olave's	16C					X			
St. Gregory Micklegate	P	16C					X			
St. Helen Aldwark	P	16C					X			
St. Helen Fishergate	P	16C					X			
St. Helen Stonegate	P			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. John del Pyke Ogleforth	P	16C					X			
St. John Hungate	P	16C					X			

Table 1.1 York Churches in Antiquarian Evidence<sup>153</sup>

<sup>153</sup> List of churches from *VCHY* pp.365-404. In the medieval and antiquarian records the church of St. Michael Spurriergate is frequently referred to as St. Michael Ousebridge - it was decided to maintain the modern label which is more distinctive. St. John Ousebridge is also referred to as St. John Micklegate in the sources, and while the former label is the preferred one for this thesis, where the latter occurs it will be accompanied by a reference to the alternative label. Although in the *VCHY* it is argued that St. Mary-ad-Valvas was non-parochial, see D. Palliser, 'The Unions of Parishes at York 1547-1586', *YAJ* 46 (1974), p.100, where it is argued that St. Mary's parish boundaries appeared in the Ordnance Survey map of 1825. Legend: P=parochial; GI=Glover, Do=Dodsworth, Du=Dugdale, J=Johnston, T=Torre, H=Hutton, K=Keepe, Ge=Gent.

Church name	Status	Demolished	Gl	Do	Du	J	T	H	K	Ge
St. John Ousebridge	P		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
St. Lawrence Lawrence St.	P					X	X		X	X
St. Margaret Walmgate	P		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
St. Martin Coney Street	P		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. Martin Micklegate	P		X			X	X		X	X
St. Mary ad Valvas	P	c.1360								
St. Mary Bishophill Junior	P		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
St. Mary Bishophill Senior	P	demolished 1963	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
St. Mary Castlegate	P		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
St. Mary Layerthorpe	P	16C				X	X			
St. Mary Walmgate	P	14C				X	X			
St. Maurice Monkgate	P	rebuilt 1875, demolished 1967	X	X		X	X		X	X
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	P		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
St. Michael Spurriergate	P		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
St. Michael without Walmgate	P	14C				X	X		X	X
St. Nicholas Lawrence Street	P; hospital church	1644				X	X		X	X
St. Olave	P		X			X	X		X	X
St. Peter Little	P	16C				X	X			
St. Peter Willows	P	16C				X	X			
St. Sampson	P		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
St. Saviour	P		X	X	X	X	X		X	X
St. Stephen Fishergate	P	14C				X	X			
St. Wilfrid	P	16C				X	X			

Table 1.1 York Churches in Antiquarian Evidence (cont.)

Author	Names	Proportion
Dodsworth	203	65%
Johnston	131	42%
Torre	97	31%
Keepe	57	18%
Gent	52	17%
Hutton	40	13%
Dugdale	20	6%
Glover	8	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 1.2 Names of commemorated noted by antiquarians<sup>154</sup>

Author	Shields	Proportion
Dugdale	131	57%
Torre	121	52%
Keepe	88	38%
Johnston	42	18%
Dodsworth	32	14%
Glover	26	11%
Hutton	8	3%
Gent	6	3%
<b>Estimated total</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 1.3 Heraldic shields noted by antiquarians<sup>155</sup>

<sup>154</sup> This table is based on the overall count of all individual proper names commemorated in inscriptions in stained glass and funerary monuments. The 'Total' row represents the overall number of proper names mentioned in the antiquarian evidence. The '%' column represents the percentage scored by each antiquarian author against this total.

<sup>155</sup> This table records all the individual descriptions of heraldic shields. Because it is difficult to assess exactly how many separate shields were actually seen, the total and the percentage values are estimates only, with a margin of error of plus or minus 2. Blank shields are not included in this table.

Church	Versions	Correct	Wrong
All Saints North St.	John Rothan OR Rothun OR Crothurne OR Rotburn	U	U
All Saints North St.	John Coupeland OR Siemupland	J,H&w-Coupeland	T-Siemupland
All Saints Pavement	Avice OR Marie Welles	U	U
Holy Trinity King's Court	Thomas Jameson or Janison	Do&J-Jameson	T-Janison
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Toller OR Collet OR Boller	J-Toller	Ge-Collet T-Collet Do-Boller
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Baikenale OR Brikenale	Do-Brikenale (w- Brigenale)	T-Baikenale
St. John Ousebridge	Emanuel OR William de Grafton	U	U
St. Martin Micklegate	William OR John Burton	U	U
St. Martin Micklegate	Henry Cattal or Cavall	Do&J-Cattal	T-Cavall
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	William Crostby OR Cropley OR Croxley	U	U
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	Joan OR Ellen Crostby OR Cropley OR Croxley	U	U
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Thomas de Bolyn OR Rolyrn OR Rolrun	U	U
St. Michael Spurriergate	Robert Appylby OR Appulgarth	Do&w-Appylby	T-Appulgarth
St. Michael Spurriergate	Alice OR Ellen Hancock	J,T&*-Ellen	Do,K,Ge,H-Alice
St. Michael Spurriergate	Oliver OR Arthur Middleton	Do,J,Ge&*-Oliver	K-Arthur
St. Michael Spurriergate	Alan Hamerton OR Baerton	Do,J,w&*- Hamerton	H-Baerton
St. Olave	Robert Asby OR Alby	U	U
St. Olave	Alice OR Joan de Spawldinge	U	U
St. Olave	Richard OR Robert Kendall	U	U

Table 1.4 Disagreements over names<sup>156</sup>

<sup>156</sup> Legend: Do=Dodsworth; Ge=Gent; H=Hutton; J=Johnston; K=Keepe; T=Torre; U=unknown; w=will; \*=existing inscription.



Church	Name	Antiq. Dates	Other Evidence
All Saints Pavement	William & Margaret Fenwick	25 & 26 Sep 1421 (Do, J) 256 Dec 1421	U
All Saints Pavement	John Feriby	15 May 1490 (Do,J) 25 Mar 1491 (T) 5 Mar 1490 (K)	will 21 Mar 1490 pr 6 June 1491
All Saints Pavement	Millicent Feriby	8 Oct 1470 (T) 8 Nov 1470 (Do,J) 8 Nov 1480 (K)	U
All Saints Pavement	John Gyliot	19 July 1483 (T) 19 Jul 1484 (Do,J)	will 20 July 1484 pr 15 Sep 1484
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Thomas Danby	3 May 1408 (Do,J) 3 May 1458 (K) 3 May 1463 (Ge) 10 May 1458 (T)	will 29 Apr 1458 pr 20 May 1458 3 May 1458*
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Matilda Danby	4 Jan 1413 (Do,J) 4 Jan 1464 (T)	will 31 Mar 1459 pr 31 Dec 1463 4 Jan 1463*
Holy Trinity King's Court	Thomas Kirke	9 Apr 1442 (Do,J,K) 20 Apr 1442 (Ge)	governor of York Mercers 1436-41
Holy Trinity King's Court	Alice Kirke	12...1445 (Do)	will 22 Jan 1445 pr 4 Feb 1445 blanks*
Holy Trinity King's Court	Thomas Jameson	20 Apr 1437 (Do) 20 Apr 1507 (J) 15 Apr 1507 (K) 20 April 1527 (T)	governor of York Mercers 1506
Holy Trinity King's Court	Robert Gaunt	12 Mar 1407 (Do)	sheriff 1408-9
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Robert Mern	chaplain of CC 1403 (Do)	CC from 1408
St. Crux	Katherine Lambe	26 Aug (1484) (K) 6 May (1484) (Ge)	26 June*
St. Crux	Ellen Waghen	15 Apr 1421 (Do & J) 25 Apr 1421 (T & Ge)	U
St. Crux	John Woghen	25 Apr 1421 (K)	CC obit 1431-2
St. Crux	John Shaw	12 Feb 1537 (Do,J) 12 Feb 1538 (K)	mayor 1538, died in office
St. Crux	Henry Wyman	5 Aug 1411 (J) 5 Aug 1419 (K) 11 Aug 1414 (Ge)	5 Aug 1411*
St. Crux	Agnes Wyman	22 Sep 1413 (J,Ge) 22 Nov 1413 (K)	22 Sep 1413*
St. Crux	John Lightlampe	11 Nov 1485 (T) 19 Nov 1485 (Do,J)	will 17 Nov 1485, pr. 7 Dec 1485
St. Cuthbert	Isabel Bowes	21 July 1425 (Do) 21 July 1435 (K) 25 July 1435 (T)	21 July 1435*

Table 1.5 Disagreements over dates<sup>157</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Legend: CC=Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi; Do=Dodsworth; Du=Dugdale; Ge=Gent; H=Hutton; J=Johnston; K=Keepe; pr=probate; T=Torre; \*=surviving inscription; (?)=may or may not refer to the same individual.

Church	Name	Antiq. Dates	Other Evidence
St. Denys	Robert Warde	25 Jan...(K) 13 Jan 1405 (Ge)	administration of goods 9 May 1405
St. Margaret	Agnes Manars	7 Jan 1500 (Do,J)	will 1 Oct 1494 pr 11 Feb 1499
St. Martin Micklegate	Henry Cattal	7 Feb 1460 (Do, T & Ge) 8 July 1460 (T)	will 10 Sep 1460 pr 14 Mar 1460
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	Brian Middleton	20 Jan 1492 (Do) 28 Jan 1492 (J) 8 Jan 1492 (T)	member CC 1516 (?)
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	John Midilton	1 Apr 1459 (J) 9 Nov 1380 (T)	keeper of CC 1449
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	John Topham	8 Jan 1491 (Do) 8 June 1492 (J) 8 Jan 1472 (T)	warden of hospital of St. Thomas 1478
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	William Crosby	...Dec 1484 (Do) 7 Sep 1484 (J) 10 Jan 1484	sheriff 1464
St. Michael Spurriergate	Nicholas Vicars	26 Jan 1488 (Do,J&T) 26 Nov 1488 (K)	will 21 Jan 1488 pr 10 May 1489
St. Michael Spurriergate	Thomas Vicars	28 Sep 1499 (Do,J,H) 18 Nov 1490 (K)	free 1487
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Hancock	6 July 1485 (Do,J,K,T,H) 6 July 1484 (K,Ge)	6 July 1485*
St. Michael Spurriergate	Oliver Middleton	14 Jan 1504 (T) 18 Jan 1504 (Do,J) ...1504 (K) 25 Jan 1600 (H)	sheriff 1504
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Langton	13 Aug 1416 (Do) 13 Aug 1466 (J,Ge) 13 Aug 1463 (K,T)	13 Aug 1466*
St. Olave	John de Spawldinge	1394 (Do,J) 1398 (T)	U
St. Olave	John Cotes	28 June 1487 (Do)	will 15 May 1487 pr 20 May 1487
St. Saviour	Roger Moreton	5 June 1382 (T) 5 July 1382 (Do,Du,Ge) 5 July 1389 (K)	5 July 1382*
St. Saviour	Isabel Moreton	6 Mar 1412 (Do,T) 6 Mar 1410 (K) 6 Mar 1415 (Ge)	6 Mar 1412*

Table 1.5 Disagreements over dates (cont.)

Author	Right	Wrong	Total	Proportion incorrect
Dodsworth	4	10	203	5%
Johnston	5	3	131	2%
Keepe	3	9	57	16%
Gent	3	6	52	12%
Torre	1	5	97	5%
Hutton	1	1	40	3%

Table 1.6 Disagreements over dates - summary<sup>158</sup>

Year	Church	Fittings
1547	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	images burned, altars taken down, walls replastered, vestments & candlesticks sold
1547	St. Michael Spurriergate	rood, rood light, altar retables & sculpted images removed
1551	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	rood light removed
1557	St. Margaret	organ removed
1560s	St. Martin Coney St.	images burned, altars taken down, walls replastered, vestments & candlesticks sold

Table 1.7. 16C removal of medieval fittings<sup>159</sup>

<sup>158</sup> This table is based on the same 30 cases listed in table 1.5. Total = total number of names noted, cf. table 1.2. '% of total' refers to the ratio between the number of errors and the overall number of names noted as listed in table 1.2.

<sup>159</sup> Will of John Raytoke, notary, 1551, BI Reg.13B f.770<sup>r</sup>; and will of Francis Craven, surgeon, 1557, BI Reg.15B f.126<sup>r</sup>. BIHR PR Y/MS.4, St. Michael's Spurriergate churchwardens accounts 1518-47, f.23<sup>v</sup>; BIHR PR Y/MS.3 St. Michael's Spurriergate churchwardens draft accounts book 1537-1548 f.84<sup>v</sup>; YML MS.Add.220/1, E.Brunskill, 'Collections relating to the Church and Parish of St. Michael's Ousebridge alias Spurriergate', (c.1950), f.217<sup>v</sup>; E.Brunskill, 'Two Hundred Years of Parish Life in York', *PYAYAS* (1950-51), p.34; Palliser 1979 pp.241, 244; D.M.Palliser, *The Reformation in York 1534-1553*, Borthwick Papers no.40 (York 1971), p.27; see Gent's evidence of wallpaintings at St. Saviour's in Appendix A.1. For a general work on this subject see John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973).

Name	Will	Church	Occupation
William Langtofte	1321	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Vicar choral of YM; chaplain
Thomas Verdenell	1333	St. Sampson & St. Margaret	unknown
John Bawtre	1429	All Saints North St.	Succentor to Vicars Choral of York Minster; vicar of All Saints
Robert Semar	1432	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Subtreasurer of York Minster and vicar of St. Michael-le-Belfrey
Robert Semar	1442	St. Martin Coney Street	Chamberlain to chapter of York Minster; vicar of St. Martin
Richard Ripley	1485	St. Sampson	Chaplain
John Elwald	1505	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Merchant
Robert Elwald	1507	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Merchant
Alison Clarke	1509	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Widow
John Chapman	1527	Holy Trinity King's Court	Public notary and merchant
William Thompson	1539	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Glazier
John Lister	1541	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Draper
Martin Soza	1560	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Goldsmith

Table 1.8 Dean and Chapter Wills<sup>160</sup>

Location	Number	Proportion
Dean and Chapter Wills	13	3%
Archbishop's Exchequer Court Wills	151	38%
Printed Wills and Inventories	237	59%
Total	401	100%

Table 1.9 Wills read for this thesis

Name	Occupation	Will	Church	Amount	Details
William Rumlay	mercier	1391	St. Saviour	unspecified	a panel of a window
Robert de Louthe	mercier	1407	St. Sampson	40s	1 window
Reginald Bawtre	merchant	1429	All Saints North St.	£5	1 window
Richard Russell	merchant	1435	St. John Hungate	unspecified	3 windows
Richard Russell	merchant	1435	York Minster	£8	1 window
Marion Marton	wife of leather-dresser	1441	St. Crux	40s.	1 window
Henry Markett	mercier	1443	All Saints Pavement	£10	1 window and 1 battlement
John Radclyff	merchant	1444	St. Crux	£15	8 windows
Roger Stanes	unknown	1458	St. Olave	6s. 8d.	window over door
Alison Clarke	widow	1509	Mount Grace Priory	10s.	1 window

Table 1.10 Testamentary bequests for glass windows<sup>161</sup>

<sup>160</sup> YML L.2/4 ff. 157<sup>r</sup>, 254<sup>r</sup>, 364<sup>v</sup>; YML L.2/5 ff. 236<sup>r</sup>, 199<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>; BI Dean and Chapter Wills vol.5 f.34<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Verdenell, Robert Semar (1432), Richard Ripley and Alison Clarke are not among the commemorated.

Name	Occupation	Date	Church	Object
Matilda Benetson	widow	1392	St. Helen Aldwark	alabaster image of St. Mary for High altar
John de Pykeryng	rector	1384	St. Mary Castlegate	vestments and books
Walter Berghe	unknown	1404	St. Margaret	1 high altar cloth
Walter Berghe	unknown	1404	St. Martin Coney St.	1 high altar cloth
Walter Berghe	unknown	1404	St. George	7 altar cloths
John Carleton Jr.	doctor of law	1442	St. John Ogleforth	2 silver phials, 1 gilt paxboard

Table 1.11 Examples of testamentary bequests of objects to York parish churches<sup>162</sup>

<sup>161</sup> Note that this list contains bequests to non-parochial churches, such as York Minster and Mount Grace Priory; these values have been included owing to the scarcity of bequests for church glass. BI Reg. 1 f.37<sup>r</sup>; Reg.2 ff. 69<sup>v</sup>, 90<sup>v</sup>, 572A<sup>r</sup>, 27<sup>v</sup>; Reg.3 ff. 265<sup>r</sup>, 439<sup>r</sup>, 439<sup>v</sup>; YML L 2/5 f.82<sup>r</sup>; *TE I* p.158; *TE II*, pp.88-9, 53, 55, 93; RCHM, *York 3* p.8. I am grateful to Dr. P.J.P.Goldberg for allowing me to consult his list of testamentary bequests to York parish churches.

<sup>162</sup> These examples are selected from printed wills: *TE I*, pp. 183, 194, 334; *TE II*, p. 86.

Church	Name(s)	Memorial	Date
All Saints North St.	... Wiloby	N window	1st quarter 15C
All Saints North St.	John Rothan	monument	1390
All Saints Pavement	Agnes de Brounlete	monument	U
All Saints Pavement	Robert & Matilda de Bridesale	monument	U
All Saints Pavement	master William ... parson of St. John of Beverley	monument	1494
All Saints Pavement	John Crathorne	monument	1464
Holy Trinity King's Court	Agnes Hyll-Bolton	window	c.1440
Holy Trinity King's Court	John Cowpar	monument	U
Holy Trinity King's Court	William & Margaret K..	monument	1420
Holy Trinity King's Court	Henry ...	monument	1503
Holy Trinity King's Court	William Garton	monument	1560
Holy Trinity Micklegate	John Ralmord & wife	monument	U
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Walter Flos	monument	U
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Robert Irry	monument	1503
Holy Trinity Micklegate	William ... & wife	monument	U
Holy Trinity Micklegate	William de ...	monument	1482
St. Crux	John Boulington	monument	1480
St. Crux	John Grinedale	monument	1488
St. Crux	John Brounfield	monument	1486
St. Cuthbert	Robert Kirkby & wife Katherine	window	U
St. Denys	Margaret Percy & George Percy	E window	pre-1461
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Orinshead	SE window	U
St. Margaret	Richard Erghes	E window	U
St. Martin Micklegate	13 relatives of Isabel Moreton	NE window	late 14C
St. Martin Micklegate	Robert de Hutteram/ de Feriby	monument	1375
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	Wilfrid ...	monument	U
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Robert Savage	E window	pre-1394
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	William Santore	window	U
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Margaret Northebye	monument	U
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Matilda Westbe	monument	1486
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Thomas Wilton & wife Ellen	monument	1425
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Thomas ... & wife Alice	monument	1429
St. Mary Castlegate	John Sullyngelne	monument	1403
St. Mary Castlegate	William ...	monument	pre-1340
St. Mary Castlegate	Roger Marton	monument	U
St. Maurice	Henry Meleton & wife Isabel	SE window	post-1421
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Thomas de Bolyn & wife	monument	U
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	brother William Cokerham	monument	1408
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Richard Birgman & wife Joan	monument	1542
St. Michael Spurriergate	W(illiam) Blakely	window	U
St. Michael Spurriergate	Nicholas Miers	monument	1439
St. Olave	Robert ...	monument	U
St. Olave	Robert Asby	monument	U
St. Olave	brother Richard/ Robert Kendall	monument	U
St. Olave	Isabel Sparry	monument	U
St. Olave	Jannet Walton	monument	U
St. Olave	Robert de Mawlturas	monument	U
St. Olave	John de Mawldynge & wife Joan	monument	U
St. Olave	Henry Flemyng	monument	U

Table 1.12 Names from antiquarian evidence which cannot be traced in medieval evidence

Church	Name	Date	Info
All Saints North St.	John Benge	1324	chaplain
All Saints Pavement	Thomas de Alwarthorp	1311	married
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Elias de Wandesford	1323	clerk
Holy Trinity King's Court	Richard de Barneby	1378	butcher
St. Crux	Thomas Durante Sr	1332	merchant
St. Crux	Thomas Durante Jr	c.1350-75	none
St. John Ousebridge	John de Brygnale	1365	chaplain
St. John Ousebridge	Richard de Wateby	1379	married
St. Martin Coney St.	Richard Candeler	1375	married
St. Martin Micklegate	Andrew Toller	1367	none
St. Martin Micklegate	John Feriby	1384	clerk
St. Mary Castlegate	Robert Graa	1293	none
St. Mary Castlegate	John Graa	1380	none
St. Mary Castlegate	Thomas Northfolke	1391	none
St. Michael Spurriergate	Robert de Sallay	1336	none
St. Peter Little	John Setryngton	1335	none
St. Peter Willows	Robert Halton	1396	chaplain
St. Sampson	Hugh Botomer	1336	none
St. Sampson	Nicholas de Burton	1379	clerk
St. Saviour	Adam de Spiridene	1332	rector
St. Saviour	John de Hathelsaye	1333	none

Table 1.13 Names of untraced chantry founders<sup>163</sup>

<sup>163</sup> This is a list of commemorated people whose names only appear in CPR and YCC. Date indicates when the chantry licence was issued; Info gives any personal details which may be gleaned from the phrasing of the licence document. In Appendix A.2 it is suggested that Thomas Durante Jr. may have been a merchant like his father although there is no firm evidence regarding this.

Church	Details
All Saints Pavement	1782: chancel and chancel aisles demolished for street widening
Holy Trinity King's Court	1763-70: stained glass removed rebuilt 1861 demolished 1937
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Reformation: lost transepts and eastern arm. 1551/2: central tower fell destroying choir and damaging parts of nave
St. Crux	demolished 1887
St. Denys	1798: nave demolished, spire removed, doorway of c.1160 reset in porch 1846-7: church tower demolished
St. Helen Stonegate	1551: partly demolished 1553-4: N arcade and N aisle rebuilt 1857: extensive rebuilding of N and S walls, chancel extended E
St. John Ousebridge	1850: east wall rebuilt further west for street widening
St. Lawrence	1881-3: church pulled down; W tower remains
St. Margaret	c.1670: steeple fell 1684-5: tower rebuilt 1851-2: church partially rebuilt
St. Martin Coney St.	1942: war damage to nave, chancel and north aisle; west window relocated in new north wall
St. Maurice	1887: rebuilt 1967: demolished
St. Michael Spurriergate	1821: curtailed on east and south sides for street widening; east wall set back 7 ft; east and south walls and west wall of south aisle rebuilt
St. Nicholas Lawrence St.	1644: destroyed in siege of York
St. Olave	1644: civil war damage 1721-2: largely rebuilt 18C: clerestory demolished
St. Sampson	1641: church tower damaged by gunshot, restored 1910 1848: rebuilt except tower

Table 1.14 Significant post-Reformation changes to surviving fabrics<sup>164</sup>

<sup>164</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, pp. 12, 16; RCHM, *York 4*, pp.25, 27; RCHM, *York 5*, pp.xl, 2, 15, 20, 23, 27, 40, 4; VCHY pp.371, 374, 378, 380, 385, 388, 395, 397, 399, 401.



Church	Names	Year	Details
All Saints North St.	Thomas Clerk wife Margaret(*)	1482	inscription; Evangelist symbols
All Saints North St.	William Stockton Robert Colynson wife Isabel(*)	1503	inscription; reused slab of John de Wardalle 1395
All Saints Pavement	Robert Crathorn(*)	1465	inscription
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Thomas Danby wife Maud(*)	1458 1463	inscription
Holy Trinity King's Court	Thomas Kyrke wife Alice	1442	inscription
St. Crux	Henry Wyman wife Agnes(*)	1411 1413	inscription; 4 shields lost
St. Crux	William Lame wife Katherine(*)	1484	inscription; 4 shields lost
St. Crux	John Shaw wife Agnes	1537	shields: 2 remaining from original 4
St. Cuthbert	William Bowes wife Isabel(*)	1439 1435	inscription; 4 shields lost
St. John Ousebridge	Sir Richard Yorke(*)	1498	modern restoration inscription
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Langton(*)	1466	chalice; inscription
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Hancock wife Ellen(*)	1485	inscription
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Wilson(*)	c.1500	inscription
St. Saviour	Roger de Moreton wife Isabel(*)	1382 1412	inscription; 4 shields lost; brass now at All Saints Pavement

Table 1.15 List of surviving brasses<sup>165</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Stephenson, 'Brasses in York', pp.1-67; (\*) indicates where his evidence is corroborated by RCHM, *York* 3, pp.7, 18; RCHM, *York* 5, pp.2, 3, 7, 11, 14, 41.

Church	Name	Date	Type
All Saints North St.	John Rothum	1390	floor-slab
All Saints North St.	William, Ellen & Alice Londisdall	1487	floor-slab
All Saints North St.	John Coupland	1469	floor-slab
All Saints North St.	Thomas & Juliana Kyllingwyke	post-1381	floor-slab
All Saints North St.	John de Wardalle	1395	floor-slab
All Saints North St.	John Bawtrie	1411	floor-slab
All Saints North St.	Richard, Joan & Margaret Killingholme	1451	floor-slab
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	William (Pollerneham)	14C	coffin lid
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	John Youle	1391	coffin
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Walter fflos	U	coffin lid
St. Denys	Robert Ward	1405	floor-slab
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Yorke	1498	altar-tomb
St. Margaret	Agnes Manars	1499	wall-plaque
St. Martin Micklegate	Simon or Henry Scrope	1280s	coffin lid
St. Martin Micklegate	Henry Cattall	1460	floor-slab
St. Mary Castlegate	William	pre-1340	floor-slab
St. Mary Castlegate	John & Katherine Blackburne	1426	floor-slab
St. Mary Castlegate	William & Joan Graa	post-1378	tomb-chest
St. Michael Spurriergate	Alan & Isabel Hamerton	1405	floor-slab
St. Saviour	Robert Verdenel	pre-1281	coffin lid

Table 1.16 Surviving funerary monuments<sup>166</sup>

Church	Details	Location
All Saints North St.	St. Christopher	north east pier of tower
All Saints North St.	unknown	unknown
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	16C black-letter inscription in English	east end of north arcade
St. Michael Spurriergate	St. Christopher	unknown; repainted 1527
St. Michael Spurriergate	Devil	nether end of church; repainted 1533
St. Saviour	Moses, Aaron, St. Peter, St. Paul, 4 Evangelists	pillars of nave

Table 1.17 Wallpaintings in parish churches<sup>167</sup>

<sup>166</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, pp. 9, 10, 15, 19, 24, 26; RCHM, *York 5*, pp. 7, 19, 24, 35, 43, 48.

<sup>167</sup> The evidence at St. Michael may refer to painted images or wall paintings. Gee, 'Roofs of All Saints', p.4; Raine, *Mediaeval York*, p.160; BI PR Y/ MS.4 ff. 68<sup>v</sup>, 101<sup>v</sup>; Gent p.186; VCHY p.369; RCHM, *York 3*, p.35.

## **Chapter 2 The Churches in Context: Origins, Development and Late Medieval Changes**

By the time of the earliest antiquarian survey of York's churches, already 22 (48%) of the overall total of 46 churches were no longer available for observation (see chapter 1 table 1.1 and plate 1).<sup>1</sup> The antiquarians were able to visit and record 24 churches only, which represent 52% of the medieval fabrics - if we include the evidence for St. Nicholas outside Walmgate the antiquarian total is 25 churches, that is 54% of the medieval total.<sup>2</sup> It is important to acknowledge that, in a discussion of parish churches in late medieval York, the role played by these lost churches cannot be ignored. As explained in chapter 1, all of these churches were parochial, with the possible exception of St. Giles Gillygate, whose function is uncertain (see chapter 1 table 1.1). We have little knowledge of commemoration in non-parochial chapels, and this is limited to bequests of money, torches, altar cloths, vestments and mass books. Two of our commemorated, Nicholas Blackburn Sr. and Alan Hamerton, did have chantries in the chapel of St. William Ousebridge, but we have no evidence of any funerary monuments or commemorative windows in any of these chapels and we will not therefore be dealing with chapels in general in this thesis.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter we shall attempt to put the overall number of parish churches into context and consider important issues which affected all the churches in order to see how the evidence of the antiquarians and of the surviving fabrics affects our perception of York churches as a whole.

What remains of the medieval fabric of the parish churches of York is only the tip of the iceberg - nowadays we see mainly fourteenth- and fifteenth-century fabrics, many of them co-existing with later restorations and changes but beneath the late medieval layers lies a history which goes further back and is richer and more complex than we might at first imagine. York is rich in material and documentary evidence which testifies to the antiquity of its churches. The material evidence consists of architectural observation of existing fabrics and of the results of archaeological excavation; the documentary evidence comes from the Domesday survey and from eleventh and twelfth-century records of changes of advowson.

As we can see from tables 2.1 and 2.2, quite a large number of parish churches in York predated the Norman invasion of 1066, which suggests that the parish system was already being

---

<sup>1</sup> 46 is the overall number of parish churches in medieval York, although not all were in existence during the late medieval period.

<sup>2</sup> In chapter 1 we have considered the antiquarian evidence to cover 25 churches, which includes the church of St. Nicholas outside Walmgate which had been destroyed in 1644 but for which Johnston and Gent nevertheless provided evidence, see Appendix A.1 for details.

<sup>3</sup> Testamentary references to chapels can be found in Appendix A.2 under Margaret Blackburn Sr., Nicholas Blackburn Sr., William Bowes, John Carr, John Dautre, Alan Hamerton, Thomas Horneby, Robert Howme, William Langton, Robert de Louthe, William Muston, John Raventhorp, John Scrope lord Upsall, and William Touthorp. No medieval chapels survive.

established in Saxon times.<sup>4</sup> By the twelfth century most of the parish churches already existed, with only 10 parish churches not documented until the thirteenth century (see also plates 42-62 - ground plans of churches).

The antiquity of the York parish churches has serious repercussions when we compare patterns at York with other places. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there were 40 parish churches in use at York - although the 16 churches listed in table 2.7 experienced difficulties, the most of the remaining 24 were being enlarged in this period, with new chapels being built, naves being lengthened and chancels being expanded. Although York parish churches were not originally as small as they now appear,<sup>5</sup> the size of the medieval parish churches, even at their zenith, is not one that can compare with the large wool churches of East Anglia or even with that of the churches of nearby Beverley and Hull. In order to find out why, we need to beware of inappropriate comparisons. Towns like Hull, Beverley, Boston, and Great Yarmouth were places where one large parish church was built to serve the whole population, sometimes supplemented by a chapel of ease.<sup>6</sup> At Hull, Holy Trinity church started as a chapel of ease in c.1285 and did not even become a parish church until the seventeenth century. St. Mary Beverley was not built until the twelfth century and underwent expansion in the thirteenth - the town was served by only one other church, the collegiate church of St. John of Beverley (Beverley Minster).<sup>7</sup>

None of the above are cathedral cities or cities where the building of parish churches can be dated to pre-Conquest times - and it is with these that York compares more closely (table 2.3). The main common factor here is that London, Norwich, Lincoln and Oxford are cities with a pre-Conquest history, which enjoyed high levels of population in the eleventh to twelfth centuries, and in which the building and numbers of parish churches were conditioned by early foundations and piecemeal expansion and development.<sup>8</sup>

The fluidity of the existence of parish churches in York can be seen from the way in which

---

<sup>4</sup> G.H.Cook, *The English Medieval Parish Church*, (London 1961), pp.18-26; Richard K. Morris, 'Churches in York and its Hinterland: Building Patterns and Stone Sources in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition 950-1200*, ed. John Blair, (Oxford 1988), pp.191-199; see also John Blair and Richard Sharpe eds., *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, (Leicester 1992).

<sup>5</sup> See chapter 1 section 1.3.3 and table 1.14.

<sup>6</sup> Cook, *Medieval Parish Church*, pp.16-17; John Betjeman ed., *Collins Guide to English Parish Churches*, (London 1958); Charles J. Cox and Charles Bradley Ford, *The Parish Churches of England*, (London 1947).

<sup>7</sup> St. Mary's was officially a chapel dependent on the Minster for a long time although it effectively served as Beverley's parish church. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, (Harmondsworth 1972) pp.179-80; John Bilson, 'St. Mary's Church Beverley', *YAJ* 25 (1920), pp.357-436.

<sup>8</sup> Another possible common factor is that the founders of the churches were usually laypeople, see Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, p.169. Note that Norwich, Lincoln and Oxford were not cathedral cities in 1066.

parish churches came and went during and after the middle ages. The five churches which were demolished in the fourteenth century (see table 2.4) appear to have suffered from a combination of fabric decay and insufficiently wealthy benefices. Such a pattern of decline of churches is not unique - the churches of medieval Winchester suffered a similar decline in response to loss of population.<sup>9</sup> We can compare the fourteenth-century closures of York churches with the much later, sixteenth-century demolitions and closures (see table 2.5). These unions were actively sought by the York Corporation and not imposed from above and were entirely due to a fall in population and in economic wealth which could no longer sustain such a large number of parish churches in the city.<sup>10</sup>

An important factor in the changes undergone by the parish churches is that of monetary values. We are fortunate in being able to compare the value of the benefices associated with each parish church at two different points in our period - one in the early fifteenth century, the other in the early sixteenth century (table 2.6).

To begin with we must assess the reliability of the data. The 1428 survey was carried out by the city of York whereas the 1535 survey was carried out by laymen for Henry VIII in order to assess the wealth of the Church for tax purposes - the parish priests, who provided the commissioners with the parish returns, probably understated their incomes. This is a point worth remembering when we consider the implications of the survey with regard to the issue of economic decline. However, the transcription and printing of the 1535 survey in 1834 are reasonably accurate.<sup>11</sup> On the whole, we must beware of making too much of these figures - for instance, we see that the value of St. Olave plummets from its considerable assessment of £24 in 1428 (the highest recorded) to below £1 in 1535, but that in spite of this the church has survived to the present day. The former value could however have been a gross overestimate, perhaps reflecting a wish to inflict a heavy tax on St. Mary's Abbey as patron of the living (see table 2.7). Additionally, the church of St. Helen Aldwark, whose parish was worth £2 in 1428 and £1 13s 10d in 1535, was nevertheless wealthy enough to finance an extensive rebuilding programme in the early fifteenth century and further extension in the sixteenth century (see table 2.10).

---

<sup>9</sup> Derek Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester. Part I*, (Oxford 1985), Chapter V 'Churches and Parishes', pp.106-133, especially pp.116-7.

<sup>10</sup> D.M.Palliser, 'The Unions of Parishes at York 1547-1586', *YAJ* 46 (1974), p.93; D.M.Palliser, 'A Crisis in English Towns? The Case of York 1460-1640', *Northern History* 14 (1978), p.117; D.M.Palliser, *Tudor York*, (Oxford 1979), p.240.

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Christopher Harrison of Keele University for allowing me to read his unpublished paper 'The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*: a Re-Appraisal', (August 1994), which contains a study of the context of the survey as well as an assessment of the evidence and of its transcription in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. I am also grateful to Dr. Larissa Juliet Taylor of the Department of History, Colby College, Waterville, ME, USA, for her help on this topic. See Felicity Heal, 'Economic Problems of the Clergy', in Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day eds., *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, (London 1977), pp.103-4; Joyce Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries*, (London 1971), p.43; W.G.Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder. King Henry's England 1500-1547*, (London 1976), pp.123-4.

Table 2.6 can be used to contribute to the debate over York's decline in the late Middle Ages. The values of 31 churches out of the 42 churches surveyed decline between the two surveys, while those of 8 others increase, another remains the same and the last 2 were worth less than the minimum value of £1 at both surveys. Overall, the church values increase by a maximum of £19 9s 1d and decline by a maximum of £124 11s 7d, that is an overall maximum decline in parish church values of £105 2s 6d.<sup>12</sup> However, what the table does not tell us is why the church values declined - this could be due to a decline in population as much as to economic decline. It has been estimated that a £10 income was needed for a beneficed cleric to carry out his duties - if this estimate is correct, then 6 York churches could support a priest effectively in 1428 (although 6 others came close, with values between £8 and £9) and only 2 could do so in 1535.<sup>13</sup> Even allowing for possible tax-dodging in 1535 we must acknowledge that the city could no longer sustain so many parish churches.

While bearing in mind that it is likely to be an underestimate of real values, the sixteenth-century survey appears to point to a decline in values, sometimes by as much as half, except in 9 cases.<sup>14</sup> If we compare tables 2.4 and 2.5 we can see that the 16 parishes which disappeared in the sixteenth century were all worth less than £5 by 1535 and in 8 cases they were not able to reach even the minimum value of £1. If we look at how the table compares with churches that survive to the present day we see that in 1428 these were all prosperous parishes, with only 3 out of 19 valued at an income below £5. Similarly, out of the 25 churches visited by the antiquarians, 20 were valued at £5 or more in the same year.<sup>15</sup> Out of the same 25 churches, only St. Lawrence was worth less than £1 in 1428, although by 1535 seven churches had failed to reach the same minimum assessment value.<sup>16</sup> This is something we need to acknowledge before our discussion of the antiquarian and testamentary evidence (see chapter 3) - in most cases it is on the evidence of the wealthier churches that we comment on patterns of commemoration.

As a further comparative exercise, I wish to put the evidence of tables 2.4 and 2.5 into the context of advowsons. These constitute the right to present to a benefice, i.e. the income, endowments and rights known as the living of a parish church.<sup>17</sup> This concept is generally described

---

<sup>12</sup> These are maximum values due to the lack of specific entries for those churches which were worth less than £1.

<sup>13</sup> Heal, 'Economic Problems of the Clergy', p.104.

<sup>14</sup> The churches of All Saints Peaseholme, St. George Micklegate, St. John Ogleforth, St. Lawrence, St. Mary Bishophill Jr., St. Maurice, St. Michael Spurriergate and St. Peter Willows see their assessed values increase; while the assessed value of the church of Holy Trinity King's Court remains the same.

<sup>15</sup> Although destroyed in 1644, St. Nicholas is included in the list of churches visited by antiquarians because of Johnston's evidence, see Appendix A.1.

<sup>16</sup> These were: Holy Trinity Micklegate, St. Cuthbert, St. John Ousebridge, St. Michael-le-Belfrey, St. Nicholas, St. Olave and St. Sampson. As St. Michael-le-Belfrey had only just been rebuilt on a grand scale in 1535, it may be that it was not included in the survey due to its attachment to the Minster.

<sup>17</sup> See Peter Heath, *Church and Realm 1272-1461*, (London 1988) p.359.

as 'patronage *of* a parish church', which is to be distinguished from 'patronage *in* a parish church', which may be taken to refer to the gift of windows, monumental brasses, vestments, books, images and other objects for the embellishment of the church, the good of one's soul and the commemoration of one's name.

Of the 19 parishes whose advowsons were in monastic hands, 11 were valued at £5 or over in 1428 and of these 2 were worth over £10. This is clearly the wealthiest group of parishes; they are also parishes whose ownership tended to remain in the same hands for long periods of time, in some cases from the Conquest until the Reformation. About one third of them (6) succumbed to the 1586 unions of parishes, with St. Michael Walmgate having been demolished in the fourteenth century and at least 4 going into disuse at the Dissolution - 8 of them survive to the present day and 9 were visited by the antiquarians.

The 7 parishes in which advowsons change hands regularly are noticeable for being in lay hands and their values fluctuate quite dramatically - 3 of them were worth less than £5 in 1428 while the other 4 ranged from £6 to £10.<sup>18</sup> Of the same 3 poorer churches (All Saints Peaseholme; St. George and St. Helen Aldwark), two were demolished after the unions of benefices in 1586.<sup>19</sup>

Of the 11 churches whose advowsons lay in the hands of the Chapter of York Minster, 4 were worth over £5 in 1428 and survive to the present day - all four plus two others were visited by the antiquarians.<sup>20</sup> Of the other capitular churches, St. Mary-ad-Valvas and St. Stephen had already been demolished before the 1428 assessment, and the rest disappeared after the unions of benefices. St. Lawrence is the only church in this group to have been worth less than 20s in 1428 and yet to have survived to the present day albeit in a very reduced form (plates 20, 21).

In general, out of the 20 churches which survive to the present day, the advowsons of 18 (90%) were in religious hands with the remaining 2 (10%) in lay hands; of the 25 churches visited by the antiquarians, the advowsons of 21 (84%) were in religious hands, while 2 (8%) others were in lay hands and 2 (8%) belonged to both lay and religious patrons at various times. Although this would initially suggest that churches in religious hands had a better chance of survival than churches in lay hands, we need to set the above figures into context: out of the 46 churches listed in table 2.7, 39 (85%) were in religious hands, 3 (7%) were in lay hands, 3 (7%) passed from one to the other and one (1%) was unknown. Thus, the surviving churches can be said to be typical of the advowson distribution pattern for York parish churches, with the exception that it is only the

---

<sup>18</sup> The churches with lay advowsons were: All Saints Pavement; Holy Trinity King's Court; St. George; St. Helen Aldwark; St. Martin Micklegate; St. Mary Bishophill Sr. and St. Mary Castlegate.

<sup>19</sup> St. George was not demolished until the eighteenth century.

<sup>20</sup> They are: St. John Ousebridge; St. Martin Coney St.; St. Mary Bishophill Jr.; and St. Michael-le-Belfrey; the antiquarians also saw St. Lawrence and St. Maurice.

antiquarian record that preserves evidence for a considerable percentage of churches whose advowsons passed from lay to religious hands and vice versa.

With regard to size, the churches of Holy Trinity Micklegate, St. Crux, St. Denys, St. Martin Coney St. and St. Michael-le-Belfrey were probably the largest parish churches in York. The advowsons of the first three belonged respectively to the Benedictine Abbey of Marmoutier, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital while the latter two were in the hands of the Chapter of York Minster - i.e. all four churches were in religious hands. Again, given the predominance of churches in York whose advowsons were in religious hands, this is perhaps more indicative of the general trend than of any particular benefit to be derived from religious patrons.<sup>21</sup>

To conclude this section, let us bring all the evidence of advowsons, parish values and demolitions together and see how they interrelate (tables 2.8 and 2.9). Thus, the fluctuating fortunes of York parish churches appear to have been subject to a number of influences - population and economic decline leading to disuse of the churches which in turn led to fabric decay; the impact of the Dissolution which deprived some of the churches of the patrons of their livings;<sup>22</sup> and the initially large number of churches which the city had sustained from a much earlier period and which became increasingly difficult to justify as the city moved into the early modern period. We must however acknowledge that there existed one exception to this pattern of reduction of numbers. The church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey appears on the surface to belong to the general pattern of late fifteenth-century decay which affected the majority of the churches which were demolished in the early sixteenth century. Capitular visitations from 1409, 1416 and 1510 reveal that the fabric was in a progressively advanced state of decay - vestments, books, and ritual cloths were rotting; the roof was leaking; the glass and lead were decayed.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, the church represents the only case of a church in an advanced state of decay which was demolished and completely rebuilt in the early sixteenth century (plates 34, 35). The total rebuilding of the church in a short space of time (1525-37) made it possible for a new glazing campaign to be launched and completed between c. 1525 and 1545. The church represents a unique late medieval commemorative surge, which must be regarded as an exception due to the existence of a wealthy group of commemorated, which included parishioners and Minster clergy, who had not only the means but also the opportunity to make a substantial impact on a brand new church.

---

<sup>21</sup> Plates 10-12, 15-16, 24-25, and 34-35 for exterior views and plates 46, 48, 53 and 58 for ground plans. At the church of Holy Trinity Micklegate only the nave was parochial. At St. Denys only the east end remains.

<sup>22</sup> The Dissolution particularly affected St. Gregory Micklegate, St. Peter Little, St. Peter Willows and St. Wilfrid, whose church grounds and churchyards were sold by the corporation to various aldermen for amounts varying from 20s to 40s in 1548-9, see VCHY pp.382, 399, 400, 404.

<sup>23</sup> *Fabric Rolls* pp.247, 253, 261-2.



There does not appear to be any link between commemoration and advowsons (table 2.9). The advowsons of the three churches with the greatest numbers of commemorations - All Saints Pavement, All Saints North St. and St. Michael-le-Belfrey - were all in religious hands, namely Durham Cathedral Priory, Holy Trinity Priory and the Chapter of York Minster respectively, while the advowsons of the churches with the fewest commemorations - St. John Hungate, St. Lawrence, St. Maurice, St. Nicholas and St. Peter Willows - were also in religious hands, namely the Chapter of York Minster, St. Nicholas' Hospital and Kirkham Priory respectively.<sup>24</sup> However, in terms of parish church values we can see that in the 1428 surveys the first three churches figure prominently as having been quite wealthy, with values ranging from £8 to £12, whereas the last five churches in table 2.9 show parish church values from less than £1 to 40s (£2) with only St. Nicholas being worth £5. The results of table 2.9 therefore suggest that the churches with the greatest numbers of recorded commemoration were also the wealthiest.

Let us examine in greater detail just how the fabrics of the parish churches of York underwent changes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. What is striking about table 2.10 is that, apart from the extensive piecemeal rebuilding of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, at least 10 churches underwent almost complete rebuilding between 1300 and 1540 and the table only lists 22 out of a possible total of 40 churches to undergo considerable changes in this period. The difference between these rebuilding programmes and the one already observed at St. Michael-le-Belfrey is that the latter involved the complete destruction of the earlier fabric, and total rebuilding in less than 15 years, and was carried out under the direct supervision of a single agency - the Minster - whereas the former still appear to have been done in a piecemeal fashion. The exception to this may have been the church of St. Crux - if it had survived (like St. Michael-le-Belfrey) we might have been able to compare two similar examples dating a century apart (plates 11-12). It is interesting to note that two of the churches in table 2.9 - i.e. St. Andrew St. Andrewgate and St. Helen Aldwark - later succumbed to the 1586 unions of benefices (see table 2.5). This suggests that good maintenance, repair and, in St. Helen Aldwark's case, a comprehensive rebuilding programme, were no guarantee of survival.

Chantry chapels were an important aspect of commemoration which we shall be considering in the next chapter. In chapter 1 we have already seen that chantry foundations involved both the institution of a commemorative mass at an existing altar and, less frequently, the erection of a purpose-built chantry chapel for commemorative masses. While we can seldom positively ascribe architectural changes to chantry foundations, there are a number of coincidences among the two categories as can be seen from table 2.11.

---

<sup>24</sup> Except for the involvement of the Chapter of York Minster at both ends of the scale, it might be argued that Durham Cathedral Priory and Holy Trinity Priory were wealthier patrons than St. Nicholas' Hospital

Unfortunately, we cannot always tie one particular chantry foundation to a particular phase of architectural rebuilding and most of the dates in table 2.11 are only indicative of general rebuilding phases rather than specific ones. Unfortunately, both at St. Crux and at St. Michael-le Belfrey all the chantry foundations pre-dated the complete rebuilding of the churches, which took place in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively, and thus obliterated any physical evidence that might have connected chantry foundations with earlier architectural changes. However, some useful observations do emerge from the table. At Holy Trinity Goodramgate, at least 40 years elapsed between the foundation of the Houom chantry and the building of the Howme chantry chapel. The building of new aisles at St. Helen Stonegate, St. John Ousebridge and St. Martin Micklegate coincided with a series of closely-timed chantry foundations. Thus, it is likely that the enlargement of a church both afforded new opportunities for such foundations and at the same time responded to an existing need for more space in which commemorative masses might be carried out.

It is noticeable that the only firm physical evidence for a chantry chapel comes from Holy Trinity Goodramgate, where the chapel of St. James, built south of the south aisle, can be identified with the Howme chantry by the heraldry displayed on the stonework. Unlike windows and monuments, for which some material evidence remains, the physical presence of chantries remains elusive. It is also important to note that there are no surviving medieval chantry screens in any of the churches. A screen fulfilled the function of physically separating the chantry from the rest of the church - as chantries were abolished in 1547, and as most screens were usually made of wood, it is not surprising to find no remains, although screens do survive in other parts of the country.<sup>25</sup>

In conclusion, it is important to remain aware of the numbers of churches demolished by the time of the earliest antiquarian survey. This thesis is based on a select sample of medieval churches, mostly quite wealthy ones, such as St. Michael Spurriergate, and some only relatively poor ones, such as St. Maurice.<sup>26</sup> While we do have some information on the smaller lost parish churches from testamentary evidence, this is not comparable with the knowledge that we may gain through the combined antiquarian and testamentary evidence of churches which survived between the late sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries. However, the antiquarian evidence may after all provide us with most of the evidence which existed in the York churches, as it is possible that the smaller

---

and Kirkham Priory.

<sup>25</sup> A screen dated 1496 survives in the church of St. Patrick, Patrington, in the East Riding, see Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, (Harmondsworth 1979), pp.322-324 and Joseph Morris, *The East Riding of Yorkshire*, (London 1906), pp.266-271. Morris, *East Riding*, pp.42-3 refers to the destruction of chancel and chantry screens in the 1720s and 1730s at the behest of the Archdeacon of the East Riding and of the Dean of York. It is not clear whether we can relate these activities to York churches or even whether we can assume that the orders were carried out for reasons other than to remove heavily decayed objects. See also chapter 3 section 3.6, and tables 3.31 and 3.32.

<sup>26</sup> The former was assessed at £10 in 1428 and at £11 in 1525; the latter at 40s in 1428 and at £3 6s 8d in 1525, see table 2.5.

churches which did not survive into the seventeenth century had few memorials and therefore little to contribute to the theme of commemoration. If we may use our knowledge of chantries as an indicator, we can see that out of the 79 chantries in the churches, only 5 (6%) existed in churches not visited by the antiquarians.<sup>27</sup>

It is very difficult to recreate the medieval interior of the churches, given that the internal alterations of subsequent periods have effectively destroyed most of the medieval arrangements, obliterating the clues which might have helped us identify the location of chantries, altars and screens. Yet these were all interconnected parts of the medieval parish church. For instance, out of the 79 chantries in the churches, we know that at least 44 were founded at a specific altar.<sup>28</sup> It is equally difficult to reconstruct the original positioning of such altars within the churches, as evidence about their location tends to be dependent on occasional references in wills - for instance, the will of Alice Beverlay (1482) lists a bequest for the making of an altar to St. Christopher in the south aisle at All Saints Pavement.<sup>29</sup>

Now that we have set the parish churches in their context, it is time to analyze the character of the people who made a personal impact on their appearance in order to have themselves commemorated.

---

<sup>27</sup> These are the chantries of Robert Halton and Nicholas Swanland (1396); of John Setryngton (1335); of John de Akum (1348); of Stephen Setryngton (1349); and of Robert and William Swetemouth (1350). The first chantry was at St. Peter Willows, the other four at St. Peter Little - both churches had been demolished in the sixteenth century. See Appendix A.2, chapter 1 table 1.1, and chapter 3 table 3.1 for details.

<sup>28</sup> Most of the CPR licences specify the altar where the chantry is to be founded, but we do not have evidence from the CPR for all chantries, and other sources tend to be less precise.

<sup>29</sup> Appendix A.2 under surname heading. See Hallie Elizabeth Bond, 'Life in the Urban Parish on the Eve of the Reformation - St. Michael Spurriergate 1500-1550', York M.A. diss. (1979), p.69 for an attempt to recreate the positioning of windows, altars and the rood screen.

Church	Earliest documentary evidence	Earliest material evidence
All Saints Fishergate	1091-95	
All Saints North St.(*A)	1166-1179	11C single cell
All Saints Pavement(*A)	Domesday 1086	Pre-Conquest tiles
All Saints Peaseholme	1191-1206: suggests early 12C foundation	
Holy Trinity Goodramgate(*A)	1082	early 12C fragments
Holy Trinity King's Court(A)	1268	
Holy Trinity Micklegate(*A)	Domesday 1086	c.1090-1110 W piers of crossing
St. Andrew St. Andrewgate(*)	Domesday 1086	14C chancel
St. Andrew Fishergate	early to mid 12C - founded as a Priory c.1200	mid 11C - mid 12C cemetery and church
St. Benet	1154	
St. Clement	1464	
St. Crux(A)	Domesday 1086	11C finial cross
St. Cuthbert(*A)	Domesday 1086	11C gable in E wall of nave
St. Denys(*A)	1154-c.1170	2 Anglo-Danish tomb slabs
St. Edward Lawrence St.	1213	
St. George Fishergate(A)	1291	
St. Giles Gillygate	c.1145-1161	
St. Gregory Micklegate	1166-1179	
St. Helen Aldwark	1194-1214	10C single cell
St. Helen Fishergate	c.1090-110	
St. Helen Stonegate(*A)	1235	12C font and wall S of nave
St. John Ogleforth	1108-1114	
St. John Hungate	1194	
St. John Ousebridge(*A)	1194	early 12C rectangular cell
St. Lawrence Lawrence St.(*A)	1185-1205	12C aisleless nave
St. Margaret Walmgate(*A)	1177-1181	12C fragments at W end of nave; reset 12C porch
St. Martin Coney St.(*A)	Domesday 1086	late 11C fragments in N and W wall
St. Martin Micklegate(*A)	1170-1180	11C fragments in W wall of tower; pre-Norman tower
St. Mary ad Valvas	1329	
St. Mary Bishophill Jr(*A)	1194	pre-Norman tower; early 10C burials; carved cross fragments c.900
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.(A)	1202	10C sculptural fragments

Table 2.1 Antiquity of York Churches<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> (\*)=surviving fabric; A=visited by antiquarians. VCHY pp.365-404; RCHM, *York 3-5*, churches listed alphabetically; W.G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture at York' *YAJ* 20 (1909), pp.149-213; *EYC I*, pp.230-1, 240-1, 209, 36, 176, 243, 248-9, 179, 224-5, 264-5, 267; *EYC II* pp.207-8, 303, 274, 218; *EYC III* pp.146-7, 150; *EYC IV* pp.76-7, 84-5; *EYC VI* pp.84-5, 57, 66; D. Palliser, *Domesday York*, Borthwick Paper No.78 (York 1990), pp.20-22; Gill Andrews, 'Archaeology in York', pp.173-208; *Reg. Giffard* p.192; *Reg. Gray* p.73; *Reg. Wickwane*, p.21; *CCR 1279-88*, p.39; Lawrence Keen, 'Late Anglo-Saxon Finds from the Site of St. Edmund's Abbey', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 35 Part 1 (1981), pp.1-30, esp. pp.22, 24, 26; Jean D.Dawes and J.R.Magilton, *The Cemetery of St. Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark*, The Archaeology of York 12/1, York Archaeological Trust (York 1980); J.R.Magilton, *The Church of St. Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark*, The Archaeology of York 10/1, York Archaeological Trust (York 1980); G. Stroud and R.L.Kemp, *Cemeteries of the Church and Priory of St. Andrew Fishergate*, The Archaeology of York. The Medieval Cemeteries, 12/2, (York 1993), pp.124, 127; Laurence Keen, 'Pre-Conquest Glazed Relief Tiles from All Saints Church, Pavement, York', *JBAA* 146 (1993), pp.67-86.

Church	Earliest documentary evidence	Earliest material evidence
St. Mary Castlegate(*A)	Domesday 1086	late 10C- early 11C dedication stone and Anglo-Scandinavian group of sculptures
St. Mary Layerthorpe	1331	
St. Mary Walmgate	1177-1181	
St. Maurice Monkgate(A)	1195-1210	late 12C window, now in Yorkshire Museum
St. Michael-le-Belfrey(*A)	(?)early 8C; 1294	c.1330 stained glass
St. Michael Spurriergate(*A)	1088-1093	12C arcades
St. Michael without Walmgate	1279	
St. Nicholas Lawrence St.(A)	1280	
St. Olave(*A)	pre-1055	12C stonework in E part of S wall
St. Peter Little	1121-1128	
St. Peter Willows	1279	
St. Sampson(*A)	1154	first half 11C fragment of cross shaft(?); Norman stone wall under S arcade
St. Saviour(*A)	1088-1093	pre-Conquest oak coffins
St. Stephen	1093-1094	
St. Wilfrid	1145-1148	

Table 2.1 Antiquity of York Churches (cont.)

Total number of churches	pre-Conquest	11C	12C	13C	14C	15C
46	15	5	16	7	2	1

Table 2.2 Summary of Earliest Evidence

City	Number of churches 11C-12C	Estimated population in 11C-12c	Number of churches 14C-15C	Estimated population in 14C (1377)	Estimated population in 16C (1520s)
York	40-46	6,000-8,000	40	14,500	8,000
London	110	15,000-25,000	100+	35,000-45,000	50,000-60,000
Norwich	57	8,000-12,000	46	8,000	10,000-12,000
Lincoln	48	6,000-8,000	49	7,000	
Oxford	20	4,000-5,000	20	4,700	5,000

Table 2.3 Numbers of parish churches in York and other cities<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Population estimates are notoriously difficult to calculate - the table represents a survey of available estimates. N.Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, (Toronto 1984), pp.2-3; T. Baker, *Medieval London*, (London 1970), p.235; Sir Francis Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, (Cambridge 1965), p.286; H.E.Salter, *Medieval Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society Vol.100 (1936), pp.113-131; W.G.Hoskins, 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century' *TRHS* 5th series 6 (1956), pp.1-19; C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381*, (Oxford 1906), pp.164-6; Richard K.Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, (London 1989), p.178; J.I.Kermode, 'The Merchants of Three Northern Towns, in *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England*, (ed.) C.H.Clough, (Liverpool 1982), p.7; D.M.Palliser, 'Urban Decay Revisited', in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, (ed.) John A.F.Thomson, (Gloucester 1988), p.9.

Church	Reason
St. Benet	1338: fabric decayed, mortmain licence for Minster chantries; 1359: mortmain licence, land for vicars choral
St. Mary ad Valvas	demolished 1365 during construction of Lady Chapel of York Minster; benefice united with St. John del Pyke
St. Mary Walmgate	by 1308 benefice united with St. Margaret Walmgate
St. Michael without Walmgate	1365 united with St. Lawrence
St. Stephen Fishergate	(?)1331 annexed to St. Martin Coney St.

Table 2.4 Parish churches decayed in the 14C<sup>32</sup>

Church	United with
All Saints Peaseholme	St. Cuthbert
St. Andrew St. Andrewgate	St. Saviour
St. Clement	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
St. Edward	St. Nicholas Lawrence St.
St. George Fishergate	St. Denys
St. Giles	St. Olave
St. Gregory Micklegate	St. Martin Micklegate
St. Helen Aldwark	St. Cuthbert
St. Helen Fishergate	St. Nicholas Lawrence St.
St. John Hungate	St. Saviour
St. John Ogleforth	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
St. Mary Layerthorpe	St. Cuthbert
St. Maurice	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
St. Peter Little	All Saints Pavement
St. Peter Willows	St. Margaret
St. Wilfrid	St. Olave

Table 2.5 The 1586 Unions of Benefices<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> CPR 1338-40 p.13; CPR 1358-61 pp.267-8; VCHY pp.377, 389, 394, 397, 403; Reg. Greenfield II p.54; Drake p.253; Torre p.59.

<sup>33</sup> The churches of St. Maurice and St. George were the only ones not to be demolished, see Chapter 1 table 1.1. VCHY pp.371-404; YCR VII p.82; YCC I p.47; YCR V p.5; YCR IV p.179; Fabric Rolls pp.248, 254; D.M.Palliser, 'The Unions of Parishes at York 1547-1586', YAJ 46 (1974), pp.87-102; D.M.Palliser, *The Reformation in York 1534-1553*, Borthwick Papers no.40, (York 1971), p.21.

Church	1428	1535
All Saints Fishergate	20s	
All Saints North St.(*A)	£8	£4 19s 9d
All Saints Pavement(*A)	£9	£4
All Saints Peaseholme	£3	£4 9s
Holy Trinity Goodramgate(*A)	£4 13s 4d	£4 9s 4d
Holy Trinity King's Court(A)	£8	£8
Holy Trinity(*A)/	£6	
St. Nicholas Micklegate		
St. Andrew St. Andrewgate(*)	£3 6s 8d	
St. Andrew Fishergate		
St. Clement	20s	
St. Crux(A)	£11	£8 16s 8d
St. Cuthbert(*A)	£3	
St. Denys(*A)	£7	£3
St. Edward Lawrence St.	26s 8d	
St. George Fishergate(A)	£4	£3 17s 8d
St. George Micklegate		£1 12s 6d
St. Giles		
St. Gregory	40s	
St. Helen Aldwark	40s	£1 3s 10d
St. Helen Fishergate	20s	
St. Helen Stonegate(*A)	£6	£4 13s 9d
St. John Ogleforth		£4 11s 6d
St. John Hungate	20s	
St. John Ousebridge(*A)	£8	
St. Lawrence Lawrence St.(*A)		£6
St. Margaret(*A)	£7	£3 2s
St. Martin Coney St.(*A)	£10	£4
St. Martin Micklegate(*A)	£6	£2 16s 11d
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.(*A)	£6	£10
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.(A)	£10	£5 8s 4d
St. Mary Castlegate(*A)	£6	£3 8s 8d
St. Mary Layerthorpe	40s	
St. Maurice(A)	40s	£3 6s 8d
St. Michael-le-Belfrey(*A)	£12	
St. Michael Spurriergate(*A)	£10	£11
St. Nicholas Lawrence St.(A)	£5	
St. Olave(*A)	£24	
St. Peter Little	£7	£2 6s 6d
St. Peter Willows	20s	£1 14s
St. Sampson(*A)	£8	
St. Saviour(*A)	£8	£6 9s 4d
St. Wilfrid	£5	£2 2s 4d

Table 2.6 Parish Church Values 1428 and 1535<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The values are based on the subsidy roll of 1428 when the value of the benefices was calculated by civic assessors and on the survey of benefices carried out in 1535 for Henry VIII; blank spaces indicate that the benefice was worth less than the minimum value of 20s (£1); *YMB II* pp.131-4; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* pp.21-25. (\*)=surviving fabric; A=visited by antiquarians.

Church	Advowson
All Saints Fishergate	Whitby Abbey until 1539
All Saints North St.(*A)	Holy Trinity Priory until Dissolution; (1239-1301 abp; 1349-1413 Crown)
All Saints Pavement(*A)	1086: Bishop of Durham early 12C: Durham Cathedral Priory
All Saints Peaseholme	1191-1206: Ralf Nuvel; 1275-1292: Grant family; post 1292: Salvayn family; 1337-1469: Nicholas de Langton; 1471: William Eure; 1515: Christopher Danby
Holy Trinity Goodramgate(*A)	1082-1235/1245: one moiety to Durham Cathedral Priory and one to abp 1235/1245 onwards: apb
Holy Trinity King's Court(A)	14C: Roger Basy and Basy family; by 1412 Nevill family; 1414 appropriated to St. Michael's Hospital at Well, North Riding
Holy Trinity Micklegate(*A)	1086: Richard son of Erfast; (?): Ralf Paynell; (?): Benedictine Abbey of Marmoutier until Dissolution
St. Andrew Fishergate	1086: Hugh son of Baldric (?): Roger de Mowbray; early/mid 12C: Newburgh Priory; c.1200: Gilbertine Priory
St. Andrew St. Andrewgate(*)	1194: Chapter of YM
St. Benet	1154: Pontefract Priory; (?): vicars choral of YM
St. Clement	unknown
St. Crux(A)	1086: Count of Mortain; (?): Niel Fossard; 1100/1115: St. Mary's Abbey until Dissolution
St. Cuthbert(*A)	1086: William de Percy; by 1238: Holy Trinity Priory until Dissolution
St. Denys(*A)	1154/1170: St. Leonard's Hospital until Dissolution
St. Edward Lawrence St.	up to 13C: Crown; from 14C: abp
St. George Fishergate(A)	1291: William Palmes of Naburn; 1286: abp; 1307-1348: Palmes family 1348-1361: Malbis family of Naburn; 1363: Crown; 1372: Palmes family; 1382: Nun Monkton Priory until Dissolution

Table 2.7 Advowsons of Parish Churches<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The record only goes up to the Reformation. (\*)=surviving fabric; A=visited by antiquarians; Abp=archbishop (of York); YM=York Minster. VCHY pp.365-404; CCR 1381-4 p.458; EYC VI pp.76-7, 84-5, 66, 57; Reg. Gray pp.88, 93, 174, 82, 110, 73, 36, 11; Reg. Wickwane 28, 44, 21; Reg. Romeyn pp.138,119, 62, 112, 125, 156; Reg. Corbridge I pp.65, 76; Domesday pp.20-22; EYC II pp.272, 274, 276, 303, 325; EYC I pp.230-1, 238, 273, 240-1, 176, 148-9, 190, 224-5, 265, 267; Reg. Giffard pp.255, 32, 33; Reg. Greenfield II pp.92, 6; EYC III pp.146-7, 150; CPR 1358-61 pp.267-8; CPR 1361-4 p.318; YMB II p.251; Drake pp.272, 570, 266-7, 284, 327; CCR 1349-54 p.423; CCR 1279-88 p.39; CPR 1391-6 p.386; R.B.Dobson and Sara Donaghey, *The History of Clementhorpe Nunnery*, The Archaeology of York. Historical Sources for York Archaeology after AD 1100, 2/1, York Archaeological Trust (York



Church	Advowson
St. Giles	(?)St. Mary's Abbey
St. Gregory Micklegate	1166/1179: Holy Trinity Priory until Dissolution
St. Helen Aldwark	1194/1214: one moiety to Chapter of YM; 1282/1291: other moiety to Nicholas le Grant, then Salvayn and Langton families, then Langtons
St. Helen Fishergate	1090/1100: from Ralf Paynell to Holy Trinity Priory until Dissolution
St. Helen Stonegate(*A)	1235: Moxby Priory until Dissolution
St. John Ogleforth	by 1350: Treasurer of YM
St. John Hungate	by 1194: Chapter of YM
St. John Ousebridge(*A)	by 1194: Chapter of YM
St. Lawrence Lawrence St.(*A)	by 1194: Chapter of YM
St. Margaret Walmgate(*A)	1177/1181: from Walter son of Fanagulf to St. Leonard's Hospital until Dissolution
St. Martin Coney St.(*A)	by 1194: Chapter of YM
St. Martin Micklegate(*A)	1086: Erneis de Burun; 1230: Trussebut; 1306: Warter Priory; 1407: Scrope of Masham; 1517: Strangways family
St. Mary-ad-Valvas	14C: Chapter of YM
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.(*A)	by 1194: Chapter of YM
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.(A)	1202: one moiety to Robert le Wavasour (Vavasour), then Scropes of Bolton by 1313 until 1668; 1293-1296: other moiety to Priory of Healaugh Park, then 1367-1369 William de Morington, then 1436-78 Neville family, then Crown
St. Mary Castlegate(*A)	late 10C/early 11C: Efrard, Grim and Aese; 1086: William de Percy; end 12C: one moiety from Agnes de Percy to Kirkham Priory, moieties united post 1352; after 1400: Percies until 1537, then Crown
St. Mary Layerthorpe	by 1331: Chapter of YM
St. Mary Walmgate	1177/1181: from Walter son of Fanagulf to St. Leonard's Hospital
St. Maurice(A)	by 1195/1210: Chapter of YM
St. Michael-le-Belfrey(*A)	by 1294: Chapter of YM
St. Michael Spurriergate(*A)	by 1088/1093: St. Mary's Abbey until Dissolution
St. Michael without Walmgate	1279: Kirkham Priory
St. Nicholas Lawrence St.(A)	by 1280: St. Nicholas Hospital outside Walmgate
St. Olave(*A)	pre-1055: Earl Siward of Northumbria; pre-1086: from Alan Earl of Brittany to monk Stephen of Whitby as foundation grant for what was later St. Mary's Abbey until Dissolution
St. Peter Little	1121/1128: Durham Cathedral Priory until Dissolution
St. Peter Willows	by 1279: Kirkham Priory until Dissolution
St. Sampson(*A)	1154: Pontefract Priory; by 1226: archdeacons of Richmond; late 14C: Crown; 1394: vicars choral of YM
St. Saviour(*A)	1088/1093: St. Mary's Abbey until Dissolution
St. Stephen Fishergate	1093/1094: Abp; 1290: Chapter of YM
St. Wilfrid	1155/1165: St. Mary's Abbey until Dissolution

Table 2.7 Advowsons of Parish Churches (cont.)

1984), does not provide us with evidence regarding its advowson although in general the nunnery appears to have been under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York, see pp.7, 9-16.

Churches	Closed	Reason	Value 1428/1535	Advowsons
All Saints Peaseholme	1586	1578 decayed fabric	£3/£4.9s.	Lay
St. Andrew St. Andrewgate	1586	1469-1504 no incumbent	£3.6s. 8d./	Chapter of YM
St. Benet	c.1338-59	1338 fabric decayed; 1359 mortmain licence for land		vicars choral of YM
St. Clement	1586	not used after suppression of nunnery	20s/	?
St. Edward	1586	decayed pre-1547	26s 8d/	Abp
St. George Fishergate	1586	little used for services; not demolished	£4/£3 17s 8d	mostly lay up to 1382 then monastic
St. Giles	1586	no presentations or institutions recorded		(?)monastic
St. Gregory Micklegate	1586	decayed after dissolution of Holy Trinity Micklegate	40s/	monastic
St. Helen Aldwark	1586	1548 cure served by chantry priest from St. Saviour	40s/£1 3s 10d	Chapter of YM/lay
St. Helen Fishergate	1586		20s/	monastic
St. John Hungate	1586	1523 no priest or clerk	20s/	Chapter of YM
St. John Ogleforth	1586		/£4 11s 6d	Treasurer of YM
St. Mary ad Valvas	1365	1365 demolished to enlarge walks about Minster		Chapter of YM
St. Mary Layerthorpe	1586	decayed pre-16C	40s/	Chapter of YM
St. Mary Walmgate	c.1308	1308 benefice united with St. Margaret Walmgate		Chapter of YM
St. Maurice	1586	decayed during 15C; not demolished	40s/£3 6s 8d	St. Leonard's Hospital
St. Michael Walmgate	1365	1365 united with St. Lawrence		Chapter of YM
St. Peter Little	1586		£7/£2 6s 6d	Kirkham Priory
St. Peter Willows	1586	disused by 1548	20s/ £1 14s	monastic
St. Stephen Fishergate	c.1331	1331 annexed to St. Martin Coney St.		Chapter of YM
St. Wilfrid	1586		£5/£2 2s 4d	monastic

Table 2.8 Demolished and Lost Churches up to 16C<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> YM=York Minster; ?=uncertain. VCHY pp.365-404; Raine, *Mediaeval York*, pp.88, 82-4, 288; YCC I pp.47, 472; YCR V pp.4.5; YCR IV p.179; *Fabric Rolls* pp.248, 254.

Church	Commemorations chantries monuments windows	Total	1428 value	Advowson 14C to Dissolution
All Saints Pavement	6	23	£9	Durham Cathedral Priory
All Saints North St.	5	21	£8	Holy Trinity Priory
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	3	18	£12	Chapter of YM
Holy Trinity King's Court	6	16	£8	lay up to 1414 then St. Michael's Hospital
St. Crux	5	15	£11	St. Mary's Abbey
St. Martin Micklegate	6	15	£6	lay
St. Michael Spurriergate	1	14	£10	St. Mary's Abbey
St. Saviour	8	13	£8	St. Mary's Abbey
St. Mary Castlegate	6	12	£6	lay
St. John Ousebridge	6	11	£8	Chapter of YM
St. Olave	6	10	£24	St. Mary's Abbey
St. Martin Coney St.	5	8	£10	Chapter of YM
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	1	8	£10	lay
St. Sampson	4	7	£8	mixed
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	3	6	£4 13s 4d	Abp of Durham
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	2	6	£6	Chapter of YM
Holy Trinity Micklegate	2	5	£6	Marmoutier Abbey
St. Cuthbert	3	5	£3	Holy Trinity Priory
St. Helen Stonegate	4	5	£6	Moxby Priory
St. Peter Little	4	5	£7	Durham Cathedral Priory
St. Denys	2	4	£7	St. Leonard's Hospital
St. Margaret	2	3	£7	St. Leonard's Hospital
St. Wilfrid	1	2	£5	St. Mary's Abbey

Table 2.9 Relationship between commemorations, parish church values and advowsons<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> This table is based on the results of tables 2.6, 2.7, and from chapter 3 tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3.

Church	Commemorations chantries monuments windows	Total	1428 value	Advowson 14C to Dissolution
St. George Fishergate	2	2	£4	lay until 1382 then Nun Monkton Priory
St. John Hungate	1	1	20s	Chapter of YM
St. Lawrence	1	1	less than 20s	Chapter of YM
St. Maurice	1	1	40s	Chapter of YM
St. Nicholas	1	1	£5	St. Nicholas' Hospital
St. Peter Willows	1	1	20s	Kirkham Priory

Table 2.9 Relationship between commemorations, parish church values and advowsons (cont.)

Church	Changes
All Saints North St.(*A)	first half 14C: E end partially rebuilt, chapels flanking chancel added; c.1390-c.1410: widening of aisles; 2nd quarter/mid 15C: extension W by 2 bays; by c.1475: tower at W bay reroofed
All Saints Pavement(*A)	14C: church almost completely rebuilt; c.1400 W tower added;
Holy Trinity Goodramgate(*A)	15C: clerestory added over nave and crossing c.1340: S aisle added, SE chapel refenestrated; early 15C: chapel of St. James (Howme chapel) built S of S aisle; first half 15C: tower and N aisle added, S aisle extended one bay W, chancel arch removed 1471: E window of chancel replaced and reglazed
Holy Trinity Micklegate(*A)	1453: steeple set up on gable on N side
St. Andrew St. Andrewgate	late 14C: chancel; 15C: nave
St. Crux(A)	1st quarter 15C: church rebuilt, dedicated 1424
St. Cuthbert(*A)	post-1372: choir enlarged; mid-15C: rest of church rebuilt
St. Denys(*A)	14C: wide N aisle; pre-1330: N aisle/N chapel rebuilt; 15C: pre-1452-5 E wall of chancel rebuilt and heightened, S aisle built
St. Helen Aldwark	late 14C/early 15C: church almost entirely rebuilt - wider but same length as predecessor, rededicated 1424; late 15C/early 16C: church extended W, part of N wall rebuilt
St. Helen Stonegate(*A)	14C: S aisle built; 15C: aisles widened to present width; 2nd half 15C: W end of nave rebuilt with bell tower
St. John Ousebridge(*A)	14C: N aisle built; late 15C: S aisle and arcade rebuilt, N aisle remodelled, W side extended
St. Margaret(*A)	14C: rebuilt - nave widened to S, narrow N aisle added; 2nd half 15C: vestry built against S wall of chancel
St. Martin Coney St.(*A)	pre-end 14C: nave added to S of original building and S aisle beyond it, tower at W end; 15C: extensive rebuilding - tower and W window of nave by 1437; 1443-50: new arcades to nave, N arcade moved N, new S aisle with low pitched roof, clerestory over nave
St. Martin Micklegate(*A)	2nd quarter 14C: N aisle enlarged; 2nd quarter 15C: extensive rebuilding of chancel, N and S chancel aisles; 15C: W tower rebuilt; c.1450 S aisle widened

Table 2.10 Late Medieval Changes to York Churches<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> (\*)=surviving; A=visited by antiquarians. The evidence here is necessarily restricted to those churches which either survive or have been excavated. Some of the changes can be seen from the church plans of surviving churches, plates 42-62. RCHM, *York 3*, pp.3, 4, 12, 16, 20, 21, 27, 30; RCHM, *York 4*, p.27; RCHM, *York 5*, pp.1, 5, 10, 11, 12, 15, 20, 22, 25, 30, 36, 40, 44, 46; VCHY pp.365-404; L.P.Wenham, R.A.Hall, C.M.Briden and D.A.Stocker, *St. Mary Bishophill Junior and St. Mary Castlegate*, The Archaeology of York 8/2, (York Archaeological Trust 1987); J.R.Magilton, *The Church of St. Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark*, The Archaeology of York 10/1, (York Archaeological Trust 1980); Gill Andrews, 'Archaeology in York: An Assessment', in *Archaeological Papers presented to M.W.Barley*, eds. P.V.Addyman and V.E.Black, (York 1984) pp.173-208.

Church	Changes
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.(*A)	14C: N chapel and S aisle built; 15C: battlements added, windows inserted in S wall of tower and in N aisle, nave roof and lower floor of tower renewed
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.(A)	c.1300: N aisle widened and extended one bay E; early 14C: N chapel added; 15C: N chancel aisle rebuilt, 2 large windows inserted in S wall of nave, roof renewed, E window of chancel.
St. Mary Castlegate(*A)	early 14C: alterations to N chapel, N aisle of nave widened; late 14C: S chapel built; 15C: greatly altered - chancel rebuilt, N chapel widened and extended to E, N aisle wall of nave refaced externally lower down and upper part rebuilt, wall of S aisle and S chapel reconstructed like N wall (new exterior facing in lower part and rebuilt at window level and above); later 15C: W tower and W bays of aisles added
St. Michael-le-Belfrey(*A)	1525: old church pulled down; 1537: new church completed
St. Michael Spurriergate(*A)	14C: N aisle widened; 15C: extensive remodelling - arcades raised, clerestory added, S aisle widened, W tower built
St. Olave(*A)	15C: rebuild body of church including clerestory, N aisle, W tower, church widened N
St. Sampson(*A)	15C fabric: S aisle pre 1444, N aisle post-1444
St. Saviour(*A)	completely rebuilt 15C

Table 2.10 Late Medieval Changes to York Churches (cont.)

Church	Chantry	Year	Architectural change
All Saints North St.	John Benge	1324	1300-50: NE and SE chapels
All Saints North St.	Adam Bank	c.1375-1400	c.1390-1410: aisles widened
All Saints Pavement	Thomas de Alwarthorp	1311	14C: church almost completely rebuilt
All Saints Pavement	Andrew de Bolyngbrok	1316	14C: church almost completely rebuilt
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	William de Langetoft	1315	c.1340: S aisle added
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Elias de Wandesford	1323	c.1340: S aisle added
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Robert de Houom	1361	early 15C: Howme chapel S of S aisle
St.Helen Stonegate	William de Santon	1371	14C: S aisle built
St. Helen Stonegate	William de Grantham	1371	14C: S aisle built
St. Helen Stonegate	Joan de Hornby	1379	14C: S aisle built
St. John Ousebridge	John de Shupton	1319	14C: N aisle built
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Toller (2 chantries)	1320	14C: N aisle built
St. John Ousebridge	John de Bryngnale	1365	14C: N aisle built
St. John Ousebridge	Richard de Wateby	1379	14C: N aisle built
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Yorke	post-1499	late 15C: S aisle rebuilt, N aisle remodelled
St. Martin Coney St.	Thomas de Ludham	1335	pre-end 14C: nave extended S and S aisle built
St. Martin Coney St.	Richard Candeler	1375	pre-end 14C: nave extended S and S aisle built
St. Martin Micklegate	Richard Toller	1326	2nd quarter 14C: N aisle enlarged
St. Martin Micklegate	Nicholas Fouke	1367	2nd quarter 14C: N aisle enlarged
St. Martin Micklegate	Ellen de Gisburn	1392	2nd quarter 14C: N aisle enlarged
St. Martin Micklegate	John de Askham	1394	2nd quarter 14C: N aisle enlarged
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Roger Basy	1311	early 14C: N chapel added
St. Mary Castlegate	Andrew de Boshale	1338	early 14C: N aisle widened
St. Mary Castlegate	Thomas Houme	1377	late 14C: S chapel built
St. Mary Castlegate	John Graa	1380	late 14C: S chapel built
St. Mary Castlegate	Thomas Northfolke	1391	late 14C: S chapel built
St. Michael Spurriergate	Robert de Sallay	1336	14C: N aisle widened
St. Sampson	John de Helmesley	1405	pre-1444: S aisle
St. Sampson	John Carre	1489	post-1444: N aisle
St. Saviour	William & Janet Burton (2 chantries)	1408	15C: completely rebuilt
St. Saviour	Richard Wartere	1466	15C: completely rebuilt

Table 2.11 Coincidence of architectural expansion and chantry foundations in surviving and excavated fabrics<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The architectural evidence for this table is the same as in table 2.10. Chantry foundations are listed in Appendix A.2 under the individual founders' names. For a complete list of chantry foundations see chapter 3 table 3.1.

## **Chapter 3 The Commemoration of Individuals and Groups**

The evidence of the antiquarian sources combined with that of medieval sources reveals a rich and exciting tapestry of social, political and professional links among those commemorated in York parish churches, in addition to which we can also detect complex patterns which shed light on issues such as the cost of memorials, the context in which commemoration came about and the motivations which underlie the drive to commemoration. This chapter represents a complete survey of the surviving evidence, collating the information provided by inscriptions with that of wills, inventories and civic records. We shall be considering both the commemoration of the various groups which made up the urban classes and that of wider social groups, such as Minster clergy, higher clergy and aristocratic families.

### **3.1 General Problems**

#### **3.1.1 Dating**

The antiquarian evidence confirms that memorials did not carry the date of execution, and that on the whole funerary monuments carried the date of the death of the commemorated (or a space for the date to be filled in if the monuments had been commissioned during that individual's lifetime) whereas windows did not usually carry dates, except in a few cases (table 3.4). We therefore need to tackle the problem of determining whether a memorial was commissioned during the commemorated person's life or whether it represented a posthumous commission, perhaps executed with the residue which most testators bequeathed to their executors to be used for the good of their souls.<sup>1</sup> Neither the antiquarian nor the medieval evidence can offer us concrete proof on how to resolve the issue. In Appendix A.2 I have made an effort to date most of the memorials by using the dates of the commemorated as a guideline.

Table 3.4 gives us some important information on the mechanics of windows as memorials. These are the only examples we have of windows whose inscriptions carry some form of dating. In seven cases out of eleven the window was made some considerable time before the death of the principal commemorated. In the two cases of Richard Yorke and John Chapman, each window records the date of the death of the commemorated so it would appear that the windows were made shortly thereafter. Hugh Ashton died some time before his window was made but it can be argued that as a residentiary canon at York Minster he would have been in a position to make arrangements for his window before his death. Lastly, the Elwald window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey was made after the death of John Elwald but before that of his son Robert. Thus, on the basis of this evidence, and because specific instructions for posthumous windows feature too infrequently in wills, I will

---

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A.2 for details of such bequests in wills.



argue that in general windows represent commissions arranged during the commemorated's lifetime, or at least during the lifetime of one of the people commemorated in them.

For example, the Gyselay window at St. Cuthbert which commemorates William Gyselay, his wife Alice and their son John I have dated to sometime between 1446, when William died, and 1460, when John died. The window of Nicholas Blackburn Sr. and Jr. I have dated c.1413-26 because the inscription in the window commemorates Nicholas Sr.'s mayoralty of 1413 but not that of Nicholas Jr. in 1429 and because the heraldic shield for Nicholas Jr. is differenced with a mullet which indicates that his status at the time was that of a younger son of Nicholas Sr. This means that the window must have been made after 1413 when Nicholas Sr. held the office of mayor but before 1426 when John Blackburne, the eldest son, died.<sup>2</sup> There are other examples of windows in which the public activities of the individuals commemorated are used to suggest a likely date. I have dated Nicholas Fouke's window at St. Martin Micklegate between 1322 and 1343, which are the only known dates of Nicholas's civic appointments.

At St. John Ousebridge were the commemorative effigies of Richard Brigenale, John Randeman, Richard Toller and William Grafton and their wives - according to the RCHM these all came from one fourteenth-century window.<sup>3</sup> However, these commemorative panels may have come from four separate windows, dating roughly from the second quarter of the fourteenth century. Richard Toller founded two chantries in 1320 and another in 1326, so I considered it likely that his window also dated from the 1320s - in any case, we have no evidence suggesting that Toller was alive after 1335. All we know about William Grafton is that he became free of the city in 1307 and held the office of chamberlain in 1327, so the most likely date for his window is also the 1320s. Our only piece of information on John Randeman dates from 1340 when he held the office of sheriff so we may date his window from around the same year. Richard Brigenale held civic office between 1330 and 1337 and, according to the RCHM, he died in 1362 - although the only Richard Brigenale found in the medieval testamentary evidence died in 1401.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately there is no evidence to tie these four couples together, either by family or professional ties. If the effigies all come from the same window, its most likely date would be the 1330s, when all four men are known to have been alive.

Fortunately, the surviving glass from St. John Ousebridge is now in windows nXIX, nXX, nXXI and nXXII at York Minster. The commemorative effigies of the Tollers, Randemans, Graftons and Brigenales are now in windows nXIX and nXX. The panels actually show four couples rather differently dressed, which also suggests that they may have come from four different

---

<sup>2</sup> Gee, 'Glass of all Saints', p.186 argues for the same dates.

<sup>3</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.19. The panels are now in York Minster windows nXIX, nXX, nXXI and nXXII.

<sup>4</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.19 gives no source of reference for dating his death to 1362.

windows (plates 146, 147, 149, 155). In nXIX 2a, Richard and Isabel Toller are represented kneeling against a quarry background alongside a priest officiating at an altar (plates 146, 155). Richard wears a white bonnet and a blue cloak over a red gown; Isabel is bare-headed and displays a head of yellow hair and wears a yellow gown with a green wrap draped over the elbows and a white wimple. In the adjoining panel (nXIX 3a) are probably William Grafton and his wife Agnes against a quarry background, although there is no inscription to confirm this (plates 146, 155). He is bare-headed and wears a blue cloak over a yellow gown, with a white shift underneath showing under the sleeves. She wears a white veil and a green cloak over a red gown. Both the Tollers and the Graftons face eastwards. In nXX 2a Richard Brigenale wears a blue gown under a yellow cloak (plates 149, 155). His head is covered with a white bonnet like Richard Toller's. Katherine Brigenale wears a red gown under a yellow cloak but her face is so badly damaged that we cannot tell whether she is bare-headed or not. In nXX 2b John Randman wears a blue gown patterned with yellow motifs under a red cloak; he is bare-headed (plates 147, 155). His wife Joan wears a green gown under a yellow cloak - her head appears to be covered by a white veil. Both the Tollers and Graftons face westwards. Changes in fashion could account for the differences in clothing; additionally the fact that the four pairs of effigies face in opposite directions suggest that these couples were commemorated in four separate windows made at slightly different times. The Toller and Grafton windows could have been situated somewhere in the south aisle while the Brigenale and Randman windows in the north aisle so that all the commemorated faced the high altar.

However, it is also possible that the four couples were after all commemorated in a single window with the officiating priest acting as a central focus for the commemorative effigies, in which case the Tollers and Graftons would have been on the right (panels 1a and 1b) and the Brigenales and Randmans on the left (panels 1c and 1d) of a four-light window. In this case, the effigies would have had to come from the north-east window at St. John Ousebridge, as no other windows in the church are sufficiently wide (see plan of St. John Ousebridge, plate 51).

There is more glass from St. John Ousebridge at York Minster in windows nXXI and nXXII. In window nXXII 2-3a are two other couples (plate 154). In panel 2a the background consists of tiles decorated with lions rampant. The kneeling female figure shows yet another type of headdress - it appears to be a short veil over a complicated curled and waved hairstyle. The male figure wears a white bonnet like Richard Toller and Richard Brigenale. Above these two figures, in panel 3a, is another couple, more fragmentary, set against a background of tiles decorated with spread eagles. Their headdresses and clothes are similar to the figures in panel 2a, except that they wear large collars decorated with a cross motif. Although these figures have not been identified in the secondary literature on York glass, it seems likely that they should represent Roger Selby and his wife Elizabeth and William Stockton and his wife Alice, whose names were noted by the

antiquarians.<sup>5</sup> However, the strong green and yellow tones of the stained glass, together with the dress style (particularly the bonnet for the male figure), suggest a fourteenth- rather than a fifteenth-century date for these figures - this would not fit the Selby-Stockton effigies, which must date to the 1430s (see discussion below). It is possible that the restoration of the glass has somehow sufficiently affected the appearance of these panels to make it difficult to date them properly.<sup>6</sup>

There are other commemorative effigies from St. John Ousebridge in the Minster glass. Two figures in window nXXI 2a could be the two wives of Richard Yorke - the figures are depicted in blue and red, which would suggest a fifteenth-century date, although they are set against the same lion-rampant background as the figures in nXXII 2a (plate 152). There is also a kneeling figure of a man holding a lighted candle in window nXIX 4a - a scroll above his head indicates that his name is James (plate 151). Directly above this, in nXXII 5a, is another kneeling figure of a man - behind him are 6 smaller males, probably his sons, and an upside-down scroll by his hands reads: '*sca maria ...tis nobis*' (plates 153, 156). Finally, at the bottom of nXXII, in panel 1b, is a figure of a tonsured priest kneeling before an altar on which lies an open book with an illegible and fragmentary inscription above his head (plate 150). None of these effigies have been identified in the secondary literature. However, as Gent noted that Richard Orinshead was commemorated in the south-east window, it is likely that he is either the priest in nXXII 1b or the man in nXXII 5a.

The Meleton-Bradley-Holme window at St. Maurice I have dated post-1421, when Roger Bradley was free of the city. The only other date we have concerning this group of people is 1488, when Joan Holme, widow of Thomas Holme and possibly his second wife, died - the window at St. Maurice must have been completed long before then.

I have dated the Hyll-Bolton window at Holy Trinity King's Court c.1440. The arrangement of the names is similar to that of the Stockton-Colynson monument, in which William Stockton and Robert Colynson are commemorated alongside their wife Isabel - this pattern suggests that the Hyll-Bolton window also commemorates a woman and her successive husbands. The medieval evidence tells us that William Bolton was free in 1405, Alan Hyll was free in 1426 and chamberlain in 1436, and Agnes Bolton became a member of the Corpus Christi guild as a widow in 1440. It is possible that some of this evidence may refer to other individuals of the same name. However, if the evidence refers to the right people, what these dates suggest is that Agnes gave a window to the church of Holy Trinity sometime around 1440, in memory of both her deceased husbands.

---

<sup>5</sup> The remains of two fragmentary inscriptions can be seen under the lower pair of effigies; they read '*kna ati...*' (yellow letters on black background) and '*...on et johne*' (black letters on white background).

<sup>6</sup> An account of the rearrangement of the glass into the four windows at York Minster can be found in E.Milner-White, 'Ancient Glass from St. John's Micklegate', *Friends of York Minster 17th Annual Report* (1945), pp.14-21.

At St. Michael Spurriergate table 3.3 lists two windows which were not noted by the antiquarians and which are not discussed in any of the secondary literature on the church. The Appilgarth and Dautre windows are included in the commemoration table on the basis of existing visual evidence and of medieval testamentary evidence. The surviving glass at St. Michael Spurriergate was extensively restored and rearranged after the Second World War, but two fifteenth-century commemorative effigies survive.<sup>7</sup> In window sV panel 4c, is a figure of St. John the Baptist with an unidentified kneeling lay figure (plate 209). The panel probably comes from the cycle of the life of St. John which is known to have existed in the south east window.<sup>8</sup> Among the testators of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate is the lawyer John Dautre, who in 1458 expressed a wish to be buried near the image of St. John the Baptist for whom he had a special devotion. Such an unusually phrased request makes Dautre the most likely candidate for the commemorative effigy in sV 4c.<sup>9</sup>

Another panel in the same window (sV 1b) shows a figure of a kneeling cleric before St. Margaret slaying the dragon (plate 208). We know that there was an altar dedicated to St. Margaret at St. Michael Spurriergate, which suggests that the panel came from a window adjacent to the altar.<sup>10</sup> Another search through the testamentary evidence reveals that the chaplain William Appilgarth made a request in 1438 to be buried at the altar of St. Margaret and that he bequeathed vestments and a silver chalice to the same altar, which suggests that he was the figure commemorated in the St. Margaret panel. The Dautre and Appilgarth windows are therefore dated to before the respective wills of the two commemorated.

At St. Michael-le-Belfrey we know that the sixteenth-century glass must have been put into place between 1525 and 1537, when the church was rebuilt. This poses the problem of dating the Ashton window, as Hugh Aston appears to have died before the church began to be rebuilt. The antiquarian reading of the inscriptions in the window carries an incomplete date - all we know of it is that it was dated in the sixteenth century. The Coltman window appears to be dated 1525 although this is not possible as the old church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey was torn down in that year so the new windows could not have been inserted until the new fabric was well under construction, probably sometime in the 1530s. What the Coltman inscription actually says is

---

<sup>7</sup> Eric Milner-White, *The Ancient Glass of St. Michael's Spurriergate York*, (York 1948) gives an account of the reconstructed windows. See also Donald F. Lennon, 'The Fifteenth-Century Glass in St. Michael's Spurriergate York', *York M.A.* (1973); and Helen Sommer, 'The Medieval Glass of St. Michael's Spurriergate', *York M.A.* (1973).

<sup>8</sup> See Gent's evidence in Appendix A.1 under St. Michael Spurriergate. Fragments of the window survive in windows sII and sV, see RCHM, *York 5*, p.42.

<sup>9</sup> Lists of testators of St. Michael's parish can be found in Torre pp.353-359 and A. Raine, *Mediaeval York*, (London 1955), pp.158-162.

<sup>10</sup> Hallie Elizabeth Bond, 'Life in the Urban Parish on the Eve of the Reformation - St. Michael Spurriergate 1500-1550', *York M.A.* (1979), p.69.

*Of your Charity pray for the soule of Mr John Coltman laite subthresaurer of the church of York & clerk of Saint Peter workes ... viiiij of the first stone towards the beulding of this church wch was the yere of our lord god M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> XXV...*

which suggests that the inscription commemorates Coltman's role in laying down the first stone of the new fabric, rather than the date of the window itself. However, the inscription gives us an important clue as to its dating - it refers to Coltman as the late (i.e. former rather than dead) subtreasurer of York Minster, and as we know that Coltman held that office in 1535 the window must date to soon after 1535. Of the other windows from St. Michael, those who carried legible dates were dated from the late 1530s - Ceel's window was dated 1537; Litster's and Marsers were dated 1535; the Beckwiths' window was dated 1530 or later. The dating was also incomplete or missing from the Soza, Tomson and Elwald windows, although here we know that the commemorated were living during the rebuilding of the church. The Soza window has to be dated c.1545 because the inscription mentions that Soza was sheriff of York, and he did not hold that office until 1545. As for the Ashton window, since the commemorated was a Minster cleric it is reasonable to assume that he would have been aware of the potential for commemoration in glass once the rebuilding of the church had been completed and that therefore he could have made arrangements for such a memorial prior to his death, possibly leaving the execution of this project to his executor.

For funerary monuments the date of death of the commemorated is used as a general dating principle, which is slightly modified when a monument commemorates more than one person. So for example, the monument which commemorates William Stockton, Robert Colynson and their wife Isabel is dated c.1471, when William died - although Robert died in 1458 the monument could not have been designed until Isabel remarried William, and probably not until William's death. A particular problem is posed by monuments of husbands and wives which record the dates of death of both commemorated. In such cases we cannot tell whether the monument was made at the earlier death, leaving blanks to be filled in later for the surviving spouse, or whether it was commissioned at the later death as a memorial for both partners. The five monuments in this category have been dated using both known dates of death to indicate that the monument could have been made at any time between the two dates.<sup>11</sup> However, we cannot always use the date of death as a guideline because in some cases no dates were recorded and no wills survive. I have dated the monument of John Thornton, Katherine Thornton and William Pountefract to post-1401 as in that year both John and William were alive, and they founded a chantry, which indicates that at that time they were thinking of commemoration. The monument of Thomas Santon and his two wives is dated post-1418 as that

---

<sup>11</sup> The monuments are those of Thomas and Matilda Danby, Thomas and Alice Kirke, Henry and Agnes Wyman, William and Isabel Bowes, and Roger and Isabel Moreton, see table 3.2 people commemorated in monuments.

is the latest date to which we can trace Thomas - he was MP for York that year. John Bolron's monument is dated post-1433 because, although we do not have John's will, we know that he was alive in 1433 when his wife Matilda wrote her will.

Chantries are dated according to when the licence was issued, if the document survives. In a few cases we know of a chantry from sources other than the CPR and we do not know when the chantry was licensed. The chantry of Adam del Bank is dated c.1410, the year when his will was proved, as we do not know whether the chantry was founded by Adam himself or by his executors. The chantry of Thomas Durante Jr. is dated to the third quarter of the fourteenth century which is a generation (25 years) later than the foundation of the chantry of his father Thomas Sr. in 1332. The chantry of Robert Verdenel can be dated to before 1281 when his widow presented a priest to the chantry. In the context of chantry commemoration, we have medieval documentary evidence to show that executors could play a role in establishing memorials. Out of the 79 chantries founded in York parish churches, 36 were founded during the principal commemorated's lifetime, 17 were founded posthumously by executors, while we do not know who founded the remaining 26. This raises the question of the role of the executors with regard to windows and monuments. We have a few specific cases of testamentary provisions for windows and monuments but these are very few when compared with the numbers of these memorials as seen by the antiquarians(see tables 3.6 and 3.7). However, we cannot rule out the possibility that many of the windows and monuments whose dates can only be guessed at - such as the examples mentioned above in this section - might in fact have been arranged posthumously by executors. Executors appear to have played a rather ambiguous role in the process of commemoration. Testators placed a great deal of trust in their executors and hoped that they would fulfil their obligations. At the same time there is evidence to suggest that executors had a reputation for neglecting their duties<sup>12</sup> - Richard Russell made his executors secondary commemorated in his chantry at St. John Hungate presumably in order to ensure that they would carry out his testamentary instructions. This apparently worked well - not only was the chantry duly founded but by 1535 it had also become known as the chantry of Richard Russell and John Thirsk, rather than the chantry of Richard and Pernell Russell (see table 3.1).<sup>13</sup>

### **3.2 The mechanics of the commissioning and production of memorials**

The first part of our analysis consists of clarifying the context in which the memorials came about. This will then enable us to discuss the various issues which emerge out of the antiquarian and medieval material with regard to commemoration. Our first concern is therefore with the question:

---

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix A.2 under Ormeshede, William. In his will (1435), William hands down his responsibilities as executor of his brother-in-law Nicholas Blackburn Sr.'s will because it is still not fully executed, 3 years after Nicholas's death.

<sup>13</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, p.27.

who ordered the memorials? More specifically, in what proportion are the commemorated themselves, their surviving spouses, their heirs and their executors responsible for the production of the memorials? Let us begin with chantries, as it is easier to answer these questions in relation to them. Most of the licences are recorded in the Calendar of Patent Rolls which generally reveal whether the principal commemorated was alive or not at the time of the grant. Thus we have already seen that 36 out of the overall number of 79 chantries were founded during the primary commemorated's life while 17 were founded posthumously, with a further 26 whose foundation charters do not survive, so we do not know whether they are posthumous or lifetime foundations.

In a very few cases we have evidence to show that the commemorated gave or left specific instruction regarding the appearance of their memorials. We have a few examples of testamentary provisions for chantries, windows and monuments, namely 17 chantries, 19 windows and 9 monuments - although if we consider only the evidence for memorials in York parish churches the numbers are 17 chantries, 16 windows and 8 monuments (see tables 3.5, 3.6 and 3.7). However, out of the 130 monuments and 42 windows described by the antiquarians, only Richard York's monument and Reginald Bawtre's window are among those mentioned in the wills.<sup>14</sup> We have documentary evidence to show that only four out of the 17 chantries in table 3.5 were actually founded.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, we do not know whether the other 7 monuments and 15 windows in tables 3.6 and 3.7 were ever made. For windows we face an additional problem. We cannot tell from the antiquarian and medieval evidence whether at times the writers saw fragments of more than one window gathered together in the same site. For example, the Brigenale/ Toller/ Grafton/ Randeman window at St. John Ousebridge or the Meleton/ Bradley/ Holme window at St. Maurice could have been collections of commemorative effigies from different windows which had been grouped into a single window by the time the antiquarians noted them. This means that it is very difficult to estimate the overall number of windows originally made. However, the number of windows seen by the antiquarians which carried commemorative inscriptions totals 42, but none of these windows (except Reginald Bawtre's) carried the names of the remaining testators in table 3.7.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, we only know for certain that 17 chantries out of 79 were founded posthumously, that is 21% of the total number of chantries. The testamentary evidence tells us that only four known chantry founders specifically requested that a posthumous chantry be founded in their name (see table 3.5) - although others made provisions for new chantries and augmentation and maintenance of existing chantries.

---

<sup>14</sup> The 41 windows seen by antiquarians are the individual ones which were noted as containing commemorative inscriptions - some of these inscriptions can be seen to have come from separate windows.

<sup>15</sup> These are the chantries of William Vescy, Richard Russell, Richard Wartere and Sir John Gilliot.

<sup>16</sup> Table 3.3 (people commemorated in windows) contains 43 windows, which include the Appilgarth and Dautre windows at St. Michael Spurriergate. These were not noted by the antiquarians but are my suggestions based on surviving visual evidence and testamentary evidence.

For the remainder of our examples of commemoration we lack any specific evidence regarding arrangements for the memorials, which however is not to say that these memorials were necessarily made for people who had not asked for them. The testamentary evidence regarding provisions for windows and monuments (see tables 3.6 and 3.7) is remarkably reticent on the subject of appearance. The provisions for windows give us no information on what the windows are to display, while the provisions for monuments specify at the most whether the monument is to have a figure brass or just an inscription. Thomas Graa's instructions are the most specific but even he does not give us (nor his executors) any details about the appearance of the images of himself and his wife. Neither Alexander Foster nor John Norman - who express a wish for an inscription on their memorials - request any particular wording for their inscriptions. Thus, unless the commemorated did not especially care about the appearance of their memorials - which seems unlikely - such instructions must have been given either orally or on lost documents to executors, next of kin, or even directly to the glaziers, masons and brass-makers who made the memorials, or were considered so obvious that they did not need to be specified.

There are five cases of monuments made for five different married couples, in which blanks were provided for the dates of death of both partners but only one set of dates was filled in (see table 3.8). This suggests that the monuments were made at the death of one of the partners, and the inscriptions duly made out to record their date of death. At the death of the surviving partner however the inscriptions failed to be completed - this implies that the heirs or executors of the surviving partner proved to be unreliable in fulfilling their duties. This observation has implications for the absence of evidence, noted above, with regard to the 7 monuments and 16 windows for which we have testamentary instructions but no antiquarian or surviving visual evidence. If executors could be remiss in such a simple task as ensuring that a funerary inscription be filled out, they would be much more likely to fail to order a memorial *ab initio*.

As far as windows are concerned, the scarcity of testamentary bequests for commemorative windows leads us to suppose that most of these memorials were produced during the commemorated person's life.<sup>17</sup> However, as with other memorials, windows frequently commemorate more than one person, and here we need to distinguish between the primary commemorated and the secondary commemorated. Whereas I would argue that the primary commemorated was alive at the time of the production of the window, the secondary commemorated may not have been. The most obvious examples of this occur in memorials which commemorate one person and their successive spouses. The Killingholme window at All Saints North St. which commemorates Richard Killingholme and his two wives Joan and Margaret could not have been produced before 1436 when Joan (the first

---

<sup>17</sup> See introduction to Appendix A.2 for discussion of dating of windows.



wife) died, and had probably been finished by Richard's own death in 1451.<sup>18</sup> Also at All Saints North St., the Wilobys, Henrison, Hesyls and others were commemorated in a north aisle window. We know that Abel de Hesyl was alive at least until 1336 when he held the office of chamberlain, while Roger Henrison did not become free of the city until 1400 - it seems therefore likely that the window was not made until after 1400 at the Henrison's behest and that the Wilobys, Hesyls and others were commemorated posthumously. Although there is reason to doubt that the Toller, Grafton, Randman and Brigenale effigies at St. John Ousebridge all came from the same window, the Selby and Stockton effigies (which may survive in the glass now at York Minster window nXXII 2-3a; see plate 154) are more likely to come from a shared memorial. First of all the dates of Roger Selby and William Stockton are compatible with each other. William Stockton was active between 1420 and 1471; Roger Selby was active between 1401 and at least 1422, having died by 1438 when his son William made his will and asked to be buried next to the body of his father. Both Roger Selby and William Stockton were merchants - Selby was a spicer, but we do not know exactly what kind of goods Stockton dealt with. More significantly, Roger's widow Alice later married William. Thus, the window at St. John Ousebridge commemorated Roger Selby and his first wife Elizabeth, together with Roger's second wife Alice and Alice's second husband William Stockton. It seems likely that Alice Selby-Stockton was the instigator of such a memorial, being the common factor between the two couples, and that the window was made in the 1430s, after the deaths of Roger and Elizabeth, during the decade when the Stocktons began to play a public role in York, becoming members of the Corpus Christi guild and when William attained his first major political office as sheriff.

However we need not assume that in composite memorials the secondary commemorated were always posthumously commemorated. In the east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate (1471), in addition to the commemoration of the rector John Walker in the main lights, there were also five smaller panels containing commemorative effigies (plates 107-110). These are now lost but through Johnston we know the names of the people commemorated in three of these panels. P.E.S.Routh in her article on 'Holy Trinity Goodramgate', has expressed the opinion that the commemoration of John Biller and his unnamed wife was due to their son William and that the panel which contained their effigies had been paid for by William sometime after 1472.<sup>19</sup> In this particular case it would appear that such a supposition is unjustified. John Biller was alive until November 1472, and as the inscription for John Walker dates the main lights to 1471, it is reasonable to suppose that the smaller lower commemorative panels date to about the same time. Thus, John Biller

---

<sup>18</sup> Alternatively, it could have been produced after Richard's death at the behest of his second wife Margaret, for whom, however, we have no dates.

<sup>19</sup> P.E.S.Routh, 'Holy Trinity Goodramgate', p.119.

would have had time to either actively provide for his own commemorative panel or leave instructions for his executors to do so on his behalf.

The relative expenditure on monuments, windows and chantries is an important point to consider in the context of commemoration. Cost was an major aspect of commemoration - it reflected on the social status and financial capability of the commemorated in a very public forum. The three tables of testamentary provisions for monuments, windows and chantries (tables 3.5, 3.6 and 3.7) provide the starting point for estimating how expensive these different types of commemoration were.

Only one of the requested monuments survives. An altar tomb in the north aisle of St. John Ousebridge is probably what remains of the Yorke monument. It has been shortened at the south end and it displays shields with matrices for brasses but no medieval inscriptions survive.<sup>20</sup> None of the other monuments survive or have been recorded. The Graa monument deserves particular attention as it stands out from the rest on account of the enormous sum of money set aside for it. It is unlikely that the amount should be due to a scribal error for, say, 10 or 50 marks because the will specifically says '*centum marcas*' rather than '*c marcas*' which could have been an error for '*x marcas*' or '*l marcas*'.<sup>21</sup> In order to assess the value of the evidence provided by table 3.6 we need to find out more about the cost of memorials. The testamentary evidence for monumental brasses suggests that the average price for a stone with a brass inscription was between £1 and £2. This does not seem to have included any figurative work, which indicates that Thomas Graa wished for an unusually sumptuous monument. In England as a whole, the cost of a monumental brass ranged from £3 for an inscription only, to £15-£20 for a large brass with full-length effigy, canopy and shields.<sup>22</sup>

We have already seen in table 3.7 how difficult it is to place testamentary bequests for windows into context. In addition to the problems already outlined in chapter 1, other unanswered questions involve whether prices increased between the early fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries (which seems quite likely); whether these costs reflect variations in quality; and whether these

---

<sup>20</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.19.

<sup>21</sup> This argument is difficult to convey while using modern typescript but can perhaps be better appreciated by thinking of medieval cursive script.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Binski, 'Monumental Brasses', in *Age of Chivalry*, pp.171-173 suggests £3 for an inscription alone, £6 for a simple cross with inscription and £15-£20 for a large brass with full-length effigy, canopy and shields. M.W.Norris, introduction to *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984*, (Woodbridge 1988), p.8 suggests £3 for an inscription and over £15 for an elaborate canopied brass. Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, (London 1993), p.6 suggests that a figural brass cost below £2 between 1465 and 1538. Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Craft*, (London 1978), pp.52-53 provides a selection of English brasses with effigies ranging from £2 to £20. See also Sally Badham, 'Monumental Brasses: the Development of the York Workshops in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, (ed.) C.Wilson, BAACT for 1983, (Leeds 1989), pp.165-185; John Blair, 'Purbeck Marble', in *English Medieval Industries*, eds. John Blair and Nigel Ramsay, (London 1991), pp.52-4.

bequests are intended to pay for a whole window or for only part of a window, the commission being shared with other individuals. We can only offer a tentative solution to some of these questions.

The existence of groups of commemorative effigies in individual windows at All Saints North St., Holy Trinity Goodramgate, (possibly) St. John Ousebridge, St. Martin Micklegate, and St. Maurice indicates that the giving of stained glass was a rather expensive enterprise and that those who could not afford a whole window in their own name were prepared to share the limelight with other parishioners.<sup>23</sup> The higher numbers of people commemorated in monuments (216) compared with those commemorated in windows (186) (see tables 3.19 and 3.20) also suggests the greater accessibility in monetary terms of the former genre. Hence, the cost of figurative stained glass windows with commemorative panels must have been proportionately greater than that of monuments. I would suggest that the average church aisle window, consisting of three lights complete with Perpendicular tracery, would have cost no less than c.£10, while a large east or west window would have been considerably more expensive and clerestory windows would have been smaller and therefore cheaper. This estimate conforms with prices which one would have expected to pay in other parts of England towards the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

Let us return to table 3.7 in the light of this estimate. Reginald Bawtre's bequest of 100s (£5) would indicate that he was contributing to half a window. The existing Bawtre effigy is in window nIV panel 1a, and shows Reginald Bawtre wearing a simple gown and kneeling to the side of a tomb-like structure over which rests a book with the inscription '*Sancta Cecilia ora pro nobis*' on the left hand page and '*Sancta [L]ucia ora pro nobis*' on the right (plate 74). Above the figure is a scroll with the inscription '*or s scii +*'.<sup>25</sup> This effigy was also seen 'in a window in the north aisle of the church' in 1669-70 by Johnston whose sketch shows a figure wearing a voluminous high-necked cloak lined and bordered with ermine, kneeling before a lectern on which lies a book with the inscription '*Sta Cecilia ora pro me*' written twice - once on the left hand page and once on the right (plate 83).<sup>26</sup> Underneath the figure is written '*Reginaldi Bawtre*' and above it is a scroll which reads '*Ora pro me*'.<sup>27</sup> To the right of the Bawtre effigy Johnston also sketched the Blackburne coat of arms (*b a lion ermine and ermines with chapeau and crest above*) which he had also seen 'in a

---

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix A.1 for details; not all these windows survive.

<sup>24</sup> Two independent bequests of £10 for a window at All Saints, Lydd, in Kent, were made by John Seawlys in 1476 and by John Aylewyn in 1494, see C.R.Councer, *Lost Glass from Kent Churches*, Kent Archaeological Society, (Maidstone 1980), pp.79-80 and Marks, *Stained Glass*, pp.6, 20.

<sup>25</sup> According to Gee the inscription reads '*om ne s(an)c(t)i & usi*'; Gee, 'Glass of All Saints', p.164. On p.187 Gee also suggests that window nIV may have originally commemorated Nicholas Blackburn Sr. as head of the Blackburn family, hence the undifferenced arms. He dates the window to pre-1435, i.e. to before the death of Nicholas Sr.'s wife Margaret. The inscription is not reported in RCHM, *York 3*.

<sup>26</sup> St. Cecilia was an appropriate choice for Bawtre's invocation - his wife's name was Cecily.

<sup>27</sup> The discrepancies between the Johnston sketch and the existing effigy can be attributed to decay of the stained glass and the successive restorations carried out in 1844 by Wailes of Newcastle, in 1861 and

window in the north aisle of the church'. Such a heading would not have been necessary if the effigy and the heraldry had been seen in the same window, so the two could have been separate by then. According to Dugdale (1641-1665) the Blackburne shield, chapeau and crest were in a window of the north aisle (nIII). Hutton in 1659 had seen a window in the north aisle at All Saints North St. with Reginald Bawtre and the undifferenced arms of Blackburne.<sup>28</sup> The arms commemorate either Nicholas Blackburne of Richmond or his son, Nicholas Blackburne Sr.

The antiquarian evidence for a window in the north aisle of All Saints with an effigy of Reginald Bawtre and the Blackburne arms is therefore consistent, but it is unlikely that such a window should correspond to Bawtre's testamentary instructions which were for a window in the south aisle. Given the long-standing Bawtre family's involvement with the church, the window in the north aisle was probably a commemoration which had already been carried out in Reginald's lifetime, i.e. pre-1429. The only antiquarian evidence we have for a Bawtre window in the south aisle comes from Johnston. In a window of the south aisle of the church, Johnston saw 5 effigies (plate 83). On the left ('first stantion') were a man and a woman, the man with a scroll inscribed '*Ora p(ro) no(bis)*' and the woman with another scroll inscribed '*... dign... effican p(ro) un ffiu et*' - below these figures Johnston drew another Blackburne shield.<sup>29</sup> The two effigies are now in window nIV panel 1c, but the shield appears to have been lost (plate 75). They probably represent Nicholas Blackburne Sr. and his wife Margaret, who were contemporaries of Bawtre as well as fellow-merchants. To the right ('third stantion') were three figures, a man and two veiled women - although they were not identified by an inscription, they are most likely to represent Reginald Bawtre, his wife Cecily and probably a daughter, as he does not appear to have had more than one wife (plate 83).<sup>30</sup> This is likely to have been the posthumous Bawtre window - it was in the south aisle as Bawtre requested in his will and as the testamentary bequest could only have paid for half a window so the window would have had to be a shared commemoration.<sup>31</sup> Since Nicholas Blackburn Sr. died in 1432, the window was probably made sometime between 1429 and 1432.

The smaller bequests of less than £5 can only refer to parts of a stained glass window or to plain glass. John Radclyffe's bequest of £15 for 8 windows must similarly refer to either very small or plain windows. Richard Russell on the other hand, who had a great deal of disposable income, judged it sufficient to leave £8 for a Minster window - here the size of the window is important.

---

1877 by Knowles and in 1966 by the York Minster Glaziers, see RCHM, *York 3*, p.8; Gee, 'Glass of All Saints', pp.153, 164.

<sup>28</sup> The arms could also refer to Nicholas Blackburn Sr. as head of the Blackburn family.

<sup>29</sup> According to Gee the scrolls read '*Ora pro nobis be*' and '*ut digni efficamur promissione Christi*'; Gee, 'Glass of All Saints', p.164.

<sup>30</sup> It is possible that Bawtre's request for a window in the south aisle may have been due a wish to be commemorated near the second woman's place of burial.

<sup>31</sup> The iconography of commemorative effigies will be more fully discussed in chapter 4.

Russell's bequest is for the window over the vestibule door at York Minster - this is a somewhat ambiguous statement which may refer to one of the windows in the chapter house vestibule (CHnV-nIX and CHsV-sVII), none of which is actually positioned over a door, or to window sVIII in the south choir aisle, which is placed over the entrance to the Zouche chapel. Both window sVIII and the windows in the Chapter House vestibule are far too large to have been filled with a bequest of £8.<sup>32</sup> The Chapter House vestibule windows are very large five-light windows, while the window in the south choir aisle is a large three-light window. It is doubtful whether Russell's window was ever made, given that the Chapter House windows now contain thirteenth- and fourteenth-century glass and Russell made his bequest in 1435. Nevertheless the bequest must have been made with a substantial window in mind. There is no known discussion of Russell's bequest in the secondary literature on York churches.

It is somewhat more difficult to estimate the cost of setting up a perpetual chantry but we can use the information provided by the licences issued in the CPR to form a general idea. Out of 27 chantries founded between 1311 and 1489, whose yearly value is specified, the average yearly income (usually from alienation of lands and messuages) averages at £5 2s 8d.<sup>33</sup> The foundation deed also involved the single payment for the cost of the licence and a yearly fee to the 'housegabel'. Overall this represents a much more onerous financial commitment than the specific and finite sum needed for a monument or a stained glass window (see table 3.9).

The cost of a chantry licence appears to have ranged from one to five times the value of the annual rents - Robert Meek's chantry was licensed for £5 for an annual rent of £4 in 1316, while William Graa's chantry, which was worth £4 a year, was licensed for £20 in 1377. Out of a total of 56 endowments - some of which were consecutive ones for the same chantry - at least 20 were worth £4 or more. To a certain extent it is difficult to say whether these chantries were lucrative or not. It has been estimated that a beneficed cleric like a parish priest needed £10 a year to fulfil his obligations, so it might be argued that a chantry priest as a rather more specialized practitioner could survive on less.<sup>34</sup> However, at least some of these chantries appear to have been quite wealthy foundations - Richard de Barneby's earned rent from 7 messuages, while John de Langeton's was worth 10 marks (£6 13s 4d) a year which is the highest specified amount. We can compare these figures with the evidence from the will of Sir John Gilliot, who in 1509 bequeathed £400 to

---

<sup>32</sup> Window sVIII is now filled with part of a Jesse window, formerly in New College Chapel, Oxford, dated c.1384; CHnV-nIX and CHsV-sVII contain glass of dates ranging from the thirteenth century to the early fourteenth century, see George Benson, 'The Ancient Painted Glass Windows in the Minster and Churches of the City of York', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society* for 1914 (1915), pp.55-59.

<sup>33</sup> *CPR 1307-13*, pp.303, 343, 496; *CPR 1313-17*, pp.156, 448, 537; *CPR 1317-21*, pp.312, 420, 587; *CPR 1338-40*, pp.122, 249; *CPR 1358-61*, p.200; *CPR 1361-64*, p.102; *CPR 1364-67*, p.98; *CPR 1367-70*, p.47; *CPR 1370-74*, p.42; *CPR 1377-81*, pp.21, 216, 285, 375, 435; *CPR 1381-85*, p.318; *CPR 1391-96*, p.597; *CPR 1416-22*, p.89; *CPR 1452-61*, p.632; *CPR 1485-94*, p.265; *YCR IV*, p.144; *YMB I*, p.36.

<sup>34</sup> The estimate for chantry priests comes from Felicity Heal, 'Economic problems of the Clergy', p.104.

purchase land worth £6 a year to establish a chantry at St. Saviour's.<sup>35</sup> This suggests that the initial outlay for one of the wealthier chantries represented a very considerable investment, far beyond that of even the most sumptuous monument or window.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* gives us some valuable information on how the medieval chantries had fared by the sixteenth century (see table 3.10). Some of the evidence from the *Valor* shows discrepancies from the medieval evidence which suggests that the sixteenth-century source may contain some inaccuracies. John Acomb (de Akum)'s chantry at St. Peter Little was founded at the altar of the BVM, yet the *Valor* reports it at the altar of St. John Baptist. Nevertheless the *Valor* provides us with evidence for some chantries which are not found in medieval documentary evidence - notably the chantries of John Mowbray and Margaret Boynton. The evidence from the *Valor* also enables us to make a direct comparison between the foundation value and the sixteenth-century value of four chantries (see table 3.11).

While all the chantries' values decline it is noticeable - and perhaps to be expected - that the earlier chantries decline by a much greater amount than the later ones. Nevertheless, the Graa chantry suffered a considerable decline which cannot be simply attributed to its antiquity - the Langton chantry was founded only one year later and declined by rather less. Overall, chantries appear to have been a very risky form of commemoration, with a heavy initial investment needed, and a considerable chance that the value would rapidly diminish, and the chantry decay with it.

It is important to realize that although most of our examples of commemoration take the form of chantries, monuments or windows, in a few cases individuals were commemorated by other media (table 3.12).

These forms of commemoration are distinguished by the presence of merchants' marks or heraldic shields as the means of identifying the commemorated. The merchants' mark on the lectern at St. John Ousebridge has not been positively identified as belonging to Richard Yorke - however, this interpretation is suggested in view of the extensive commemoration for this individual at St. John's. Once again, we do not have sufficient evidence to identify any individual Percies from the arms at All Saints Pavement. Except for Henry Percy fourth Earl of Northumberland, all the other commemorated in table 3.12 are also commemorated in one or more of the three main categories of commemoration (see table 3.13).

From table 3.13 we can see that the most common combination of forms of commemoration is that of a chantry and a monument, which is somewhat surprising since this is a fairly expensive combination. Chantry-and-monument commemorations account for ten individuals, who included two tanners, three merchants, two drapers, and one lister.<sup>36</sup> The next most popular combination was

---

<sup>35</sup> See Appendix A.2 under Gilliot and also table 3.5 (testamentary provisions for chantries).

<sup>36</sup> Throughout this thesis, the social status of women is the same as that of their husbands.

that of a window and a monument, which is less surprising as its relative cost would not have been prohibitive and which would have been the most visually effective. Window-and-monument commemorations account for eight individuals - four merchants, three tanners and one mercer. There are only two window-and-chantry commemorations, for the merchants Nicholas Fouke and Alan Hamerton. However, the most significant result of table 3.13 is that multiple commemorations included some very extensive activities on the part of some individuals. These included Richard Toller, who was commemorated by three chantries, two windows and a monument, as well John Gillyot, John Karr and Richard Yorke, whose commemoration expanded into parts of the woodwork and stonework of the churches, as well as using the standard window, monument and chantry forms. This last group is clearly the most expensively commemorated, and it includes two merchants, a mercer and a cleric.

There are nine cases in which a chantry is combined with either a window or a monument in the same church. In three of these - Nicholas Fouke's window, John Barden's monument and Richard Yorke's window - the inscription on the memorial reads '*orate pro*' rather than '*hic jacet*'. The two window inscriptions could not have carried the 'here lies' version as this was clearly unsuitable for a window, but it is possible that the Fouke and Yorke windows may have been placed overlooking the sites of their respective chantries. Similarly, the monument which commemorates John Barden (and his daughter and son-in-law) may have been placed at the site of the Barden chantry. Thus, the '*orate pro*' request on these memorials may have had an additional dimension in the context of their respective churches.

In six of the cases listed in table 3.13 there is a coincidence of location. For instance, the chantry and the monument of John and Isolda de Acaster at All Saints Pavement were both situated at the altar of St. Thomas martyr.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, William and Isabel Bowes's monument and window were both in the chancel at St. Cuthbert; the Thornton and Pountefract chantry was at the altar of St. John the Baptist and St. Katherine in the church of All Saints Pavement while according to the will of Avice Pountfract the burial of her husband William (and therefore also that of John and Katherine Thornton) was in the chapel of St. Katherine; John Gillyot's roof boss and misericorde are both in the chancel at All Saints North St. John Karr's commemoration at St. Sampson seems to have been mainly focused at the west end - apart from the west window, Johnston saw Karr's merchants' mark and heraldry 'in the lowest north window', i.e. the westernmost window of the north aisle, on a roof boss in the north aisle, on the font (normally placed at the west end), and on the arch of the steeple (i.e. the west tower). The arms on the stonework may have commemorated the spot where Karr's chantry was held, in the same way as the arms of Howme mark the site of the Howme chantry chapel at Holy Trinity Goodramgate. Finally, Richard Yorke's commemoration at St. John

---

<sup>37</sup> See Appendix A.1 and A.2 for details.

Ousebridge was concentrated at the north east end - although we do not know where the chantry was founded, the York window was at the north east end, the monument was seen by Keepe near the window and is now in the north aisle against the east wall, the roof bosses are over the north aisle and the lectern would have been placed at the east end. It is therefore likely that such proximity of the different forms of commemoration could have been the case in at least some of the other cases where different types of commemoration for the same individuals co-existed in the same church.

### 3.3 Heraldic evidence and aristocratic commemoration

In this section we shall be dealing with a type of evidence and with a group of people who will not on the whole be further discussed in our section on those commemorated in windows and monuments (tables 3.2, 3.3, 3.19 and 3.20). The exceptions to this are those individuals who were represented in the churches either by commemorative effigies and/or inscriptions in windows or in monuments, and who are indicated in table 3.14 (Heraldry) by the symbol (R).

Apart from the problems of identification already outlined in chapter 1, we are faced with other difficulties regarding heraldry. Primarily we have to resolve the question: who inserted these coats of arms? It cannot be assumed that the people who are commemorated by these shields were also those who paid for them to be displayed. This is in fact the same problem we face regarding windows and funerary monuments. We can illustrate how two particular coats of arms which commemorate two high-ranking members of the clergy came to be displayed in a memorial which commemorates and was paid for by a member of the urban classes. In the tracery of the east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate are the Neville and Kempe arms. The window is primarily the memorial of the rector of the church, John Walker, together with commemorative panels for the baker John Biller and his wife, the mercer William Thorpe and his wife Isabel, the priest William de Egremont and two other couples whose names do not survive (see table 3.3). The significance of the heraldic shields is this: Thomas Kempe had appointed John Walker to the living of All Saints, Barking, while George Neville as archbishop of York held the advowson of the church.<sup>38</sup> Neither Kempe nor Neville appear to have been in any way directly involved with the commission of the east window. Similarly, the arms of John Alcock (which survive in window nVI at All Saints North St. but do not appear to have been noted by the antiquarians) were either inserted at the request of a cleric in recognition of some appointment received (particularly as Alcock, in spite of being a Yorkshireman, had no direct links with All Saints) or were inserted after the antiquarian evidence was taken.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> See chapter 2 table 2.6 (advowsons) and Knowles, 'East Window of Holy Trinity', p.19.

<sup>39</sup> The arms of John Alcock, bishop of Ely, are: *Argent on a fess between 3 cocks heads erased sable wattled gules a mitre or*. They do not appear in the heraldic evidence for All Saints North St. in Appendix A.1. At Hull Alcock founded a grammar school in 1476 and a chantry in the church of Holy



Another case relating to the arms of an advowson-holder can be found at St. John Ousebridge. Ralph Neville (c.1352-1425), first Earl of Westmorland, owned the advowson of the chantry at the altar of St. John the Baptist in the south east chapel there and his arms were seen by the antiquarians in the south east window (sII), where they still are.<sup>40</sup> While being the holder of the advowson of a particular church represents a legitimate motive for displaying one's arms in it, we have seen that at Holy Trinity Goodramgate this does not constitute sufficient proof that the person commemorated by the heraldry is also the one who instigated it. We have in fact no evidence to tie Ralph Neville to his arms at St. John Ousebridge, just as we cannot explain who was responsible for displaying the Neville arms at Holy Trinity King's Court where the family held another advowson, or why their arms were seen at St. Cuthbert, a church with which they had no specific connection.<sup>41</sup>

Gent and Dodsworth's evidence shows that at St. Michael-le-Belfrey the goldsmiths' arms from the fourth window in the south aisle (which are now in sV, the Coltman window) were originally in another window. Dodsworth did not describe any heraldry from the Coltman window, which was then the third window of the south aisle. The goldsmiths' arms in question probably came from the Soza window as Martin Soza was the only goldsmith out of all the early sixteenth-century commemorated at St. Michael-le-Belfrey.

The antiquarians provide us with nearly all the evidence for heraldry in York churches, although there are a few surviving shields which do not appear to have been noted by the antiquarians.<sup>42</sup> Out of 197 examples listed in table 3.14, 140 (71%) are to be found in the antiquarian evidence alone, 49 (25%) come from both visual and antiquarian evidence and 8 (4%) are in the surviving visual evidence alone.<sup>43</sup>

The Beauchamp shield at All Saints North St. is said to have come from Winchester and it may have been inserted after the antiquarian evidence was written.<sup>44</sup> At the same time this and the other Beauchamp shield at St. Helen Stonegate may be references to Eleanor Beauchamp, widow of Thomas Roos (or Ross) of Helmsley, who was alive in the 1430s.<sup>45</sup> The Rosses are primarily notable for being commemorated in the St. William window at York Minster (c.1414-22), one of the four largest windows in the church.<sup>46</sup> The mid-fourteenth-century Marmion and Neville arms at St.

---

Trinity in 1482 ; *DNB I* pp.236-7; James Bentham, *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely*, (Cambridge 1771), pp.181-3; *YCC II* p.340.

<sup>40</sup> Ralph Neville also held the advowson of a moiety at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. (see chapter 2 table 2.6) and owned a message in Walmgate, *YMB II* pp.129-130.

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix A.1 sub St. John Ousebridge, Holy Trinity King's Court and St. Cuthbert for details.

<sup>42</sup> RCHM, *York 3-5*, gives a full list of heraldic shields in the surviving stained glass although some of these are uncertain attributions.

<sup>43</sup> Shields listed in table 3.14 as AI are counted as surviving in both the antiquarian and visual evidence.

<sup>44</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.8; Gee, 'Glass of All Saints', p.166.

<sup>45</sup> C.D.Ross, 'The Yorkshire Baronage 1399-1435', Oxford D.Phil. (1950), p.395.

<sup>46</sup> James Fowler, 'On a Window Representing the Life and Miracles of S. William of York, at the North End of the Eastern Transept, York Minster', *YAJ 3* (1873-4), pp.198-348; Thomas French, 'The Glazing

Michael-le-Belfrey are uncertain attributions.<sup>47</sup> At St. Cuthbert there are two sets of Neville arms - one in nIII and one in sIV - but only those in the south aisle appear to have been noted by antiquarians, although Torre noted arms in the fourth north window from the west which may be either Fitzgerald or Neville of Hornby arms.<sup>48</sup> The arms of John Alcock at All Saints North St. and those of Ralph Neville at St. John Ousebridge were also overlooked by the antiquarians.

At All Saints North St. we have arms of Percy ancient, which commemorate the fourteenth-century barons of Alnewick. The arms of Percy modern are at All Saints Pavement, St. Cuthbert, St. Helen Stonegate and St. Martin Coney St. The latter are the quartered arms of Percy and Lucy which were adopted after 1384 when Henry Percy first Earl of Northumberland married Maud, sister and heir of Anthony lord Lucy. The Lucy estates were merged into the Percy inheritance and other members of the Percy family subsequently used them.<sup>49</sup> The remaining three examples of Percy arms probably refer to minor branches of the family.

One of the manuscripts of Glover's Visitation (BL, Harley 1394) shows three sets of linked pairs of shields, two pairs from the church of Holy Trinity King's Court and one pair from St. Martin Coney St. The first pair (*gules a chevron ermine between three lions rampant argent and argent on a chevron gules between three fleurs-de-lys sable*) was also seen by Johnston at the top of the arch of a chapel off the north aisle which may have been the chantry chapel of either Nicholas de Langeton (1328) or of Lady Margaret Boynton (1530s).<sup>50</sup> The second pair (*or a lion rampant azure debruised by a bendlet gobony argent and gules and argent a saltire gules*) can be identified as representing the Percies of Holderness and the Nevilles, but we lack the evidence for its location. The final pair, from St. Martin Coney St., (*argent a buck's head cabossed within a border engrailed, an annulet for difference and argent on a bend sable three hawk's heads or hand bells or*) were also noted by Dugdale and Keepe, with the latter also noting that they were to be seen in a south window. There is at present no known identification for these arms.

The presence of heraldic shields brings us to discuss the extent of aristocratic commemoration in York parish churches. The Scropes had firm and long-standing ties with York

---

of the St. William Window in York Minster', *JBAA* 140 (1987), pp.175-181; John A. Knowles, 'Additional Notes on the St. William Window in York Minster', *PYAYAS* vol.1 no.2 (1934), pp.5-55; John A. Knowles, Technical Notes on the St. William Window in York Minster', *YAJ* 37 (1951), pp.148-161.

<sup>47</sup> RCHM, *York* 5, p.38.

<sup>48</sup> The two are undistinguishable, see Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, (Oxford 1988), p.66.

<sup>49</sup> J.M.W.Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family 1416-1537*, (Oxford 1958), pp.8-9; *Complete Peerage* 9 p.712; *DNB* 15 p.850; J.A.Tuck, 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility 1250-1400', *Northern History* 22 (1986) p.11.

<sup>50</sup> See Appendix A.1 under Holy Trinity and A.2 under surname headings for details. We can only tentatively identify the second shield as representing the Bellasis family. Johnston's description of the site of the chapel is reminiscent of the (existing) site of the Howme chantry chapel off the south aisle of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, where two shields are similarly displayed on the stonework.

churches. During the late fourteenth century dispute over the right to bear the arms *azure a bend or* between Sir Robert Grosvenor and Richard Scrope, a great many depositions on behalf of the two parties provide us with much evidence regarding the commemoration of the Scropes at York. John Cloworth, prior of Wartre, testified that

*les Escropes sount patrons dun esglis de Seint Martyn en la citee Deverwyk en Migylgate-strete la quele esglis est enpropriez al priour de Wartir en quele esglise gist un auncestour de Scropes ensevelys en un tombe & a la teste du dit mort un escochone gravez & enbotez de peer ove lez armez de Scropes ove un label sanz depentir & a sez piez un auter tiel escochone demandez per que il sciet que lez ditz armes sount faitz pour lez Escropes dit que comune parlaunce est tiel per tout la citee Deverwyk & ad este passez cent anz de quele sepulture memoir.<sup>51</sup>*

The late thirteenth-century Scrope burial at St. Martin is particularly interesting because it points to an ancestor who pre-dated the emergence of the two branches of Bolton and Masham in the early fourteenth century. The Bolton branch was descended from Henry Scrope, Chief Justice to Edward II and Edward III, who died in 1336; while the Masham branch was descended from Henry's brother Geoffrey who was also Chief Justice and who died in 1340. The arms of the Bolton branch (*azure a bend or*) became the arms of the Masham branch with a label for difference.<sup>52</sup> I would suggest that the burial is most likely to be either that of Henry Scrope, the grandfather of the founders of the two branches or of his father Simon who was alive in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.<sup>53</sup> A fragment of a late thirteenth-century coffin lid set in the outer face of the north nave aisle at St. Martin Micklegate may be what remains of this burial today.<sup>54</sup> Another witness for the Scropes was John Manfeld, the parson of St. Mary Bishophill Senior, who is incidentally one of the commemorated himself.<sup>55</sup> He testified that the arms of Scope were in '*divers places*' in his church, including a glass window in the south aisle and on vestments.<sup>56</sup> We also have testamentary evidence regarding John Scrope, fourth baron Scrope of Masham, who bequeathed various vestments in his will to the churches of St. John Ogleforth and St. Martin Micklegate, and who may have contributed

---

<sup>51</sup> 'the Scropes are patrons of a church of St. Martin in the city of York in Micklegate Street the which church is impropriated to the prior of Warter in which church lies an ancestor of the Scropes buried in a tomb & at the head of said dead man [is] an escutcheon sculptured and embossed of stone with arms of Scrope with a label without colours & at his feet another such escutcheon. Asked how he knew that said arms were made for the Scropes he said that it was common parlance throughout the city of York & that 100 years had passed since the memory of the burial', *Scrope and Grosvenor I*, pp.98-99; *Scrope and Grosvenor II*, p.278. The advowson of St. Martin Micklegate was impropriated to Warter Priory until the early 15C, see chapter 2 table 2.6.

<sup>52</sup> Brigitte Pamela Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham c.1300-c.1450', York D.Phil. (1988) vol.I pp.239-240 for Scrope genealogies.

<sup>53</sup> Henry's son William was still alive at the beginning of the fourteenth century so he cannot be the Scrope in question, see Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham', vol.I p.10 for Scrope family tree to c.1300; another family tree is in *Early Yorkshire Families*, Sir Charles Clay (ed.), YASRS 135 (1973) p.81.

<sup>54</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.24.

<sup>55</sup> He was commemorated in the east window of St. Mary Bishophill Senior together with Robert Savage, see Appendix A.1 under church heading and A.2 under Manfeld.

<sup>56</sup> *Scrope and Grosvenor I*, p.141; *Scrope and Grosvenor II*, p.346.

to the extensive rebuilding of the east end of St. Martin Micklegate which took place in the fifteenth century.<sup>57</sup>

The commemoration of the Percy family finds its most outstanding expression in the east window at St. Denys (plates 128 and 128a). Both Dugdale and Drake reproduced the commemorative effigies from this window although their combined evidence leads to some contradictory conclusions. Dugdale noted the effigies *in situ* 'in orientali fenestra cancelli' on 17 September 1641.<sup>58</sup> According to Drake, the window was 'taken from thence (i.e. the church of St. Denys) in 1590 but now (i.e. 1736, the year of publication of *Eboracum*) almost defaced'.<sup>59</sup> The two reproductions are very similar, both showing 14 figures of members of the Percy family - the 13 lay figures all dressed in heraldic robes, while the figure of the bishop has a shield suspended in front of him. However, Dugdale's sketch appears to be more thorough than Drake's in that it includes the inscription in the book which rests on a lectern in front of the bishop and which reads '*Gaudete in domine*'. Thus, before proceeding to unravel the identities of the effigies in the window, it is necessary to attempt to establish the relationship between the Dugdale and Drake sketches and their relationship to the original window. Drake's statement of the window having been 'taken' may refer to a drawing having been made in 1590 rather than the window having been taken down. However, we have no knowledge of any draughtsman active at that particular time - Glover's Visitation, which is in the right time frame, does not include any drawings or sketches of York parish church windows. One may therefore conjecture that Drake saw Dugdale's drawing and used it, making a slightly inaccurate copy, then got the year wrong.<sup>60</sup> On chronological grounds and on the internal evidence of the book's inscription I would therefore argue that Dugdale's is the earlier and more reliable drawing, made at a time when the window was still in good condition, which therefore suggests that the effigies were in their original place at least until the Civil War.

It has been suggested that the window was given by Henry Percy second Earl of Northumberland (1416-55) but the inscription and figures reproduced by Dugdale and Drake suggest otherwise.<sup>61</sup> The presence of members of the Poinings family in the window indicates that the window was given by Henry Percy the third Earl of Northumberland (1455-61), whose wife

---

<sup>57</sup> Appendix A.2 sub Scrope, John.

<sup>58</sup> London, College of Arms, MS. Dugdale's 'Yorkshire Arms', f.127<sup>r</sup> and this thesis, plate 128a.

<sup>59</sup> Drake, *Eboracum*, p.307 and this thesis, plate 128.

<sup>60</sup> Drake could have meant 1690 rather than 1590, which suggests Johnston as a possible source, but we have no evidence that Johnston noted or sketched the window.

<sup>61</sup> RCHM, *York 5*, p.17; see also Harrison 1927 p.166 in which he suggests that the window commemorates Henry Hotspur (the father of the second earl) and his wife Joan Neville (*sic* - Hotspur's wife was Elizabeth Mortimer, see *Complete Peerage* 9 p.714) as the two central figures; according to Harrison the window was given by the second earl (d. 1455) and the 12 smaller figures represent his children, one of whom, William Percy, was bishop of Carlisle 1452-62.

Eleanor was the daughter and heir of Sir Richard Poinings.<sup>62</sup> However, the main inscription in the window reads:

*Orate pro bono statu domini Henrici Percy Comitis de Northumberland et Johanne uxoris suae ac filios filias que suos.*

This is in itself an unusual inscription in that normally at York we find the *Orate pro anima* formula. *Orate pro bono statu* might have been used to suggest that the recipient of the prayers was already dead.<sup>63</sup> In fact the only Henry Percy to whom the inscription can refer was the father of the first Earl, Henry third Baron Percy of Alnewick (1352-68) who married as his second wife Joan, daughter and heir of John lord Orreby - both represented in the centre of the window. The inscription grants Henry the honorific title of Earl of Northumberland although he did not in fact hold it. The window therefore represents a statement of the Percy pedigree from the mid-fourteenth century to the 1450s, and incidentally serves to link what were in effect two powerful dynastic alliances.<sup>64</sup> There is no satisfactory account of the identities of the members of the Percy family commemorated in the window so the following is an attempt to provide a solution to the problem. The 6 smaller figures on the top row are named by scrolls as George, Richard or Ralph, and Ralph on the left; Anne, Margaret and George lord Egremont on the right. On the lower row the figures are an unnamed bishop (with Percy arms); Henry Percy de Poinings; Eleanor de Poinings; the son of (lord) Poinings; Eleanor daughter of lord Percy; and Margaret daughter of lord Poinings. These are clearly not the names of the 12 children of the second Earl - at least not all of them.<sup>65</sup> Henry and Eleanor on the bottom row are the third Earl and his wife Eleanor Poinings - the three figures behind them on the right are three of their children: Henry (1446-89), who would later become fourth Earl, Eleanor and Margaret. The bishop could be either Thomas Percy (1333-1369) brother of Henry third Baron Percy of Alnewick and bishop of Norwich (1356-1369), or, as is more likely, William Percy (1428-1462), bishop of Carlisle and brother of the third Earl. On the top row are probably some of the children and siblings of the third Earl. Starting from the left, George could be the prebendary of Beverley, born c.1424, brother of the third Earl, although he is shown as a little boy so he may be the Earl's youngest son. The second figure from the left could represent Ralph Percy (1425-1464), the seventh son of the second Earl of Northumberland and brother of the third Earl, who made his career as a soldier - although other candidates are Richard Percy, brother of the third

---

<sup>62</sup> He was born in 1421; *DNB 15* p.852-3; Bean, *Estates of the Percy Family*, p.4; see also J.M.W.Bean 'Henry IV and the Percies', *History* 44 (1959), pp.212-227 and J.A.Tuck, 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', *Northern History* 3 (1968), pp.27-52.

<sup>63</sup> As against *Orate pro anima* which was frequently used for windows given during the lifetime of the commemorated, see chapter 4 section 4.5.

<sup>64</sup> *Complete Peerage* 9, p.716; *Complete Peerage* 10 p.463; *DNB 15* pp.839-840.

<sup>65</sup> These who survived into adulthood were Henry; Thomas lord Egremont; George; Ralph; Richard; William; Joan; Catherine and Anne, see *DNB 15* pp.851-2.

Earl, who died at Towton in 1461; and another Ralph Percy, son of the third Earl.<sup>66</sup> The figures on the right present similar problems of interpretation. Anne may be the sister of the third Earl, who married three times and died in 1522; it has so far proved impossible to identify the remaining two figures, Margaret and George. Two coats of arms in the window, both of which were seen by Dugdale and Torre and both of which survive, additionally commemorate John fourth Baron Scrope of Masham and his brother William Scrope, master of St. Leonard's hospital which held the advowson of the church.<sup>67</sup> In 1736 Drake found a marble tomb with two brass effigies and an erased inscription situated in the north choir of St. Denys which he was told was the burial of an Earl of Northumberland - most likely the third. If correct, this further confirms that the third Earl took a particular interest in St. Denys and suggests that the east window was indeed his gift.<sup>68</sup> The fourth Earl of Northumberland was also commemorated at St. Denys, where his arms could be seen on a bench-end with a poppy head finial, although these arms were not noted by the antiquarians.<sup>69</sup> Although there is no one mausoleum for the Percy family, we can find fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Percy burials at Beverley Minster and Alnewick Abbey (see table 3.16). Neither the first Earl of Northumberland nor his son Hotspur had a formal burial as they were both slain in battle - the former at Bramham Moor, the latter at Shrewsbury - and subsequently quartered.<sup>70</sup> We must bear in mind that St. Denys was originally a much more grandiose building than we see now - what remains of the medieval fabric is the east end, the nave having been demolished at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>71</sup> The church would thus have provided a fitting context for the commemoration of the powerful Percy family. The Percies had a legitimate reason for being prominently commemorated at St. Denys. They owned properties in Walmgate at least from the 1340s, including Percy's Inn, their town house.<sup>72</sup> A Percy family chapel appears to have been built in the north aisle of St. Denys in the first quarter of the fourteenth century and Percy burials were recorded in the parish of St. Denys dating from after the late fourteenth century.<sup>73</sup> Thus, St. Denys was the Percy parish church when the family was in residence at York.

A much more problematic question is presented by the alleged presence of Percy commemorative effigies in the glass of St. Martin Micklegate. In the east window of the south chancel aisle, which carries the inscription to Nicholas Fouke, are two inserted kneeling figures of a

---

<sup>66</sup> *DNB 15* pp.851-2.

<sup>67</sup> Appendix A.1 under St. Denys and A.2 under surname headings.

<sup>68</sup> Drake p.306.

<sup>69</sup> The bench-end is now in the Yorkshire Museum; see RCHM, *York 5*, p.19.

<sup>70</sup> *DNB 15*, pp.840, 844, 849.

<sup>71</sup> See chapter 1 table 1.14.

<sup>72</sup> *The Percy Chartulary*, (ed.) M.T.Martin, SS 117 (1909) pp.194-5; this document is a record of conveyances of properties from 1176 to 1377, compiled during the time of Henry fourth lord Percy of Alnewick when he became first Earl of Northumberland.

<sup>73</sup> See chapter 2 table 2.9 and Johnston's comments on a Percy burial at St. Denys in Appendix A.1.

man and a woman which have been identified as Edmund Grey first Earl of Kent (1420?-1489) and his wife Katherine Percy, (born c.1423) daughter of the second Earl of Northumberland, on the basis of the fragmented arms worn by the woman on her cloak (plates 173, 174, 179).<sup>74</sup> There is no direct connection between these two individuals and the church of St. Martin, nor for that matter between the Percies and the church. The fifteenth-century figures are clearly inserted in a much earlier window dating from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and it is significant that the only other known fifteenth-century glass in the church came from the Gascoigne-Hastings window in the west tower. It seems much more likely that the figures in fact come from that window and represent Sir Hugh Hastings and his wife Anne Gascoigne. The current identification of the figures appears to depend on the interpretation of the heraldry on the woman's cloak. However, the Percy/Lucy arms (*Or a lion rampant Azure quartering Gules 5 lucies hauriant Argent*) could have been mistaken for the Hastings/Gascoigne arms (*Argent three maunches sable quartering Azure three lucies heads couped or or alternatively Quarterly 1<sup>o</sup> Azure three lucies heads couped or 2<sup>o</sup> gu a lion rampt Ar a border engr or*) especially in the context of a fragmented stained glass window.<sup>75</sup> Hastings and his brother-in-law Sir Henry Vavasour were both high sheriffs of Yorkshire in the late fifteenth century and were both commemorated at St. Martin Micklegate. The arms of Vavasour and Gascoigne, which commemorated Sir Henry Vavasour and his wife Joan Gascoigne, were originally displayed on the outer stonework of the south aisle buttresses at St. Martin Micklegate - this suggests that Vavasour had perhaps contributed to the rebuilding of that part of the church (see table 3.14). Hastings had other connections with York churches, shown by his bequest of wax for masses at the church of the Grey (Franciscan) Friars; while Vavasour had founded a chantry in York Minster and was a member of the guild of Corpus Christi.<sup>76</sup> The commemoration of the Vavasours was prominent at York Minster. Over the door of the west front there used to be two statues, one of a Percy and another of a Vavasour with the arms of France and

---

<sup>74</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.25 suggests this as a probability rather than a certainty; see also *DNB 8* pp.623-4; *Complete Peerage 7* pp.164-5; *DNB 15* p.852; Chris Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility of the Late Middle Ages*, (London 1987), p.111, 145; and R.I.Jack, 'The Greys of Ruthin 1325 to 1490: a Study in the Lesser Baronage', London Ph.D. (1961). Johnston's sketch shows a lion rampant on the lady's cloak - as he could not make out the tinctures other than that of the cloak (argent, i.e. white or silver) and as the lion rampant was an extremely popular heraldic device, this does not represent a sound basis on which to conclude that she wore the Percy arms.

<sup>75</sup> Additionally we have Johnston's evidence. On p.198 he describes the east window of the south aisle in which he sees the figures of a kneeling knight and a kneeling lady with a shield which reads *on a chevron three stag's heads impaling a cross fleury*. Dugdale's description of the same shield is *argent on a chevron azure three stags attired vert impaling azure a cross fleury argent between four martlets argent*. We do not know who this shield refers to, but the cross fleury could be the arms of Edward the Confessor.

<sup>76</sup> See Appendix A.2 for details; plate 1 shows the site of the Franciscan Friary adjacent to the church of St. Michael Spurriergate; see also Joseph E.Morris, *The West Riding of Yorkshire*, (London 1923) pp.530, 411, 71, 230-1, 442, 531, 371, 99-100, 261-3; Joseph E. Morris, *The East Riding of Yorkshire*, (London 1906), pp.53, 304-6, 116 for patronage of the Hastings, Gascoignes and Vavasours.

England quartered together with the arms of Percy and Vavasour; Vavasour heraldry was also to be found in the stained glass.<sup>77</sup>

Perhaps the most puzzling example of aristocratic heraldry can be found in the mid-fourteenth-century glass of St. Michael-le-Belfrey. The glass is now assembled in the east window, where it represents all that remains of the earlier fabric of the pre-sixteenth-century church. In it we find commemorative effigies as well as the heraldic shields of Marmion, Latimer, Neville, Metham and Hastings.<sup>78</sup> The glass clearly comes from more than one window, given the presence of three panels of two different designs - one panel shows a commemorative figure holding a window while the other two show pairs of kneeling figures (plates 194, 195). Knowles suggested - without proof and with some disregard for the actual number of figures represented - that the two pairs of figures represented the bellfounder Richard Tunnock, his wife Agnes, their sons Nicholas and John and their daughter Katherine, who he believed had given one of the original windows.<sup>79</sup> Whatever their identity, the style and dress of the effigies is consonant with that of other fourteenth-century urban-class figures such as Richard Toller at St. John Ousebridge and Robert Skelton at St. Denys and can therefore be assumed to commemorate individuals from the urban classes rather than of aristocratic origin (plates 132, 146).

The heraldic shields in the east window of St. Michael-le-Belfrey are to be found in the tracery which is a less prominent place for commemorative displays. First let us see what these shields have in common. The families in question belonged to what might be termed a kinship group.<sup>80</sup> We may argue that the heraldry at St. Michael-le-Belfrey centres around John lord Neville of Raby (d.1388), whose second wife Elizabeth was the daughter and heir of Sir William Latimer. The Latimer inheritance was transferred into Neville hands at the death of William lord Latimer (d.1380). Sir Ralph Hastings and his son, Sir William Marmion (d.c.1390) and others belonged to a tightly-knit and closely-related group of clients and friends in the Neville circle. According to the deposition of the Prior of the Gilbertine Priory of Old Malton made during the Scrope-Grosvenor controversy, Alexander Neville, uncle of the then lord Neville of Raby (probably John Neville later

---

<sup>77</sup> YML LI/7 James Torre, 'York Minster', p.19; there are Vavasour shields from c.1300 in windows sXXII in the south aisle of the nave and SXXIV on the south side of the nave clerestory. The current Vavasour and Percy statues on the west front of the Minster are nineteenth-century copies.

<sup>78</sup> The Neville arms are the only ones which are noted in RCHM, *York 5*, p.38 but are not corroborated by the antiquarian evidence. The Latimer, Marmion, Metham and Hastings shields can be securely identified through the antiquarian evidence and also survive in the church glass.

<sup>79</sup> J.A.Knowles, 'The East Window of St. Michael-le-Belfrey', *YAJ* 40 (1962), pp.150-1, 158. Knowles's argument rests on stylistic similarities between the glass from St. Michael's and the bellfounders' window (nXXIV) in York Minster, which was given by Richard Tunnoc; he also suggests that the Tunnocs' window was dedicated to St. Thomas martyr, as Tunnoc had founded a chantry at the saint's altar in York Minster and appears to have been buried before it.

<sup>80</sup> The terms is used by J.A.Tuck in 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', pp.28-9 to indicate the network of lesser aristocracy which operated as clients of the great magnates in late fourteenth-century border society.



lord Latimer who died in 1388), had a coat of arms in the priory which was embroidered with Neville arms, the quarters filled with small escutcheons of the arms of his friends, including Sir Ralph Hastings, Sir William Marmion, the Scropes and others.<sup>81</sup> Although all these men belonged to the Yorkshire nobility, the families had no known association with St. Michael-le-Belfrey. In the absence of more concrete evidence I would suggest that the aristocratic shields at St. Michael-le-Belfrey represent a recognition of some minor gift on the part of these families, probably in the form of vestments or church plate, which is now lost, and that the shields could equally well have been inserted by the parishioners or the clergy of St. Michael's as by the aristocratic families themselves.<sup>82</sup>

In order to understand the significance of these contributions to York churches we need to set them into a proper context. To conclude this section we need to highlight the primary areas of commemoration of those aristocratic families whose contribution to the parish churches goes beyond the mere unexplained presence of a coat of arms (see tables 3.15, 3.16 and 3.17).

The commemoration of the Scropes, Percies and Nevilles was conspicuous at York Minster. However, what we can primarily see from tables 3.15, 3.16 and 3.17 is that commemoration in the parish churches of York was a very small consideration on the agenda of these aristocratic families. Their commemoration was principally expressed in cathedrals, monasteries, castles and manors, and the parish churches attached to the latter.

The commemoration of the aristocracy in the parish churches of York can be seen to have been significant in those cases where a specific connection existed between the commemorated and church - as in the case of the Percies at St. Denys, the Scropes at St. Denys and St. Martin Micklegate, and the Gascoignes at St. Martin Micklegate, and, to a lesser extent, the Nevilles at St. John Ousebridge. The other aristocratic families represented in heraldry may have made small contributions to the church fabric and its fittings, in which case the heraldry acts as an acknowledgement of their gifts, or were in some way connected with urban-class commemorated who expressed their social connections in this way. It is extremely difficult to identify specifically these supposed gifts and connections, and unless further evidence can be unearthed we must accept that these may be indications that the aristocratic impact on York churches was in fact both limited and superficial.

---

<sup>81</sup> See Appendix A.2 for testamentary and biographical details of the Hastings and Nevilles. Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries. Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, (Southampton 1988), pp.33, 12; *Scrope and Grosvenor II* p.355.

<sup>82</sup> Harrison 1927 pp.145-6 suggests that the Latimer shield represents an indication of the family's contribution to the rebuilding of the earlier church fabric.

### 3.4 Dominant Groups

One of the important aspects to emerge from a study of the documentary evidence relating to the commemorated is the ability to assess the social category of many of them. This enables us to see in what proportion and in which periods different groups engaged in parish church commemoration (tables 3.18, 3.19, and 3.20). In this section we shall be dealing primarily with the occupation of the commemorated, but, as some of them did not belong to the urban classes, but were rather members of the aristocracy and lesser nobility, the more general term of 'social category' or 'social group' will be used. Additionally, we shall find that some of the urban-class occupations lend themselves to being collected under the three main headings of mercantile groups, craft groups and professionals.

Our major problem in this section will be the very large number of unknown classifications. This is especially the case for chantries, as a great number of these were founded in the fourteenth century, particularly in the early part of the century, for which we have very little testamentary evidence. These socially unclassified individuals could, if their social categories were ever clarified, affect some of the points which will be made here. So far, out of the 123 individuals commemorated in chantries, we can establish the occupation of 76 (62%) - where couples are commemorated, the occupation of the husband also serves to define the social ranking of the wife. This leaves us with 47 (38%) individuals commemorated by chantries whose social group is unknown. For monuments we have less of a problem as, out of the 216 individuals commemorated, we can establish the social category of 173 (80%), leaving 43 (20%) unknown - again, husbands define the social status of their wives. For windows, we can establish the social category of 139 (75%) individual men and women out of 186, leaving 47 (25%) unknown. Nevertheless, within the confines of the available evidence, it is noticeable that a wide variety of social groups are involved in commemoration. This is particularly the case for monuments, in which 24 different groups can be detected, compared with 16 groups for windows, and 15 for chantries. Altogether, 31 different social categories are involved in commemoration, of which 19 belonged to the crafts and 6 belonged to mercantile categories. Of the 56 occupations identified in the 1524 lay subsidy roll for York, only 21 can be found to have been commemorated in the parish churches, although at least one representative of each of the main groups can be found among them.<sup>83</sup>

There are 15 identified social groups in chantry commemoration (see table 3.18). However it is likely that more were involved in this form of commemoration, as we have so many individuals whose social category is unknown. Altogether, the commemorated include 11 (9%) individuals from

---

<sup>83</sup> The groups are: victualling, textiles, clothing, leather, metal, building, minor, mercantile and transport; see Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, (Oxford 1989), pp.153-5 and E.Peacock (ed.), 'Subsidy Roll for York and the Ainsty', *YAJ* 4 (1875-6), 170-201.

the crafts or artisan classes, 49 (40%) from the mercantile classes, 11 (9%) from the clergy, three armigers and two lay clerks.<sup>84</sup> All the clergy commemorated were parish clergy except for Thomas de Ludham who was a Minster cleric as well as the vicar of St. Martin Coney St. In chantry commemoration there is much greater variety in the fourteenth century than in the fifteenth, with eleven groups involved in commemoration in the former century and only seven in the latter.

Although numerically small, craftsmen were involved in the foundation of chantries up to the end of the fourteenth century when this activity becomes the almost exclusive preserve of merchants and local gentry.<sup>85</sup> Up to 1400, chantry commemoration includes 9 individuals from the artisan classes, 24 from the mercantile classes, 11 from the clergy and 45 unknowns. After 1400, the balance changes with the commemoration of 23 merchants, 2 armigers, 2 lay clerks, 2 members of the artisans classes, no members of the clergy and 2 unknowns. It is indicative of the enormous expense involved in setting up a chantry foundation that the artisans commemorated in them are few and that among those few there appear to have been some uncommonly wealthy individuals. The income for the chantry of the butcher Richard de Barneby and his wife Alice came from no less than 7 messuages and the chantry itself was licensed for £40. The dyer Adam Bank had married into the wealthy Bawtre family, which included the merchant Reginald Bawtre and the Minster cleric John Bawtry; Adam's wife Margaret had a personal income from tenements in Petergate and North St. The lister John Barden had two daughters who had married into the wealthy merchant Moreton and Wyman families. The tanner Robert de Ampilford was commemorated by a monument as well as a chantry in his parish church of All Saints Pavement - his will gives indications of reasonable wealth, such as his ownership of a tenement in Coppergate. Although we have no specific information on the wealth of the tanner Robert Swetemouth, it has been argued that tanners, along with butchers and pewterers, were among the wealthiest artisans in late medieval York.<sup>86</sup>

Those commemorated by monuments (table 3.19) reflect the greatest variety of social categories - 24 altogether can be identified. Among the identified social groups are 12 different crafts, accounting for 43 individuals (20%).<sup>87</sup> This is the largest number of crafts involved, compared with 6 craft groups commemorated in chantries and 6 in windows. The clergy is represented by 22 individuals (10%), of which one, John Bawtry, was a Minster cleric, all the others

---

<sup>84</sup> The artisan groups commemorated in chantries are: lister/dyer, miller, tanner, butcher, cordwainer and walker. The mercantile groups are: merchant, draper, mercer, goldsmith, goldsmith & merchant. See below for full discussion.

<sup>85</sup> See also R.B.Dobson, 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries by the Citizens of Medieval York', *Studies in Church History*, (ed.) G.J.Cuming, 4 (1967), 22-38.

<sup>86</sup> Appendix A.2 for details of Barneby, Bank, Barden and Swetemouth. See also Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, pp.150-159; and Peacock, 'Subsidy Roll', pp.170-191.

<sup>87</sup> The craft groups are: pewterer/pelter, tanner, chandler, butcher, carpenter, dyer/lister, vintner, cartwright, saddler, mason, yeoman and fisherman.

being parish clergy. The mercantile groups account for 91 individuals (42%).<sup>88</sup> Of the rest, there are 5 (2%) members of the professional classes - attorneys and scribes - and 12 (6%) armigers, both high- and low-ranking.

There are 16 identified social groups in window commemoration (see table 3.20). 86 individuals (46%) from the mercantile classes are commemorated in this category,<sup>89</sup> together with 13 (7%) individuals from the artisan classes,<sup>90</sup> 14 (8%) clerics, two (1%) professionals (a lawyer and a public notary),<sup>91</sup> 10 (5%) gentlemen and armigers, and 14 members of the baronial aristocracy (8%). Of the 14 clerics, 5 were Minster clerics (4 commemorated at St. Michael-le-Belfrey, 1 at St. Michael Spurriergate), all the rest were parish clergy.

The fourteenth century saw the height of the chantry-founding period, with 55 chantries (70%) being founded before 1400 and only 16 (20%) founded in the fifteenth century.<sup>92</sup> On the whole, the practice of establishing chantries seems to have gone out of fashion in the fifteenth century, when it was primarily followed as a part of a general programme of largesse rather than as a specific activity per se. This can be seen to be especially true in the cases of Richard Russell, John Carr, Richard Wartere, Sir Richard Yorke, and Sir John Gilliot, whose chantries were all founded posthumously. Richard Russell made extensive bequests to the church of St. John Hungate, including monetary provisions for rebuilding parts of the church and liturgical equipment. Similarly, John Karr made extensive bequests to the church of St. Sampson, as well as to five York guilds, six convents, and to the lepers, prisoners, anchoresses and paupers of York. Richard Wartere's bequests, which totalled more than £500, included £40 to roof the south aisle of St. Saviour, as well as provisions for masses for his soul, bequests to the friaries and several nunneries in the York area, and £20 towards the rebuilding of the Guildhall. Richard Yorke's bequests to the church of St. John Ousebridge included provision for the repair of the tiles and roof of the choir and a bequest of expensive cloth for copes and an orfray. Sir John Gilliot made extensive arrangements for masses for his soul after his death and bequeathed money, gowns, beds and bedlinen for poor men and women, food for prisoners and dowries for poor unmarried girls; to his church of St. Saviour he bequeathed an alabaster retable and cloth for vestments and he made bequests to the friaries, two convents and St. Leonard's Hospital in return for prayers.

In contrast to chantries, the quarter 1476-1500 is very noticeable for having the largest number of monuments (59 out of 130) - these same monuments also represent the widest number of

---

<sup>88</sup> The mercantile groups are: merchant, mercer, draper, goldsmith & merchant, goldsmith, woolman, apothecary and grocer.

<sup>89</sup> The mercantile groups are: merchant, mercer, spicer, draper and goldsmith.

<sup>90</sup> The craft groups are: tanner, baxter/miller, dyer, vintner, tailor and glazier.

<sup>91</sup> For the purposes of this discussion I will consider John Chapman to be both a professional and a merchant, since he described himself as 'public notary and merchant'.

<sup>92</sup> The other chantries were founded either in the late thirteenth or in the early sixteenth century.

social groups (15 out of 23) within table 3.19. It is possible that this increase in funerary monuments for non-merchant groups reflects an increase in their economic power, particularly in their surplus or disposable income. The 1524 lay subsidy provides some evidence to show that pewterers, tanners, butchers, innholders, tailors, cordwainers, goldsmiths, and chandlers paid the most after merchants and grocers - this can be taken as an indication of their wealth. However, the individuals involved in commemoration between 1476 and 1500 include people from other social groups apart from these but they do not include innholders. Cordwainers, in spite of their wealth, are poorly represented by Thomas Durante Jr.'s chantry at St. Crux and, possibly, by John Cotes, whose funerary monument was at St. Olave's (1487).<sup>93</sup> It could be argued that besides suggesting greater economic power on the part of the crafts, the late fifteenth-century monuments also indicate a more widespread interest in the concept of commemoration, with artisans spending more money on funerary monuments perhaps in preference to or as well as other forms of commemoration, such as could be carried out by parish guilds and religious confraternities - an indication of concern for individual rather than corporate commemoration.

The period 1426-1450 displays the widest social spectrum for window commemoration, with 9 different social groups represented. In view of the comments made above with regard to monuments, this is perhaps indicative of a more widespread interest in commemoration between 1426 and 1475. However, there may be another explanation for the fact that so many more social groups seem to be involved in commemoration in these periods. It is very noticeable that these 50 years, 1426-1450 for windows and 1475-1500 for monuments, are also a time in which the numbers of commemorated individuals whose social group is unknown are unusually low. For monuments, out of the 59 people commemorated in the period 1476-1500, there are only two unknowns - this represents the lowest percentage (3%) of all the unknowns for any particular 25-year period. For windows, out of the 41 commemorated in 1426-1450 there are also only two unknowns - this represents 5% of the commemorated for that 25-year period. In window commemoration we have two periods in which there are no socially unidentified commemorations. In the period 1351-1375 there are three commemorations and in the period 1476-1500 there are 17, so both periods have considerably fewer commemorations than 1426-1450.

For chantries, the period 1376-1400 sees the largest numbers of social groups involved, of which 6 can be identified. There are also three other periods in which at least 5 social groups can be identified - these are 1326-1350, 1351-1375 and 1451-1475. The numbers of individuals whose social category cannot be identified present a problem, at least up to 1425.<sup>94</sup> On the whole in

---

<sup>93</sup> Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, pp.150-155; Peacock, 'Lay Subsidy', pp.170-191; tables 3.18, 3.19 and 3.20; Cotes was either a butcher or a cordwainer, see Appendix A.2.

<sup>94</sup> For the period 1376-1400 the number of unknowns (10) represents 31% of the total number of commemorations for that period.

chantry commemorations we see a consistent artisan presence alongside merchants and clergy, except for the period 1425-1550 which conforms to the observations made above with regard to the fifteenth-century dominance of this medium by mercantile and gentry groups. The conclusion which may be drawn from these observations is that when we are unusually lucky to be able to identify the social group of all or nearly all of the commemorated in any one period, we find a wide variety of social groups involved in commemoration. This is perhaps more the norm than we may at first think. When there are noticeable numbers of unknowns, such as in the period 1376-1475 for both windows and monuments, it is also worth noting that in the same period merchants and mercers are present in quite large numbers. Therefore it is the non-mercantile groups which are more difficult to trace, presumably because they did not leave quite such a heavy trail in the civic documents as the merchants did.<sup>95</sup>

Thus, unless more of the social groups of the commemorated can be identified, we find that individuals from the merchant groups are predominant in all three categories of commemoration - in windows and monuments they account for nearly 50% of the commemorated. The mercantile categories need some explanation. 'Merchant' is a general term, simply indicating a dealer in some kind of goods. Some merchants chose to describe themselves more precisely - a mercer was a dealer in textile fabrics, especially silks and other costly materials; a draper was a woolen cloth dealer; a grocer was a dealer in foodstuffs; spicers and apothecaries sold non-perishable commodities; goldsmiths sold jewels and ornaments. A woolman was a wool merchant rather than an artisan - the woolman William Tod was also Governor of the York Mercers in the 1470s.<sup>96</sup> There are 3 cases - Henry Wyman, Richard Wartere and Sir John Gilliot - in which the commemorated declared their occupation as 'merchant and goldsmith'. John Chapman describes himself in his will as 'public notary and merchant' - this is a unique combination among the commemorated. He may have been a lead merchant since he owned lead mines in Hextildesham, Swaledale and Craven. In any case he was listed among the members of the guild of Holy Trinity Fossgate, the guild of the York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers, in 1529.<sup>97</sup> Merchants are the single largest group in all three commemorative genres. If we combine all the mercantile categories - merchants, drapers, grocers, apothecaries, mercers, goldsmiths, spicers and woolmen - we find that merchants and their wives account for 28 (35%) out of the 79 chantries, 44 (34%) out of the 130 monuments and 26 (50%) out of the 52 windows.<sup>98</sup> They also outnumber all other known social groups represented in

---

<sup>95</sup> Members of the clergy are also difficult to trace through civic documents as they did not hold office and tended not to take out the freedom of the city.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix A.2 under Tod.

<sup>97</sup> *YM & MA*, p.130. In the same year the merchant Robert Elwald, who was a witness to Chapman's will, was constable of the fellowship of the Mercers and of the guild of Holy Trinity; *YM & MA*, p.129.

<sup>98</sup> The number of merchants' windows includes windows which commemorate merchants as well as other social groups, such as the east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate.

commemoration. Altogether, there are 49 merchants and their wives commemorated in chantries (40% out of 123 individuals commemorated), 91 in monuments (42% out of 216 individuals commemorated) and 92 in windows (49% out of 186 individuals commemorated). This is undoubtedly a reflection of the overall power wielded by this class at York, where they dominated the urban elite throughout our period.<sup>99</sup> Merchant commemorations are also present in 19 out of the 26 churches for which we have evidence of commemoration.<sup>100</sup> The churches in which members of merchant families - including children - are commemorated in the largest numbers (All Saints Pavement, St. Michael-le-Belfrey, St. Cuthbert and St. Crux) are noticeable for being central churches. There is also a considerable merchant presence in two churches south-west of the river Ouse - All Saints North St. and St. John Ousebridge. What all these churches have in common is that they were all wealthy churches - in the 1428 survey they were all worth between £8 and £12 with the exception of St. Cuthbert - and their advowsons were all in ecclesiastical or monastic hands (see chapter 2 tables 2.6 and 2.7).<sup>101</sup>

Some of the memorials of individuals from the mercantile group displayed merchants' marks (table 3.21). Our knowledge of merchants' marks depends greatly on antiquarian sketches - in table 3.21, 18 examples out of 27 (67%) are known from the antiquarian evidence only, 5 (18%) are known only from surviving visual evidence and 4 (15%) were both noted by the antiquarians and are in the visual record. The identification of these marks depends on someone's name being on the memorial, as there is no catalogue or dictionary in which such symbols may be looked up. The identification of the mark on the lectern at St. John Ousebridge with Sir Richard Yorke and of that on the window at St. Mary Castlegate with John Blackburne is not to be found in any of the secondary literature on York churches. However, they are reasonable suggestions to make as Sir Richard Yorke was commemorated in several media at St. John's and John Blackburne was the only merchant known to have been commemorated in a window at St. Mary's. The presence of a

<sup>99</sup> Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, pp.121-124; Jennifer I. Kermode, 'The Merchants of three Northern English Towns', in *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Late Medieval England*, (ed.) C.H. Clough, (Liverpool 1982), pp.37-8; Jennifer I. Kermode, 'Urban Decline? The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York', *EcHR* second series 35 (1982), pp.191, 193.

<sup>100</sup> See tables 3.1-3.3. There are 35 members of merchant families (including children) commemorated at All Saints Pavement; 30 at St. Michael-le-Belfrey; 22 at St. Cuthbert; 21 at St. John Ousebridge; 13 at St. Crux; 12 at All Saints North St.; 11 at Holy Trinity King's Court; 10 at St. Saviour; 9 at St. Mary Castlegate; 9 at St. Michael Spurriergate; 6 at Holy Trinity Goodramgate; 5 at St. Mary Bishophill Sr.; 4 at St. Denys and St. Martin Micklegate; 3 at St. Helen Stonegate, St. John Hungate, St. Martin Coney St.; 2 at St. Peter Little and St. Sampson. There are no known merchants commemorated at St. Lawrence, St. Nicholas (Lawrence St.), St. Margaret, St. Mary Bishophill Jr., St. Olave, St. Peter Willows and St. Wilfrid.

<sup>101</sup> Parish church values in 1428 - All Saints North St.: £8; All Saints Pavement: £9; St. Crux: £11; St. Cuthbert: £3; St. John Ousebridge: £8 and St. Michael-le-Belfrey: £12. Advowsons - All Saints North St. and St. Cuthbert: Holy Trinity Priory; All Saints Pavement: Durham Cathedral Priory; St. Crux: St. Mary's Abbey; St. John Ousebridge and St. Michael-le-Belfrey: Chapter of York Minster. See chapter 2 tables 2.6 and 2.7.

merchants' marks on William Fenwick's monument and on the windows of William Santore, Richard Toller and Nicholas Fouke is especially important because we have no other evidence regarding their occupation.

The craft groups involved in commemoration represent a curious mix of crafts well-known for their wealth and other more obscure crafts. Tanners represent the most numerous among artisan groups, with 20 commemorations, the majority at All Saints North St. Dyers and listers are the next largest group, with 9 commemorations scattered through 5 churches.<sup>102</sup> Butchers are also noticeable, with 7 or 8 commemorations, mainly at Holy Trinity King's Court.<sup>103</sup> Pewterers and vintners count for 4 commemorations each - the pewterers at All Saints North St. and St. Helen Stonegate, the vintners at Holy Trinity King's Court and St. Martin Micklegate. The other 12 artisan groups count for between one and three commemorations each. Some churches are notable for a greater artisan or craft presence than a merchant presence. At All Saints North St., alongside 12 merchants were also commemorated 17 artisans. At Holy Trinity King's Court the artisans only just outnumber the merchants by 13 to 12. Most unusual of all, at St. Olave's 7 out of a total of 12 commemorated are artisans, the others being four unknowns and a monk of St. Mary's Abbey. Our knowledge of the population of some of these parishes confirms some of these findings. Thus, there is nothing unusual about finding tanners commemorated at All Saints North St., or butchers at Holy Trinity King's Court, as a large number of these artisans lived and worked in these parishes.<sup>104</sup> It is however more unusual to find that no identified glaziers or goldsmiths were commemorated at St. Helen Stonegate, which had well-known links with both professions.<sup>105</sup>

The remaining lay groups include the professional classes (attorneys, notaries, lawyers and scribes) and the aristocracy. The former were commemorated at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (3), All Saints North St. (2), St. Cuthbert (2), St. John Hungate (2), Holy Trinity King's Court (1), and St. Michael Spurriergate (1). The latter were commemorated at St. Denys (15), St. Mary Bishophill Sr. (4), St. Martin Micklegate (3), All Saints Pavement (2), Holy Trinity Micklegate (2), St. Cuthbert (1), St. Margaret (1) and St. Michael-le-Belfrey (1).

The clergy represent a noticeable element in commemoration. In numerical terms the

---

<sup>102</sup> These are: All Saints North St., Holy Trinity King's Court, St. Crux, St. Martin Coney St. and St. Martin Micklegate.

<sup>103</sup> The eighth butcher may be John Cotes at St. Olave's, see table 3.2.

<sup>104</sup> Testamentary evidence provides us with some knowledge regarding the social geography of York - e.g. the goldsmiths Alan de Alnewick (will 1374, *TE I*, pp.91-2) and John Colan (will 1490, *TE IV*, p. 56) lived in the parish of St. Michael-le-Belfrey; while the founderers John Brown (will 1492, *TE IV*, pp.77-8) and William Wynter (will 1493, *TE IV*, pp.88-9) and the glazier Robert Preston (will 1503, *TE IV*, pp.216-7) lived in the parish of St. Helen Stonegate.

<sup>105</sup> See J.A. Knowles, 'The Church of the Glass-painters, St. Helen's Church, York', *BSMG-PJ 7* (1939), 156-159; and J.A. Knowles, 'Glass Painters of York', *Notes and Queries*, 12th series 8 (Jan-June 1921), 127-128; 323-325; 364-366; 406-407; 442-443; 485-487.



commemoration of the clergy in parish churches is as follows: 10 windows, 9 chantries and 17 monuments. This includes two of the largest surviving windows given to parish churches - namely the former west window at St. Martin Coney St., which commemorates the rector Robert Semar; and the east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, which commemorates the rector John Walker as well as William de Egremont, Bishop of Dromore and rector of All Saints Pavement among others.<sup>106</sup> The east window of the chancel seems to have been a popular form of commemoration - at St. Margaret, St. Mary Bishophill Sr. and Holy Trinity Goodramgate 5 priests altogether were commemorated in stained glass.<sup>107</sup> This undoubtedly reflects on the rector's particular duties regarding the upkeep of the chancel.<sup>108</sup> It is however worth noting that the east window at St. Margaret's also contained the effigy of an unknown knight, so the commemorative space was not exclusively clerical.<sup>109</sup> Seven out of the 40 clerics commemorated in the parish churches held appointments at York Minster (see table 3.22). Of these, two had a clear link with the parish church of their choice - Thomas de Ludham had professional duties at St. Martin Coney St., and John Bawtry had a family connection with All Saints North St. The four men who were commemorated in the early sixteenth-century windows at St. Michael-le-Belfrey could be said to be connected to the church by virtue of their Minster duties. This is particularly the case for Thomas Marser, who composed the fabric rolls during the years which saw the rebuilding of the church. The Minster clerics commemorated at St. Michael-le-Belfrey represent middle-to-high ranking officials, and we have evidence to show that their personal wealth varied considerably. The highest ranking were Hugh Ashton and Thomas Marser who were both residentiary canons. Thus, Marser's inventory shows that the sum total of his goods amounted to £161 8s 9d, whereas John Coltman, who was subtreasurer and prebendary, left goods calculated at £43 13s.<sup>110</sup> Also numbered among the clergy are the two monuments of the monks William Cokerham at St. Michael-le-Belfrey and Robert Kendall at St. Olave. We have no further information on the former, but the inscription for the latter tells us that he was a monk at St. Mary's Abbey. It was not unusual for persons connected with the Abbey to wish to be commemorated at St. Olave's. John Kilburn, who was the gatekeeper at the Abbey, and John Hartynge, who was a layman working at the Abbey, both made various bequests to

---

<sup>106</sup> It ought to be clear from Appendix A.1 and A.2 that the St. Martin window commemorated the vicar of St. Martin who in his will asked to be buried at the west end of the church - presumably underneath his own window - rather than his namesake the vicar of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, who in any case died 5 years before the completion of the window; the confusion over the two Roberts arose due to J.A.Knowles' article on 'The West Window of St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York', *YAJ* 38 (1955), pp.148-84, although it has been ignored by the RCHM entry on St. Martin, see *York* 5 p.28.

<sup>107</sup> Namely Richard Erghes, John Manfield, Robert Savage, John Walker and William de Egremont.

<sup>108</sup> With the exception of Robert Savage, who cannot be traced, all the other priests held the rectorship of their respective churches - it is likely that Savage was also the rector of the church in which he was commemorated.

<sup>109</sup> See table 3.3 and plate 162a.

<sup>110</sup> See Appendix A.2 under name headings.

St. Olave's in their wills of 1436 and 1471 respectively, even though they both wished to be buried in the Abbey itself.<sup>111</sup> The commemoration of the clergy can be seen throughout the parish churches - out of the 26 parish churches for which we have evidence of commemoration, members of the clergy are known to have been commemorated in all but eight churches.<sup>112</sup>

### **3.5 Common Factors Among the Commemorated**

We have a complex network of relationships which interlink the commemorated - business, familial, parish, political and social. Familial links play a vital role in commemoration and can be seen to operate through extended family relationships as well as from generation to generation (table 3.23).

On one level we have straightforward parent-and-offspring combined and simultaneous commemoration. This can be seen to be the case at St. Michael-le-Belfrey, in the Beckwith and Elwald windows; at Holy Trinity King's Court, in the Gaunt monument; and at St. Cuthbert, in the Gyselay window. On another level there is continuity of testamentary bequests by parents and offspring who belong to the same parish church: the Appilgarths and the Dautres at St. Michael Spurriergate and the Karrs at St. Sampson. At St. Crux John Barden was commemorated by a chantry, while his daughter Agnes and his son-in-law Henry Wyman were commemorated by a funerary monument. A more complex expression of the parent-offspring link can be seen in those churches where the parent is commemorated by a memorial - these churches are subsequently remembered by an offspring who belongs to a different parish church. At All Saints Pavement Sir John Gilliot, the son of the mercer John Gilyot, acknowledged his father's commemoration in the church by making bequests to its clergy even though his own parish church was in fact St. Saviour's. In a similar way, Robert Howme asked to be buried in his father's chantry chapel at Holy Trinity Goodramgate rather than in his own parish church of St. Maurice; and another Robert Howme, probably a cousin, made a testamentary bequest to the same chantry chapel.<sup>113</sup> William Selby asked to be buried near his father at St. John Ousebridge (where the latter was commemorated in a window) rather than in his own parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate.

As well as links down the generations there are also links across. At Holy Trinity King's Court we have the simultaneous commemoration of the Towthorp brothers and their wives; while at St. Michael Spurriergate we have the Vicars, who were also most probably brothers. Successive marriages also provide links as in the memorials of the Colynsons-Stocktons at All Saints North St.;

---

<sup>111</sup> See Appendix A.2 under name headings.

<sup>112</sup> These are: Holy Trinity King's Court, St. Cuthbert, St. Denys, St. George, St. John Hungate, St. Olave, St. Peter Little and St. Wilfrid.

<sup>113</sup> Other members of the Holme family were commemorated at St. Maurice where Dodsworth noted the Holme arms and an inscription to (Thomas) Holme & (wife) Mar(garet) in the south east window, see Appendix A.1.

of the Hylls-Boltens at Holy Trinity King's Court; and of the Hancocks and Johnsons at St. Michael Spurriergate.

Finally, we come to the most complex expressions of family commemoration. At All Saints Pavement the Brounefletes or Bromfletes were commemorated both across and down the generations, with Thomas Brouneflete, his wife, 5 daughters, his father-in-law and brother as well as another relative, possibly a cousin, named Agnes. Similarly, at St. Mary Castlegate at least four generations of Graas from the late thirteenth to the early fifteenth centuries were commemorated by chantries and tomb monuments - they also bequeathed books and silverware to the church. The Gilliots were commemorated not only at All Saints Pavement but also at St. Saviour's and at All Saints North St. - in the latter church the cleric John Gillyot gave a new chancel roof and a misericord. At All Saints North St. the chantry founded by Adam Bank and his wife Margaret proved a focus for commemoration by her relatives John Bawtry (who may have been her brother) and his nephew Reginald, virtually becoming a Bank-Bawtre family chapel.<sup>114</sup>

The most wide-reaching example of family commemoration is that of the Blackburns.<sup>115</sup> At All Saints North St. the initial impetus was provided in the 1420s by the commemoration in the east window of the north aisle of Nicholas Sr. and Jr. and their wives, and in another window of the north aisle which included a memorial to Nicholas of Richmond, the father of Nicholas Sr. Sometime between 1429 and 1432, Nicholas Sr. and his wife Margaret were also commemorated in a window of the south aisle together with Reginald Bawtre and his family. At the same time, the numerous offspring of Nicholas Sr. also took up the notion of commemoration and we find the Boltens (that is John and his wife Alice, the daughter of Nicholas Sr.) whose parish church was St. John Ousebridge, founding a chantry at All Saints and most probably being commemorated in the Prick of Conscience window along with other couples. We know that the chaplain William Revetour, who was the godfather of John and Alice Bolton's daughter Isabel, bequeathed to Alice a copy of the Prick of Conscience which could have been used as the basis for the iconography of the window.<sup>116</sup> The Prick of Conscience window represents a visually outstanding and unique interpretation of the text dated c.1325-1350 and wrongly attributed to the Yorkshire hermit Richard Rolle (d. 1349).<sup>117</sup> The text belongs to a wide *oeuvre* of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century devotional literature and is represented at All Saints North St. with fifteen panels each accompanied by a couplet in English - 5 of these couplets are almost literal reproductions from the poem while the rest

---

<sup>114</sup> Margaret refers to John Bawtre as 'her relative' (*consanguineum meum*) in her will, see Appendix A.2.

<sup>115</sup> For a study of the Blackburn family, see S. Tranter, 'Relationships and Responsibilities: the World View of a Late Medieval Merchant Family', York M.A. diss. (1989).

<sup>116</sup> See Appendix A.2, and also Marks, *Stained Glass*, p.84.

<sup>117</sup> J.T.Fowler, 'The Fifteen Last Days of the World in Medieval Art and Literature', *YAJ* 23 (1915), pp.313-337; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp.1, 148, 151, 203, 268, 293, 295; Gee, 'Glass of All Saints',

seem to have been written especially for the window. Copies of the text are known to have circulated in York in the fifteenth century - apart from Alice Bolton, other known owners of the text include Agnes Stapilton (d.1448); and the Franciscan Friars.<sup>118</sup> At the same time, John Bolton's commemoration extended to St. Saviour, where he wished to be buried. Meanwhile, Nicholas Sr.'s eldest son John moved out of the parish of All Saints and first lived in the parish of St. Mary Castlegate with his first wife Katherine, and then moved to that of St. Cuthbert with his second wife Joan (née Bowes). John Blackburn's commemoration in a window at St. Cuthbert was related to his in-laws' links with the church - Joan's parents William and Isabel were commemorated there both in a window and later in a funerary monument. John Blackburn's funerary monument however is to be found at St. Mary Castlegate, along with his first wife and their sons.

We can see that the family was a powerful focus of commemoration, capable of expanding across more than one parish church and acting as a net cast wide to encompass new alliances and generations. It is also significant that family links operated among lay groups other than merchants (such as the Gyseleys, the Towthorps and the Graas) as well as involving the clergy.

A large proportion of the commemorated played a part in civic and national government. This was clearly an important aspect of their lives, because it was stressed in their epitaphs more frequently than their occupation.<sup>119</sup>

Tables 3.24, 3.25 and 3.26 tells us that 126 (58%) out of 217 non-clerical, non-armiger men who were commemorated in chantries, monuments and windows were also involved in political activities and that 68 (31%) of them reached the mayoralty. It cannot be sufficiently stressed how socially prestigious this office was and how its holders - mostly merchants - strenuously fought to preserve their hold on it. When the city's constitution was revised in 1517 to allow for the greater representation of newly prosperous crafts, mercantile representation in the common council was also increased while some of the large and potentially troublesome crafts were excluded altogether.<sup>120</sup>

However, the patterns of office-holding show slight differences between the three categories of commemoration. Among those commemorated by chantries we find the largest number of chamberlains, which was the lowest of the offices considered here - the office was open to all

---

pp.158-162. see the original text in R. Morris (ed.), *The Pricke of Conscience*, (Berlin 1863), pp.129-131.

<sup>118</sup> Appendix A.2 sub William Revetour, Alice Bolton and Agnes Stapilton; also Jonathan Hughes, 'The Administration of Confession in the Diocese of York in the Fourteenth Century', in *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, (ed.) David M. Smith, Borthwick Studies in History 1, (York 1991), pp.95, 106, 108. N.R.Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., (London 1964), pp.218 tells us that the Franciscan copy of the MS. is now at Arundel Castle in the collection of the Duke of Norfolk.

<sup>119</sup> See Appendix A.1 - at All Saints Pavement, the merchants John Acaster, William Todd, John Gilliot, Thomas Santon, John Feriby, Thomas Gare and Thomas Brounfleet all chose to declare their civic roles and neglected to mention their professions. See chapter 4 for discussion of contents of inscriptions.

<sup>120</sup> H.Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, pp.123-4. Merchants were also noticeable among M.P.s, see Elizabeth L. Shields, 'The Members of Parliament for the City of York 1485-1515', *York Historian* 11 (1994), pp.9-22.

occupations but it wielded no real political power.<sup>121</sup> We also find the highest number of bailiffs, which is an indication of the high proportion of commemorations in this medium in the fourteenth century. It is however noticeable that in this category, which contains the smallest number of overall commemorations compared with monuments and windows, we also find the largest number of mayors and the smallest number of no office-holders. It is significant that in all three categories the highest number of office-holders reached the mayoralty. Between 1275 and 1550 170 men held the office of mayor - of these, 62 were commemorated in the parish churches.<sup>122</sup> At the same time, the large number of non-office-holders, especially among those commemorated by monuments, indicates that commemoration in parish churches was not limited to those individuals who held civic office.

Another important common factor among the commemorated was the level of social contact among them. In this context it is useful to turn to the register of the guild of Corpus Christi (1408-1546) as an index of social contact. The guild's role as a common factor among those commemorated in the east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate has already been noted, but it can also be seen to apply to other groups (see table 3.27).<sup>123</sup>

The distribution of social groups indicates that merchants dominated this particular coterie - the 76 commemorated who were also members of the guild include 52 merchants, 10 clergy, 7 armigers (including one Baron), 5 artisans and 2 lay clerks. Membership of the guild appears to have been a common factor in the Russell chantry (1460); in the late fifteenth-century Beverley-Gilliot-Feriby monuments at All Saints Pavement; in the late fifteenth-century Vicars-Johnson-Wilson monuments at St. Michael Spurriergate and in the early sixteenth-century Elwald and Beckwith windows at St. Michael-le-Belfrey. It also underlay the family-linked Blackburne and Bowes windows at St. Cuthbert, and the Selby and Stockton window at St. John Ousebridge. The guild of Corpus Christi was a prestigious club, whose membership was not confined to York citizens and which included among its numbers Cecily Duchess of York, Archbishop George Neville, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester and Archbishop Thomas Rotherham.<sup>124</sup> However, it can be argued that the social focus provided by the guild could have furthered the impetus to commemoration among the above-mentioned groups.

A common theme in the wills of the commemorated is the ownership of lands, messuages and tenements. Table 3.28 shows the social groupings of the 67 commemorated who bequeathed lands, tenements, messuages and houses in their wills. Merchants alone account for the single largest

---

<sup>121</sup> Jennifer I. Kermode, 'Urban Decline? The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York', *ECHR* second series 35 (1982, pp.187, 193.

<sup>122</sup> The number of men who held the mayor's office is based on Drake's list, pp.360-364.

<sup>123</sup> Routh, 'Holy Trinity Goodramgate', pp.119-120.

<sup>124</sup> Members in 1456, 1471, 1477 and 1489 respectively, see *Reg. CC* pp.55, 79, 101, 124; also Knowles 1936 p.169.

group, while the mercantile group as a whole (merchants, mercers, goldsmiths, apothecaries, grocers and drapers) represent 32% of the total. However, it is also noticeable that artisans (7), clergy (2), lawyers (2) and armigers (1) are also part of this small group. The individuals in this list were among the wealthiest of their kind. It is noticeable that the artisan groups represented here are tanners, carpenters and butchers - from the discussion of the relative wealth of artisan groups above we can see that tanners and butchers were known to be especially well-off. The properties bequeathed in these wills are primarily within the city of York and its suburbs - the notable exceptions are the mercer John Gilliot who had lands and tenements in Sherburn in Elmet and Towthorp; the tanner William Lonnedale who had a tenement in Pocklington; and the notary and merchant John Chapman who owned lands, meadows and pastures in and around Kneesall, Ampston and Allerton in Sherwood in the county of Nottingham, as well as lands, tenements and pastures in and around Fokethorp, Escrik and north Dalton in the county of York, and lead mines in Hextildesham, Swaledale and Craven.<sup>125</sup> The lack of properties further afield indicates that at least until the early sixteenth century the commemorated were still city-bound, even though successive generations sometimes used their wealth to acquire landed gentry status.<sup>126</sup> The descendants of the Basys, Graas, Holmes, and Salleys appear to have followed such a pattern and established manorial possessions as far afield as Lincolnshire and the West Riding.<sup>127</sup>

Another common link - of which we have several examples - can be found in professional or business contacts. At All Saints Pavement were a chantry (1401) and a monument (post-1401) which commemorated the drapers William de Pountfrayt, John Thornton and the latter's wife Katherine. The Thornton-Pountfrayt monument is particularly interesting because Pountfrayt's wife Avicia had predeceased him and was already buried in All Saints, yet his memorial and hers were not in the same place (indeed there is no trace of Avicia's monument at All Saints in either the visual or the antiquarian record).<sup>128</sup> When the Thorntons came to arrange for their monument they chose to be commemorated next to where William lay buried and to make this explicit in their epitaph. In windows we find this type of link in the Bawtre-Blackburne windows at All Saints North St. (one pre-1429, the other c.1429-1432) and in the Stockton-Selby window at St. John Ousebridge (1430s)

---

<sup>125</sup> Appendix A.2.

<sup>126</sup> Palliser 1979 pp.131-132 discusses 'betterment' migrants who moved from their rural birthplace in order to rise socially and who sometimes retired back to the countryside after amassing wealth in the town; see also Jennifer I. Kermode, 'The Merchants of Three Northern English Towns', in *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England*, (ed.) C.Clough, (Liverpool 1982), p.37; and Peter Clark, 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns 1580-1640', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, (eds.) Peter Clark and Paul Slack, (London 1972), pp.134-8.

<sup>127</sup> Dobson, 'Perpetual Chantries', p.28.

<sup>128</sup> The only other known instance in which husband and wife are commemorated by monuments in different parts of the same church is that of John and Ellen Waghon at St. Crux 1421. In all other known cases husband and wife are commemorated in the same monument.

- all the commemorated belonged to the merchant class. This phenomenon can also be witnessed in other merchant chantries - specifically in the chantry of the merchant Thomas Smyth, his wife Katherine and John Braithwaite at St. Martin Coney St. (1471) and in that of the mercer William de Grantham, his wife Maud and the merchant William de Santon at St. Helen Stonegate (1371). This practice of commemorating one's fellow merchants is reflected in testamentary evidence - for instance in Henry Markett's 1443 bequest of 4d to every chaplain in York to pray for his soul and the souls of his fellow merchants Henry Wyman, Nicholas Blackburn Sr. and their wives; and in John Feriby's 1490 bequest of four tenements in exchange for prayers for himself and his family and for Thomas Beverlay and his family.<sup>129</sup> This type of link is however not exclusive to the laity. We have three further examples of commemoration linked by professional ties: the Feriby-Bilton chantry (1384) at St. Martin Micklegate, the Savage-Manfeld window (pre-1394) at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. and the Halton-Swanland chantry (1396) at St. Peter Willows. In these three cases the commemorated were all clerics.

The parish itself can be seen to have formed a common link between the commemorated in a variety of ways. The draper John Litster, who is commemorated together with his three wives in a window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey, made John Coltman supervisor of his will in 1541. Coltman, who was subtreasurer of York Minster, was himself commemorated in a window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey. While it is not surprising to note that two individuals commemorated in contemporaneous memorials in the same church should have known each other, we have few examples of a parish link between a layman and a cleric who were not related, as were the Banks-Bawtries at All Saints North St. The Bagule-Chapman window at All Saints North St. and the east window at Holy Trinity Goodramgate are the only examples of memorials which commemorate clerics together with layfolk. There are no instances of composite lay-clergy commemoration in either chantries or monuments.

The commemoration of women is worth commenting on briefly because rather than representing a class of their own, they were primarily members of whatever class their husband's profession indicated. Women represent a considerable proportion of the commemorated - out of 143 recorded inscriptions commemorating the laity, 81 include the name of the wife or wives and we also have 9 inscriptions which commemorate women alone.<sup>130</sup> The social grouping of women ranges from mercantile to artisan to professional. Women can be seen in commemorative effigies kneeling alongside their husbands in stained glass and standing next to them in monumental brasses (plates 66, 67, 70-72, 79, 82, 83, 93-96). Women are also commemorated in 23 chantries founded by their

---

<sup>129</sup> Appendix A.2 under Markett and Feriby.

<sup>130</sup> Appendix A.1. The sample is based on those inscriptions which give no reason to suppose that the male commemorated was in holy orders. The 9 women commemorated by an individual monument are: Ellen Waghen, Agnes Manars, Margaret Northebye, Matilda Westbe, Agnes Buller, Isabel Sparry, Jannet Walton Agnes Brounflete and Mary Gylle, see A.2.

husbands, as well as being principal commemorated of 4 other chantries.<sup>131</sup> However, women represent a much smaller proportion of the commemorated than men. There are 87 men and 36 women commemorated in chantries, 126 men and 81 women commemorated in monuments, and 104 men and 73 women commemorated in windows - of these, 11 women are commemorated in windows and monuments simply as someone's wife, their proper names either not having been entered in the inscription or not having been recorded by the antiquarians. Even so, women do represent a sizeable group in the context of commemoration, a fact which perhaps reflects the unusual prominence they enjoyed in economic life at York.<sup>132</sup>

So far it has been assumed that commemoration in parish churches was motivated by a concern over the fate of one's soul after death, in the hope that a tangible reminder of one's name in a place of worship might stand one in good stead in the afterlife, particularly when associated with a direct plea for prayers for the soul of the deceased. While the importance of this consideration should not be diminished, it should also be expanded to suggest a variety of other possible reasons which might have prompted the commemorated and their heirs and executors to pay for their memorials.

Infant mortality was a relatively common phenomenon in the Middle Ages, but the implications for a lay person left with no surviving heirs were far-reaching. We can see the lengths to which testators were prepared to go in order to ensure that their property would go to their heirs and their heirs' legitimate heirs in the will of Thomas Barton (1460).<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, dying without heirs meant a greater level of uncertainty over who would pray for one's soul, especially in the all-important period immediately following one's death when the soul's fate hung in the balance. The merchant William Bowes provided for a chantry in his will, but only in the event of the death of all his offspring - from the antiquarian notes on his window at St. Cuthbert's we know that he had five sons and five daughters, and in his will he made bequests to his son William and his daughter Joan.<sup>134</sup> Through the evidence of wills combined with that of commemorative inscriptions from antiquarian evidence we can establish that childlessness was a major factor contributing to extensive commemoration in parish churches, at least on the part of the nine individuals listed in table 3.29.

The will of John Blackburne reveals a poignant aspect of commemoration - in spite of being married twice, and of having had 3 sons and 1 daughter, on his deathbed John Blackburne had no children left alive to inherit his property. The antiquarian evidence reveals the presence of offspring

---

<sup>131</sup> The women founders are: Elena de Seizevaux 1334; Joan de Hornby 1379; Ellen de Gisburn 1392; and Margaret Boynton (undated).

<sup>132</sup> P.J.P.Goldberg, 'Female Labour, Female Service and Marriage in the Late Medieval Urban North', *Northern History* 22 (1986), pp.18-36.

<sup>133</sup> See Appendix A.2.

<sup>134</sup> Appendix A.2, also Dobson, 'Perpetual Chantries', p.35.



in the window he gave to St. Cuthbert. Similarly, his brother Nicholas Blackburn Jr. specifically requests to be buried near his sons in the choir of All Saints North St. The other individuals in the table appear to have been truly childless in that there are no references in their wills to offspring - either dead or alive.

It is possible that many more of the commemorated suffered from this predicament but it is difficult to assess this from the evidence available, particularly as we need the evidence of their wills to confirm childlessness and we do not always have it. What distinguishes a childless individual are generally two testamentary factors - unusually extensive bequests to churches, monasteries and other religious bodies in return for prayers, and a lack of bequests to living children.

The importance of childlessness as a factor for encouraging and promoting commemoration in parish churches can be seen elsewhere. An exceptional example from Flanders is the Ghent altarpiece of 1432. It was commissioned by the alderman and burgomaster Joos Vijd and his wife Elizabeth Borluut for their chapel in the church of St. John, Ghent, and was executed by the court painter Jan van Eyck. The altarpiece belongs to an extensive project for the good of the couple's souls which encompassed Masses for their souls and a fully equipped chapel. The chapel was inaugurated on 6 May 1432, and its ornaments included church plate, service books, praying desks and benches. The Vijd-Borluut arms appeared in stained glass windows and on the vaulting.<sup>135</sup>

Still on the theme of childlessness, it is important to note that the decline in the number of chantry foundations in London during the second half of the fifteenth century has been ascribed to higher survival rates of male children and a corresponding decline in childless testators.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, childless testators in the parish communities of late medieval Kent have also been found to be more likely to make bequests of works of art than those who mentioned children in their wills.<sup>137</sup>

The principal common factor among the aristocratic families commemorated in the parish churches is that they all owned large landed estates in the North, specifically in Yorkshire. As we have already seen in tables 3.15, 3.16 and 3.17, the Scropes, Nevilles and Percies were also commemorated in many northern churches and abbeys. The lesser nobility were also local - the Bulmers and Mowbrays originated from Cleveland; the Fitzhughs from Ravensworth in the North Riding; the Gascoignes came from Gawthorpe in the West Riding; the Hastings from Slingsby in the

---

<sup>135</sup> The parish church of St. John did not become a cathedral - and its dedication did not change to St. Bavo's - until the sixteenth century; see Elizabeth Dhanens, *Van Eyck: The Ghent Altarpiece*, (London 1973), pp.22, 46-50. The Bladelin altarpiece of c.1452 for the church of St. Peter Louvain is another example of commemoration of a childless couple, see Shirley Nielsen Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs. A Study in Patronage*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969), pp.17-28.

<sup>136</sup> J.A.F.Thomson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *JEH* 16 (1965), p.192; S.L.Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*, (Chicago 1948), pp.200-204.

<sup>137</sup> Judy Ann Ford, 'Art and Identity in the Parish Communities of Late Medieval Kent', in *The Church and The Arts. Studies In Church History*, (ed.) D.Wood, 28 (1992), p.236.

North Riding,; the Marmions from Tanfield in the North Riding; the Rosses from Helmsley in the North Riding; and the Vavasours from Haslewood in the West Riding.<sup>138</sup>

The extent to which political office, professional status and family connections are emphasized in inscriptions points to another common factor in church patronage. Windows and funerary monuments represent an excellent means of self-advertisement - they emphasize the commemorated's role and status in the community before the very same members of that community. If we look at commemorative effigies (plates 63-229) we can see how the process operates - men in elegant robes, women in fashionable headdresses and gowns, books, purses, large numbers of children crowding behind the parents in sex-segregated ranks, merchants' marks and coats of arms - at least for the lay folk the representation of status symbols was just as important as the opportunity for pious display.<sup>139</sup>

### 3.6 Absent Groups

It is important to realize that commemoration in the parish churches did not encompass all known social categories from the urban classes. From the urban classes, there is no evidence to show that any innholders, brewers, weavers, vestmentmakers, parchmentmakers, founders, shipwrights or coopers - to name only a few - are among the commemorated, although some of those we have classified as unknown may have come from some of these professions. Additionally, both the antiquarian and medieval evidence affect our perception of commemoration in the parish churches. For example, wills are made by individuals and memorial inscriptions in parish churches always refer to individual or small family or professional groups. Therefore they make it difficult for us to identify corporate groups. However, Gent noted in the north east window at St. Martin Micklegate

'the sons of ... at devotion, viz Robertus, Henricus, Johannes, Wilhelmus, Nicolaus. 2nd column dispossession etc. 3rd and 4th columns bishops etc. which concludes with 7 daughters of ... viz Judetha, Margareta, Alicia, Isabella wife of Roger de Morton lord mayor interred at St. Saviour's, Elena, Constantia, Johana. Part of window taken down to give greater light to church and might contain effigies of parents of above children.<sup>140</sup>

Gent may have been right to assume that the window commemorated a family group with 5 sons and 7 daughters, and in the Royal Commission survey of St. Martin Micklegate it is in fact suggested that these effigies may have commemorated members of the family of John Gisburne, who with his wife Ellen was also commemorated by a chantry chapel at St. Martin.<sup>141</sup> However, another explanation may equally well fit. As Gent did not actually see the parents' commemorative effigies,

---

<sup>138</sup> Appendix A.2 under surname headings; Morris, *West Riding*, pp.261-263; Morris, *North Riding*, pp. 297-298, 370-372; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp. 10, 12, 32, 33, 41, 316-7.

<sup>139</sup> A full iconographic discussion of commemorative panels will be found in chapter 4.

<sup>140</sup> See Appendix A.1 under St. Martin Micklegate.

<sup>141</sup> RCHM, *York 3*, p.24.

and as the sons and daughters of those commemorated in windows are not usually individually named, so it is possible that the window at St. Martin Micklegate in fact commemorated a confraternity of lay brothers and sisters. Unfortunately, there is no evidence regarding such a confraternity - or any other mixed lay group - connected with St. Martin Micklegate (see table 3.30 Guilds in parish churches).

The commemoration of the guilds and confraternities is extremely difficult to detect - we must allow for the fact that the nature of the evidence on which we must rely is oriented towards individual commemoration but we must also allow for another possible explanation.<sup>142</sup> These two groups may have had only a fleeting interest in parish churches which went no further than the upkeep of lights at particular altars, such as the skimmers' guild upkeep of a light to St. Mary in the church of St. Giles. Yet some guilds did maintain a presence in the parish churches as we can see from table 3.30.

For both religious and craft guilds we only have evidence of testamentary bequests, usually small sums of money given by individuals, but we lack examples of guild commemoration.<sup>143</sup> For those guilds that had a guildhall of their own, such as the guild of the BVM, whose guildhall was on the site of the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, it was more logical to divert their attention towards their own guild chapel and that is undoubtedly where most of their attention was concentrated. The York Mercers had a chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity in Fossgate to which stained glass windows, altar cloths and vestments were given by guild members during the fifteenth century - some of those who gave such objects are familiar to us through their commemoration in parish churches, namely John Gylliot and John Carr.<sup>144</sup>

Another group which is absent from commemoration in parish churches consists of recluses - mainly female anchoresses linked with particular parish churches. While their retreat from everyday concerns would suggest that they had other priorities than leaving a memorial to themselves, it does seem unusual that they should have made no lasting impression on the churches that housed them, particularly as at least one of them was wealthy enough to keep a servant (see table 3.31).<sup>145</sup>

Also noticeable is the very small presence of members of religious communities - we know only of two monuments: those of William Cokerham at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (1408) and of

---

<sup>142</sup> Windows which commemorated confraternities existed in the Franciscan church of the City of London, at Ludlow, St. Neot in Cornwall, Hingham in Norfolk, and Middleton in Greater Manchester, see Marks, *Stained Glass*, p.6 and figs.3 and 4. The Ludlow, St. Neot and Middleton glass survives.

<sup>143</sup> The east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate is most definitely not an example of guild patronage, in spite of the iconography of the main lights (Knowles expressed the opinion that the east window of Holy Trinity was a guild window, see Knowles 1936 p.169). The presence of individual commemorative panels confirms this.

<sup>144</sup> *YM & MA* pp.82, 85, 86.

<sup>145</sup> Plate 42 for the site of the anchoress's cell in the plan of All Saints North St.

Richard Kendall at St. Olave (undated). The evidence regarding St. Clement's where we might expect to find nuns was lost before the antiquarians began their work, as was that for All Saints Fishergate, St. Andrew Fishergate, Holy Trinity Micklegate and St. Nicholas Lawrence St. In a way it is unsurprising that in parish churches not connected with religious foundations there should be a lack of commemoration of members of such foundations, yet the evidence of wills of parish clerks suggests a certain level of contact between parish clergy and other religious and it is therefore worth commenting that we have no evidence of commemoration of friars or members of monastic communities in parish churches, except for the two mentioned above.<sup>146</sup>

However, these social categories - recluses, friars, monks and their female equivalents - which are mentioned above as missing from the record share the characteristic of being difficult to trace through civic documents and therefore may also number among the commemorated whose social status could not be established.

### 3.7 The context of commemoration

As we have seen, monuments were the most popular form of memorial, followed by chantries and finally windows. However, these were not the only components to be found in parish churches and in order to complete the picture we need to look at the wills, not just of the commemorated but also of other parishioners.

The fittings that have survived in York parish churches and which date from the twelfth to the early sixteenth centuries represent what we might term 'heavyweight fittings' - mainly woodwork and stonework (see table 3.32).<sup>147</sup>

What we have lost are the 'lightweight fittings' - plate, vestments, altar cloths and tapestries which could have easily decayed or been sold or melted. We also have none of the lightweight woodwork - parclose screens or chantry screens.<sup>148</sup> We can however assemble at least a partial

---

<sup>146</sup> See wills of James Bagule 1438 and Henry Cattall 1460, both of whom make bequests to monks of Holy Trinity Micklegate. Cattall also makes bequests to friars. Holy Trinity held the advowson of All Saints North St. where both clerks worked. See also Appendix A.2: John Gilliot, cleric, and his connections with the clergy at Beverley Minster.

<sup>147</sup> The only exception are the medieval pulpits which do not survive - while we cannot expect every church in York to have had such a fitting we do have testamentary evidence for at least one such object at St. Martin Micklegate, see table 3.33.

<sup>148</sup> For York see J.C.Cox and Alfred Harvey, *English Church Furniture*, (London 1907), pp.11, 81, 340, 348, 256, 261, 11; J.C.Cox, *English Church Fittings. Furniture and Accessories*, (London 1922), p.205; F.Bond, *The Chancel of English Churches*, (London 1916), pp.4, 49. See also Christa Grössinger, 'Misericords', in *Age of Chivalry*, pp.122-124; Charles Tracy, 'Woodwork', in *Age of Chivalry*, pp.118-121; M.D.Anderson, *Misericords. Medieval Life in English Woodcarvings*, (Harmondsworth 1956); G.H.Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, (London 1968); C.J.P.Cave, *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches*, (Cambridge 1948); F.Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, (London New York and Toronto 1908); F.E.Howard and F.H.Crossley, *English Church Woodwork. A Study in Craftsmanship during the Medieval Period AD 1250-1550*, (New York 1927); J.C.Cox, *Bench-Ends in English Churches*, (Oxford 1916); Aymer Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens*, (London 1947).

picture of what did exist in the parish churches from the evidence of testamentary bequests (see table 3.33).<sup>149</sup>

It is important not to underestimate the purpose for which church furnishings and fittings came into being, for while it may have been in the minds of testators to provide their churches with aesthetically pleasing objects for the good of their souls, these objects primarily had to perform a ritualistic function. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had affirmed the doctrine of Transubstantiation as well as the basic requirement to take communion once a year, so the Mass acquired greater importance and greater theatricality, with the priest raising his arms at the Elevation of the Host.<sup>150</sup> All the York testators who bequeathed wax for candles or torches to burn on the day of their burial and requested that these should afterwards remain at various altars, also specified that the torches or candles in question were to be lit at the time of the elevation of the host.<sup>151</sup>

We do not find reference in York wills to chancel screens and parclose screens which are so striking a feature of East Anglian churches.<sup>152</sup> The genre appears to have been used in Yorkshire as well - we find remains of screens in village churches such as Patrington - although some evidence suggests that widespread removal of these may have taken place as late as the eighteenth century.<sup>153</sup> The evidence for altarpieces (painted retables) is not abundant, centring mainly on painted images and/or alabasters.<sup>154</sup>

Church plate on the other hand seems to have been widely available - the cruet set mentioned in table 3.33 refers to a pair of vessels for water and wine. However, the bequests we have refer only to the more basic items needed for the Mass, and we have no bequests of thuribles (censers) or chrismatories, which were equally necessary for liturgical purposes. There is no surviving medieval plate, and we only have the scarce evidence of the Inventories of Church Goods of 1546 which suggests that by then the 16 churches surveyed could only boast silver or silver-gilt

---

<sup>149</sup> See tables 3.34 and 3.35 for a more comprehensive breakdown of such bequests; in table 3.33 a few specific examples are used to illustrate the variety of objects to be found in York churches.

<sup>150</sup> P.Draper, 'Architecture and Liturgy', in *Age of Chivalry* p.88; N.Coldstream, 'The Kingdom of Heaven: its Architectural Setting', in *Age of Chivalry* pp.92-97; see also R.N.Swanson, 'Medieval Liturgy as Theatre: the Props', in *The Church and the Arts. Studies in Church History*, (ed.) D.Wood, 28 (1992), pp.239-253 for material on Lichfield Cathedral.

<sup>151</sup> For example see will of John Kyrkeby 1428, Appendix A.2.

<sup>152</sup> M.R.James, *Norfolk and Suffolk*, (London and Toronto 1930), pp.8, 81, 150, 236-7. It is also possible that wills are not an appropriate source in which to look for such evidence.

<sup>153</sup> For Patrington see Pevsner, *East Riding*, pp.322-324 and Morris, *East Riding*, pp.266-271. Morris, *East Riding*, pp.42-3 refers to the destruction of chancel and chantry screens in the 1720s and 1730s at the behest of the Archdeacon of the East Riding and of the Dean of York. It is not clear whether we can relate these activities to York churches or even whether we can assume that the orders were carried out for reasons other than to remove heavily decayed objects.

<sup>154</sup> For a fourteenth-century Dominican example see E.C.Norton, D.Park and P.Binski, *Dominican Painting in East Anglia: the Thornham Parva Retable and the Musée de Cluny Frontal*, (Woodbridge 1987).

chalices.<sup>155</sup> This is possibly an underestimate as the commissioners did not visit the churches in person and many parishes attempted to protect their possessions by being less than truthful in their inventories.<sup>156</sup>

Fonts are popular, but there is only one reference to a pulpit (dated 1487, see table 3.33), which seems to imply that the latter were not introduced until the late fifteenth century.<sup>157</sup> Easter sepulchres, none of which survives, were to be found in at least 10 churches - the earliest testamentary evidence is for the one at All Saints North St.<sup>158</sup>

We can look at the wills of the commemorated for evidence of bequests to parish churches which indicate the existence of fittings and objects which are now lost (see table 3.33). We can also look at a wider sample of wills, mainly from printed collections, which can give us a more general idea of what kinds of bequests were made to parish churches (see table 3.35). We need to bear in mind that printed collections tend to contain wills which are perceived to be in some way interesting or unusual, so we cannot claim that printed wills give us an idea of what was usually bequeathed to parish churches, but rather they provide a context which illustrates what was available in parish churches for testators to contribute to if they wished.<sup>159</sup>

Tables 3.34 and 3.35 give us information about anonymous gifts in the sense that once in the church these bequests would have been disassociated from the testator's identity, unlike the memorials in tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. The possible exceptions to this are those items which may have carried some reminder of their previous owners's identity - such as Thomas Robson's painted cloth bequeathed to Holy Trinity Micklegate which showed a Pietà and a kneeling priest; and the books which may have contained inscriptions to their former owners, such as the Bible given by William Richardson to St. Martin Coney St. in 1510.<sup>160</sup>

Candles and torches are the most popular bequest among the commemorated, followed by vestments, books and building/repair work. Among other testators, books and altar cloths are the most popular, followed by candles/torches and building/repair work. The categories of bequests are roughly the same between the two groups of testators, except that the commemorated make no bequests of altar cloths, relics or rowels, and their contribution to building and repair work involves

---

<sup>155</sup> *YCGI* pp.87-92, 116.

<sup>156</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, (New Haven and London 1992), p.491.

<sup>157</sup> Pulpits with panelled sides survive in Norfolk where they were given by wealthy merchants and their wives; James, *Suffolk and Norfolk*, pp.206, 187, 160, 142, 183, 58.

<sup>158</sup> D & O'C p.89; Raine, *Mediaeval York* pp.254, 191, 125, 250, 295, 235, 196, 37, 160, 231.

<sup>159</sup> Some printed collections are however selected on a different basis, for instance *York Clergy Wills 1520-1600 Vol.1 Minster Clergy*, (ed.) Claire Cross, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, (York 1984).

<sup>160</sup> See Appendix A.2 for details. Richardson's Bible is the only known example of a book given to a York church which is still in existence. The book only has a few decorated initials (ff. 94<sup>r</sup>, 102<sup>r</sup>, 165<sup>r</sup>) and some marginal decoration (f.165<sup>r</sup>).

money for roofs and windows but not stalls. Nevertheless, we see many similarities between the testamentary habits of the commemorated with regard to parish churches and those of other will-making individuals in the same period.

In order to set these gifts into a wider context, we need to find out to what extent parish churches played an important role in a testator's last thoughts in relation to other major York beneficiaries. Table 3.36 is a straightforward comparison of amounts of money given to the parish churches, to the friaries and to York Minster.

The amounts given to the parish churches far outweigh those bequeathed to the friaries and the Minster, indicating that as far as the commemorated were concerned, the parish church represented a more urgent recipient of testamentary bequests than the other two. However, we must beware of drawing conclusions on the general activities of the commemorated in relation to the friaries, which is not the subject of this thesis. We have evidence of the specific involvement of two of the commemorated with the friaries - the merchants Thomas Gare Senior in 1425 and John Shaw in 1502 - which indicates that wills and antiquarian evidence are not the right sources to investigate this type of commemoration.<sup>161</sup>

### 3.8 Conclusion

The patterns of commemoration in the parish churches can be used to contribute to the debate over the decline of York in the later Middle Ages (see table 3.37). While for chantries the peak was reached at the end of the fourteenth century, followed by a uniform and sharp decline in foundations, we have already noted that monuments achieved their maximum number in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Windows peak in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, but the second largest number of windows dates from as late as 1526-1550. As we have seen, chantry foundations are open to a wide range of urban groups in the fourteenth century but become limited to a few mainly merchant class founders in the fifteenth century. These merchants are particularly notable for the considerable size of their testamentary bequests to churches. The decline of chantry foundations as a suitable context for commemoration in the fifteenth century could have been due to a variety of reasons - from better opportunities for visual commemoration in windows and monuments to a glut of existing chantry foundations leading to a lack of distinction in new foundations unless they were of exceptional magnitude. It is unlikely that this decline signalled a decline in piety however, as the continuity of production of commemorative windows and monuments shows. From an economic point of view, the decline of chantry foundations - the most expensive type of commemoration - and the increase in the cheaper forms of monument and

---

<sup>161</sup> Barrie Dobson, 'Mendicant Ideal and Practice in Late Medieval York', in *Archaeological Papers presented to M.W.Barley*, (eds.) P.V.Addyman and V.E.Black, (York 1984), p.117; see Appendix A.2 under Gare and Shaw for details.

windows could be used to confirm York's decline in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless we must bear in mind that the commemorated represent a select group, mainly limited to the will-making, politically-active, better-off sections of the urban classes as well as the nobility, and to take the behaviour of such groups as representative of York society as a whole is probably unwise.

In this chapter we have been able to examine the variety and numbers of people commemorated in various types of church art, mainly through the contribution of the antiquarian evidence. In the next chapter we shall be looking at the iconography of commemoration and at the antiquarian contribution to it.



Church	Chantry	Social status	Year	Licensee
All Saints North St.	John Bengé	chaplain	1324	John
All Saints North St.	Alan Hamerton	merchant	c.1405	unknown
All Saints North St.	William Vescy and wife Marion	mercier	1410	executors
All Saints North St.	Adam Bank	dyer	c.1410	unknown
All Saints North St.	John Bolton	merchant	c.1446	unknown
All Saints Pavement	Thomas de Alwarthorp & sister Isabel	unknown	1311	Thomas
All Saints Pavement	Andrew de Bolyngbrok & Stephen de Bolyngbrok	unknown	1316	Andrew's widow Agnes
All Saints Pavement	Henry de Belton	millier	1377	unknown
All Saints Pavement	Isolda de Acaster & late husband John	merchant	1383	Isolda
All Saints Pavement	Robert de Ampilford & wife Margaret	tanner	1390	Robert
All Saints Pavement	John Thornton & William de Pountefract	drapers	1401	John & William
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	William de Langetoft	vicar choral of YM	1315	William
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Elias de Wandesford	clerk	1323	Elias
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Robert de Houom & wife Katherine	mercier	1361	Robert
Holy Trinity King's Court	Margaret Boynton	armiger	c.1510-c.1536	unknown
Holy Trinity King's Court	Nicholas de Langeton Sr. & wife Margaret	unknown	1314	Nicholas
Holy Trinity King's Court	Roger de Roston & wife Denise	goldsmith	1321	Roger
Holy Trinity King's Court	Roger de Hovyngham & wives Juliana and Agnes	unknown	1359	Roger
Holy Trinity King's Court	Richard de Barneby & wife Alice	butcher	1378	HT clergy: executors?
Holy Trinity King's Court	John de Langeton & wives Beatrice and Margaret	unknown	1378	William Graa & Robert Wycliff: executors?

Table 3.1 People commemorated by chantries<sup>162</sup>

<sup>162</sup> All evidence listed in Appendix A.2 under the names of the people in whose name the chantries were founded. The licensee column serves to indicate whether the chantry was founded during the life of the principal commemorated or posthumously. The social status of couples is determined by the husband's profession; for those chantries which commemorate individuals of different professions, initials are used to indicate individuals. Abbreviations: HT= Holy Trinity; YM= York Minster.

Church	Chantry	Social status	Year	Licensee
Holy Trinity (St. Nicholas) Micklegate	John de Eshton	mercier	pre-1384	unknown
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Thomas Neleson	mercier	1474	unknown
St. Crux	Adam Nayron	unknown	1307	unknown
St. Crux	Robert Meek	unknown	1316	Robert
St. Crux	Thomas Durante Sr.	merchant	1332	unknown
St. Crux	Thomas Durante Jr.	cordwainer	c.1350-1375	unknown
St. Crux	John Barden	litster	1407	unknown
St. George	Hugh de Sutton & wife Matilda	unknown	1312	son Nicholas
St. George	William Tundu	unknown	1377	unknown
St. Helen Stonegate	John de Naffyngton	unknown	c.1330	unknown
St. Helen Stonegate	William de Grantham, wife Maud & William de Santon	WG mercer	1371	executors of William de Grantham, William de Santon & wife Ellen
St. Helen Stonegate	Joan de Hornby & late husband Ralph	WS draper	1379	Joan
St. John Hungate	Richard Russell & wife Pernell, John Thirsk, Guy Fairfax and John Shirwod	draper RR & JT merchants; GF recorder of York; JS Common Clerk of York	1460	executors: John Thirsk, Guy Fairfax and John Shirwod
St. John Ousebridge	John de Shupton, wife Agnes, & late wives Agnes and Emma	unknown	1319	John
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Toller 1st chantry	merchant	1320	Richard
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Toller 2nd chantry	merchant	1320	Richard
St. John Ousebridge	John de Brygnale	chaplain	1365	John
St. John Ousebridge	Richard de Wateby	unknown	1379	daughter and son-in-law
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Yorke	mercier	post-1499	unknown
St. Martin Coney St	Elena de Seizevaux	unknown	1334	Elena
St. Martin Coney St	Thomas de Ludham	subtreasurer of YM & vicar of St. M	1335	Thomas

Table 3.1 People commemorated by chantries (cont.)

Church	Chantry	Social status	Year	Licensee
St. Martin Coney St.	Richard Candeler & wife Juliana	unknown	1375	clergy: executors?
St. Martin Coney St.	Richard Talkan	unknown	1402	unknown
St. Martin Coney St.	Thomas Smyth, wife Katherine & John Braithwaite	TS merchant	1417	chaplains Robert Otley (executor) & William Nunyngton
St. Martin Micklegate	Andrew Toller	unknown	late 13C	unknown
St. Martin Micklegate	Richard Toller	merchant	1326	Richard
St. Martin Micklegate	Nicholas Fouke & wives Margaret and Katherine	merchant	1367	John de Sevenhous: executor?
St. Martin Micklegate	John de Feriby & John de Bilton	clerks	1384	John & John
St. Martin Micklegate	Ellen de Gisburn & late husband John	merchant	1392	Ellen
St. Martin Micklegate	John de Askham & wife Agnes	merchant	1394	John
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Roger Basy & wife Alice	unknown	1311	Roger
St. Mary Castlegate	Robert Graa	unknown	1293	unknown
St. Mary Castlegate	Andrew de Boshale & wife Mary	unknown	1338	Andrew
St. Mary Castlegate	William Graa & wife Joan	merchant	1377	William
St. Mary Castlegate	Thomas Houme & wife Mary	merchant	1377	Thomas
St. Mary Castlegate	John Graa	unknown	1380	executors of William Graa
St. Mary Castlegate	Thomas Northfolke	unknown	1321	Thomas
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Sir John Mowbray	armiger	unknown	unknown
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	William Selby	walker	1339	executors
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Sir Ralph Bulmer	knight	1473	unknown
St. Michael Spurrergate	Robert de Sallay	miller	1336	Robert
St. Peter Little	John Setryngton	unknown	1335	unknown
St. Peter Little	John de Akum Sr.	unknown	1348	John
St. Peter Little	Stephen Setryngton & wife Agnes	unknown	1349	Stephen
St. Peter Little	Robert & William Swetemouth	RS tanner	1350	Robert & William
St. Peter Willows	Robert Halton & Nicholas Swanland	WS unknown chaplains	1396	Robert & Nicholas

Table 3.1 People commemorated by chantries (cont.)

Church	Chantry	Social status	Year	Licensee
St. Sampson	Hugh Botomer	unknown	1336	unknown
St. Sampson	Nicholas de Burton	clerk	1379	clergy: executors?
St. Sampson	John de Helmesley	merc	1405	John
St. Sampson	John Carr	merc	1489	executors
St. Saviour	Robert Verdenel	unknown	pre-1281	unknown
St. Saviour	Adam de Spiridene	rector of St. S	1332	unknown
St. Saviour	John de Hathelsaye	unknown	1333	John
St. Saviour	William & Isabel Frost	unknown	1399	unknown
St. Saviour	William & Janet Burton 1st chantry	merc	1408	unknown
St. Saviour	William & Janet Burton 2 <sup>nd</sup> chantry	merc	1408	unknown
St. Saviour	Richard Wartere & wives Alice and Alice	goldsmith & merchant	1466	executors
St. Saviour	Sir John Gilliot	merchant & goldsmith	1513	son William
St. Wilfrid	Nicholas le Flemmyng	unknown	1312	Nicholas

Table 3.1 People commemorated by chantries (cont.)

Church	Names	Social status	Date
All Saints North St.	William de Dale & wife Emma	pelter	post-1336
All Saints North St.	William Graie & wife Katherine	unknown	post-1367
All Saints North St.	(*)Thomas de Kyllngwyke & wife Juliana	tanner	post-1381
All Saints North St.	(*)John Rothum	unknown	1390
All Saints North St.	(*)John de Wardalle & wife	tanner	1395
All Saints North St.	John Bawtry	successor to vicars choral of YM	1411
All Saints North St.	(*)Richard Killingholme & wives Joan & Margaret	tanner	1451
All Saints North St.	(*)John Coupeland	tanner	1469
All Saints North St.	(*)William Stockton, Robert Colynson & their wife Isabel	WS merchant	1471
		RC mercer	
All Saints North St.	(*)Thomas Clerke & wife Margaret	attorney	1482
All Saints North St.	(*)William Londisdall & wives Ellen & Alice	tanner	1487
All Saints Pavement	Agnes de Broufflete	unknown	unknown
All Saints Pavement	Robert Bridesale & wife Matilda	unknown	unknown
All Saints Pavement	John de Acaster & wife Isolda	merchant	1379
All Saints Pavement	Robert de Ampleford & wife Margaret	tanner	1390
All Saints Pavement	John Thornton, wife Katherine & William Pountfratte	drapers	post-1401
All Saints Pavement	Thomas Santon & wives Beatrice & Joan	merc	post-1418
All Saints Pavement	William Fenwick & wife Margaret	merchant	1421
All Saints Pavement	Richard Welles & wife Avice	chandler	1426
All Saints Pavement	Thomas Gare & wife Katherine	merc	1445
All Saints Pavement	Thomas Brounfleet & wife Alice	merchant	1458
All Saints Pavement	John Crathorne	armiger	1464
All Saints Pavement	(*)Robert Crathorne	armiger	1464
All Saints Pavement	William Todd & wife Agnes	merchant	1479
All Saints Pavement	Thomas Beverley & wife Alice	merchant	1480

Table 3.2 People commemorated by monuments<sup>163</sup>

<sup>163</sup> For each church, names are listed in chronological order starting with undated monuments. The date column gives the author's dating of the monuments based on antiquarian and /or medieval evidence. Social status is determined according to the same principles as table 3.1. All evidence is listed in Appendix A.1 under church headings and in Appendix A.2 under name headings. Harman= constable.

Church	Names	Social status	Date
All Saints Pavement	John Gilyot, wife Joan, daughters Joan, Alice, Agnes & Katherine & son John	merc	1484
All Saints Pavement	John Gillyot and master William...	clerics	1484
All Saints Pavement	John Feriby & wife Millicent	merchant	1491
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(*)William Pollemeham	unknown	unknown (14C)
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	John Youle	merc	1391
ex St. Leonard's Hospital			
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(*)Thomas Danby & wife Matilda	merc	1458-63
Holy Trinity King's Court	John Cowpar	butcher	unknown
Holy Trinity King's Court	Robert Gaunt, wife Agnes & daughter Margaret	merchant	c.1407
Holy Trinity King's Court	William & Margaret K...	unknown	1420
Holy Trinity King's Court	John Bolron	carpenter	post-1433
Holy Trinity King's Court	William Ormeshede & wives Helen, Joan & Agnes	merchant	1437
Holy Trinity King's Court	Thomas Kirke & wife Alice	merc	1442-45
Holy Trinity King's Court	John Towthorpe, wife Margaret, William Towthorpe & wife Isabel	butchers	1481
Holy Trinity King's Court	Henry ...	unknown	1503
Holy Trinity King's Court	Thomas Jameson	merchant	1507
Holy Trinity King's Court	William Garton	unknown	1509
Holy Trinity Micklegate	John Ralmond & wife	unknown	unknown
Holy Trinity Micklegate	(*)Walter Flos	unknown	unknown
Holy Trinity Micklegate	William .. & wife	armiger	unknown
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Robert Mem	chaplain of CC guild	c.1408
Holy Trinity Micklegate	William de ...	priest	1482
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Robert Irry	marshall of CC guild	1503
St. Crux	(*)Henry Wyman & wife Agnes daughter of John Barden	HW goldsmith & merchant	1411-13
St. Crux	Ellen wife of John Waghen	JB lister	
St. Crux	John Woghen	merc	1421
St. Crux	Thomas Curtas, wife Alyson & daughter Alyson Upsall	merc	1431
St. Crux	John Boulington	merc	1460
St. Crux	(*)William Lambe & wife Katherine	priest	1480
St. Crux		merchant	1484

Table 3.2 People commemorated by monuments (cont.)

Church	Names	Social status	Date
St. Crux	John Lightlampe	mercier	1485
St. Crux	John Brounfield	priest	1486
St. Crux	John Grinedale	priest	1488
St. Crux	John Shaw & wife Agnes	merchant	1537
St. Cuthbert	(*)William Bowes & wife Isabel	merchant	1435
St. Denys	(*)Robert Warde	merchant	1405
St. Denys	Joan ... & husband	tailor	c.1450
St. Denys	Henry Percy 3rd Earl of Northumberland & wife Eleanor Poinings	baronial	1461
St. Denys	Richard Fugget	fisherman	1515
St. Helen Stonegate	Philip Snaugwell	priest	unknown
St. Helen Stonegate	Mary wife of Robert Gylle	pewterer	c.1479
St. John Ousebridge	(*)Sir Richard Yorke	mercier	1498
St. Lawrence	Richard Byrkyn	priest	unknown
St. Margaret	(*)Agnes Manars	husband Thomas armiger	1499
St. Margaret	Richard Clerk	tanner	1504
St. Martin Micklegate	(*)Simon or Henry Scrope	baronial	1280s
St. Martin Micklegate	Richard Toller	merchant	c.1335-40
St. Martin Micklegate	Robert Hutteram/de Feriby	rector	1375
St. Martin Micklegate	(*)Henry Cattall	chantry chaplain	1460
St. Martin Micklegate	William Burton	rector	1475
St. Martin Micklegate	Richard Gascoyne & wife Katherine	vintner	1486
St. Martin Micklegate	Nicholas Person & wives Alice & Cecily	NP dyer	1490
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	Wilfrid ...	priest	unknown
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	John Midilton & wife Matilde	armiger	1459
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	John Topham	warden of St. Thomas hospital	c.1491
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	William Crosby & wives Ellen & Margaret	cartwright	1484
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	Brian Middleton & wife Christiane	armiger	1492
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Thomas Wilton & wife Ellen	unknown	1425
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Thomas .. & wife Alice	merchant	1429

Table 3.2 People commemorated by monuments (cont.)

Church	Names	Social status	Date
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Margaret mother of John Northeby	merchant	unknown
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Matilda Westbe widow of William	unknown	1486
St. Mary Castlegate	Roger Marton	unknown	unknown
St. Mary Castlegate	(*)William ...	unknown	pre-1340
St. Mary Castlegate	John Sullyngelne	unknown	1403
St. Mary Castlegate	(*)John Blackburne, wife Katherine & one other (wife Joan?)	merchant	1426
St. Mary Castlegate	(*)William Graa & wife Joan	(wine) merchant	post-1378
St. Mary Castlegate	John Garnett	rector	1492
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Thomas de Bolyn & wife	unknown	unknown
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Agnes Buller	unknown	unknown
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Richard Crafurth, wife Beatrice & 2 children	goldsmith	post-1545
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	brother William Cokerham	mendicant or monastic	1408
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Gilbert Pynchebek & wife Margaret	unknown	1457
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	George Evers, wife Beatrice & daughter	notary & scribe	1520
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Richard Birgman & wife Joan	unknown	1542
St. Michael Spurriergate	John ... & wife Reanalde	merchant	post-1400
St. Michael Spurriergate	Robert Appylby & daughter Alice	woolman	1428
St. Michael Spurriergate	Nicholas Miers	unknown	1439
St. Michael Spurriergate	(*)William Langton	rector	1466
St. Michael Spurriergate	(*)William Hancock & wife Ellen	apothecary	1485
St. Michael Spurriergate	Nicholas Vicars	grocer	1488
St. Michael Spurriergate	Thomas Vicars	grocer	c.1490-99
St. Michael Spurriergate	Robert Johnson	grocer	1497
St. Michael Spurriergate	Oliver Middleton	merchant	1504
St. Michael Spurriergate	(*)William Wilson	harman & goldsmith	1518
St. Michael Spurriergate	Richard Savege & wife Alice	unknown	1544
St. Nicholas	Richard de Grimston	priest	pre-1340
St. Olave	Henry Flemmyng	unknown	unknown
St. Olave	Isabel Sparry	unknown	unknown

Table 3.2 People commemorated by monuments (cont.)



Church	Names	Social status	Date
St. Olave	Jannet Walton	unknown	unknown
St. Olave	Robert de Mawlturas	unknown	unknown
St. Olave	Robert Asby	saddler	unknown
St. Olave	brother Robert/Richard Kendall	monk of St. Mary's Abbey	unknown
St. Olave	John de Mawldynge & wife Joan	unknown	1328
St. Olave	John de Spawldinge & wife Alice	unknown	1394
St. Olave	Thomas Gudebame	carpenter	1473
St. Olave	Laurence Jole	mason	1485
St. Olave	John Cotes	butcher or cordwainer	1487
St. Olave	William Vendor & Agnes Vendor	yeoman	1485
St. Olave	William Briggs	pewterer	1490
St. Peter Little	(*)Alan Hamerton & wife Isabel	merchant	1405
St. Saviour	John Kapwyk & wife	unknown	unknown
St. Saviour	(*)Robert Verdenel	unknown	pre-1281
St. Saviour	(*)Roger Moreton & wife Isabel	merc	1382-1412
St. Saviour	Helen de Duffeld wife of Robert	merchant	pre-1398
St. Saviour	Robert de Duffeld	merchant	1398
St. Wilfrid	Nicholas Flemmyng	unknown	1319

Table 3.2 People commemorated by monuments (cont.)

Church	Names	Social status	Date
All Saints North St.	(*nIII) ... Wiloby; ... Hesyl; Roger Henrison & wife Cecily; Abel Hesyl & wife Agnes; & others (possibly John & Alice Bolton)	JB merchant, the rest unknown	1st quarter 15C
All Saints North St.	(*sIII) James Baguley, Robert Chapman & wife	JB rector RC unknown	2nd quarter 15C
All Saints North St.	(*I) Nicholas Blackburn Sr. & wife Margaret; Nicholas Blackburn Jr. & wife Margaret	merchants	c.1413-26
All Saints North St.	(*nIV) Reginald Bawtre & Nicholas Blackburn of Richmond	merchants	pre-1429
All Saints North St.	(*nIV) Nicholas Blackburn Sr., wife Margaret; Reginald Bawtre, wife Cecily & ?daughter	merchants	c.1429-32
All Saints North St.	(*sIII) Richard Killingholme & wives Joan & Margaret & others	tanner	pre-1451
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(*I) John Walker; John Biller & wife; William Thorpe & wife Isabel; William de Egremont; 2 other couples	JW rector of HT JB baxter/miller WT mercer WE bishop of Egremont & rector of All SS P dyer	1471
Holy Trinity King's Court	John Kirkeby & wife Joan	AH vintner	pre-1428
Holy Trinity King's Court	Alan Hyll, William Bolton & Agnes	WB taylor	c.1440
Holy Trinity King's Court	John Chapman	public notary & merchant	c.1530

Table 3.3 People commemorated by windows<sup>164</sup>

<sup>164</sup> For each church, names are listed in chronological order starting with undated windows. The date column gives the author's dating of the windows based on antiquarian and/or medieval evidence. Social status is determined as in table 3.1. All evidence is listed in Appendix A.1 under church headings and in Appendix A.2 under name headings. (\*)=surviving visual evidence, mostly restored, sometimes fragmentary. CVM A numbering given for surviving windows. Abbreviations: YM=York Minster.

Church	Names	Social status	Date
St. Cuthbert	Robert Kirkby & wife Katherine	merchant	unknown
St. Cuthbert	John Blackburne, wife Joan, 3 sons, 1 daughter	merchant	pre-1426
St. Cuthbert	William Bowes, wife Isabel, 5 sons, 5 daughters	merchant	pre-1439
St. Cuthbert	William Gyselay, wife Alice & son John	WG scrivener & armiger JG gentleman	1446-60
St. Denys	(*nIV) Robert Skelton, wife Joan & son John	merc	1350s
St. Denys	14 members of Percy family	baronial	pre-1461
St. John Ousebridge	(*YM nXIX) Richard Orinshead & 6 sons	unknown	unknown
St. John Ousebridge	(*YM nXIX) Richard Toller, wife Isabel & priest	merchant	1320s
St. John Ousebridge	(*YM nXIX) William Grafton & wife Agnes	unknown	1320s
St. John Ousebridge	(*YM nXX) John Randman & wife Joan	unknown	c.1340
St. John Ousebridge	(*YM nXX) Richard Brikenale & wife Katherine	merc	1330s
St. John Ousebridge	(*YM nXXII) Roger Selby & wife Elizabeth; William Stockton & wife Alice	RS spicer WS merchant	1430s
St. John Ousebridge	(*YM nXIX and nXX) Sir Richard Yorke, wives Joan & Joan, 7 sons, 4 daughters	merc	1498
St. Margaret	Richard Erghes	rector	post-1399
St. Martin Coney St.	John Osbaldwyck	merchant	pre-1398
St. Martin Coney St.	John Kirkeby & wife Joan	dye	pre-1428
St. Martin Coney St.	(*nII) Robert Semar	vicar of St. M	1437
St. Martin Micklegate	(*sII) Nicholas Fouke	merchant	c.1322-1343
St. Martin Micklegate	Robert, Henry, John, William, Nicholas, Judith, Margaret, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen, Constance & Joan ...	RM mercer, the rest unknown	late 14C
St. Martin Micklegate	(*sII) Sir Hugh Hastings & wife Anne Gascoigne	knight	pre-1489
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	William Dainton & wives Matilda & Joan	unknown	unknown
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	William Santore	merchant	unknown
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Robert Savage & John Manfeld	rectors	pre-1394
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Sir William Playce	gentleman	c.1400

Table 3.3 People commemorated by windows (cont.)

Church	Names	Social status	Date
St. Maurice	Henry Meleton & wife Isabel; Roger Bradley & wife; Thomas Holme & wife Margaret	HM armiger RB merchant TH unknown unknown WT glazier residentiary canon of YM subtreasurer of YM merchants draper succentor & residentiary canon of YM WB Sr. merchant WB Jr. unknown succentor to vicars choral of YM goldsmith vicar choral of YM chaplain lawyer unknown (?armiger) merc	post-1421
St. Maurice	Robert Atkynson, wives Edith & Agnes & 3 children		1464
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	William Tomson & others		c.1530
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*sIV) Hugh Ashton		c.1530
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*sV) John Coltman		post-1535
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*sIV) John Elwald & wife Agnes; Robert Elwald & wife Ellen		c.1530
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*nIV) John Listar & 3 wives		1535
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*sVI) Thomas Marser		1535
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*sIII) William Beckwith Sr. & wife Jane; William Beckwith Jr. & wife Anne		1535
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*nVII) Christopher Ceel		1537
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*nV) Martin Soza, wife Ellen, 7 sons & 3 daughters		c.1545
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Blakely		unknown
St. Michael Spurriergate	(*sV) William Appilgarth		pre-1438
St. Michael Spurriergate	(*sII) John Dautre		pre-1459
St. Sampson	Robert Middleton, wife & sons		unknown
St. Sampson	(2 windows) John Karr		pre-1488

Table 3.3 People commemorated by windows (cont.)

Name	Window	Church	Death
Robert Semar	1437	St. Martin Coney St.	1443
Richard Yorke	1498	St. John Ousebridge	1498
Hugh Ashton	c.1530	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1523
John Elwald	c.1530	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1505
Robert Elwald	c.1530	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	post-1539
John Chapman	c.1530	Holy Trinity King's Court	1530-1
John Listar	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1541
Thomas Marser	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1546
William Beckwith Sr.	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	post-1556
John Coltman	post-1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1552
Martin Soza	c.1545	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1560

Table 3.4 Dated window inscriptions<sup>165</sup>

<sup>165</sup> See Appendix A.1 under church headings; table 3.3.

Name	Occupation	Will	Details
Beatrix Santon (A)	wife of Thomas draper	1405	2 marks a year for 6 years to augment chantry
Thomas Graa (A)	cordwainer	1405	3 cottages for chantry at chapel of St. John E & St. John B at St. Mary Castlegate
Alan Hamerton (A)	merchant	1405	lands & tenements for chantry in chapel of St. William Ousebridge
Robert de Louthe	mercier	1407	a 20-year chantry at altar of St. Mary at St. Andrew St. Andrewgate
William Vescy	mercier	1407	message for chantry at All Saints North St.(F 1410)
Robert Howme (A)	merchant	1433	augmentation of his father's chantry at Holy Trinity Goodramgate
Richard Russell	merchant	1435	lands & tenements for chantry at altar of BVM & St. Anne at St. John Hungate (F 1460)
Robert Semar (A)	vicar of St. Martin Coney St.	1442	£40 to augment chantry of BVM at St. Martin
Richard Wartere	goldsmith & merchant	1458	5 marks for chantry at altar of St. Thomas at St. Saviour (F 1466)
William Rich	pewterer	1465	money from tools of trade for maintenance of his chantry at St. Helen Stonegate
Alice Beverlay (A)	wife of Thomas merchant	1482	40s to augment chantry of St. Mary at All Saints Pavement
John Feriby (A)	merchant	1490	4 tenements to chantry of St. Mary at All Saints Pavement
Sir Richard Yorke (A)	mercier	1498	chantry at St. John Hungate
Sir John Gilliot	merchant & goldsmith	1509	lands, rents & tenements for chantry at altar of St. Thomas at All Saints Pavement; yearly annuity 6 marks
Sir John Gilliot	merchant & goldsmith	1509	£400 to purchase land worth £6 a year for chantry in new chapel at St. Saviour (F 1513)
Thomas Mason	pewterer	1528	house & windmill for chantry of St. Thomas at St. Nicholas Micklegate

Table 3.5 Testamentary provisions for chantries<sup>166</sup>

<sup>166</sup> See Appendix A.2 for references. Evidence is from manuscript wills of people mentioned by the antiquarians and from wills found in printed collections. There may be further references to (unfulfilled) will foundations in other manuscript wills of York testators. Abbreviations: A= mentioned by antiquarians; F=chantry founded by executors in (year).

Name	Occupation	Will	Church	Details
William Driffield	chaplain of St. Martin Coney St.	1361	St. Martin Coney St.	20s for stone & 3s 4d for impression of chalice
John de Preston Sr.	bucklemaker	1400	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	13s 4d for memorial stone
Thomas Graa	cordwainer	1405	St. Mary Castlegate	100 marks (£66 13s 4d) for marble stone with images of self and wife
William Muston	fisher	1418	St. Denys	marble slab
James Bagule (A)	rector of All Saints North St.	1438	All Saints North St.	marble slab
Richard York (A)	mercier	1498	St. John Ousebridge	(*own tomb already built
Alison Clarke	widow	1509	York Minster	marble stone with names of Alison and husband engraved in metal
Robert Dale	shipman	1517	St. Michael Spurriergate	20s or £2 for stone
George Evers	notary	1520	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	stone with writing on it
Alexander Foster	unknown	1520	St. Olave	33s 4d for marble stone with brass inscription
John Norman	unknown	1525	All Saints Pavement	marble stone with images engraved on it of a man and 3 women with writing

Table 3.6 Testamentary provisions for monuments<sup>167</sup>

<sup>167</sup> A=noted by antiquarians; (\*)=surviving. See Appendix A.2 under surname headings. Evidence based on manuscript will of people noted by antiquarians and on printed wills.

Name	Occupation	Will	Church	Details
William Rumlay	mercier	1391	St. Saviour	a panel of a window
Robert de Louthe	mercier	1407	St. Sampson	40s to fabric of glass window in S aisle
Reginald Bawtre (A)	merchant	1429	All Saints North St.	£5 for 1 window (*nIV & nV)
Richard Russell	merchant	1435	St. John Hungate	3 windows
Richard Russell	merchant	1435	York Minster vestibule door	£8 for 1 window
Marion Marton	unknown	1441	St. Crux	40s. for 1 window
Henry Markett	mercier	1443	All Saints Pavement	£10 for 1 window and 1 battlement
John Radclyff	merchant	1444	St. Crux	£15 for 8 windows
Roger Stanes	unknown	1458	St. Olave	6s. 8d. for window over door
Alison Clarke	unknown	1509	Mount Grace Priory	10s. for 1 window

Table 3.7 Testamentary provisions for windows<sup>168</sup>

Church	Inscription	Date	Details
All Saints Pavement	John and Isolda de Acaster	1379	blanks for Isolda
All Saints Pavement	William Todd and wife Agnes	1479	blanks for William
All Saints Pavement	Thomas Beverley and wife Alice	1480	blanks for Alice
St. Cuthbert	William Bowes and Isabel(*)	1435	blanks for William
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Hancock and wife Ellen(*)	1485	blanks for Ellen

Table 3.8 Monuments with unfilled dates<sup>169</sup>

<sup>168</sup> A=noted by antiquarians; (\*)=surviving. This is a copy of table 1.10 reproduced here in order to collect all the evidence on prices together. Note that this list contains bequests to non-parochial churches, such as York Minster and Mount Grace Priory; these values have been included owing to the scarcity of bequests for church glass. Bl Reg. 1 f.37f; Reg.2 ff. 69v, 90v, 572A<sup>f</sup>, 27<sup>v</sup>; Reg.3 ff. 265<sup>f</sup>, 439<sup>f</sup>, 439<sup>v</sup>; YML L 2/5 f.82<sup>f</sup>; *TE I* p.158; *TE II*, pp.88-9, 53, 55, 93; RCHM, *York 3* p.8. I am grateful to Dr. P.J.P.Goldberg for allowing me to consult his list of testamentary bequests to York parish churches. It is possible that some of these bequests may refer to provisions for the stonework of a window rather than the glass, particularly Henry Markett's bequest which includes money for a battlement.

<sup>169</sup> \*=surviving; Appendix A.1 under church headings, Appendix A.2 under name headings; RCHM, *York 3-5*; Stephenson, 'Brasses in York' pp.1-67.



Church	Chantry	Licence	Annual value	Year
All Saints North St.	Alan Hamerton	NR	£4	c.1405
All Saints North St.	Adam del Bank	NR	£5 6s 8d	c.1410
All Saints North St.	William Vescy	£20	5 messuages	1410
All Saints Pavement	Thomas de Alwarthorp	NR	5 marks (£3 6s 8d)	1311
All Saints Pavement	Andrew de Bolyngbrok	NR	5 marks (£3 6s 8d)	1316
All Saints Pavement	Robert de Ampelford	£20	1 messuage	1378
All Saints Pavement	Robert de Ampelford (P)	6s 8d	3s 4d rent	1395
All Saints Pavement	Isolda de Acaster	20 marks (£13 6s 8d)	£6 13s 4d	1383
All Saints Pavement	William Pounfrayt & John Thornton	40s	1 messuage	1401
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Elias de Wandesford	NR	2 messuages	1323
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Robert Houom	20 marks (£13 6s 8d)	6 marks (£4)	1361
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Robert Houom	100s (£5)	23s (£1 3s)	1368
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Robert Houom	6 marks (£4)	26s 8d	1395
Holy Trinity King's Court	Nicholas de Langeton	NR	6 marks (£4)	1314
Holy Trinity King's Court	John de Langeton	£20	10 marks (£6 13s 4d)	1378
Holy Trinity King's Court	Roger de Roston	NR	6 marks (£4)	1321
Holy Trinity King's Court	Roger de Hovyngham	£12	6 marks (£4)	1359
Holy Trinity King's Court	Roger de Hovyngham (P)	20 marks (£13 6s 8d)	rents	1370
Holy Trinity King's Court	Richard de Barneby	£40	7 messuages	1378
Holy Trinity Micklegate / St. Nicholas	John de Eshton	NR	100s (£5)	1384
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Thomas Neleson	NR	5 marks (£3 6s 8d)	1474
St. Crux	Robert Meek	100s (£5)	6 marks (£4)	1316

Table 3.9 Cost of establishing chantries<sup>170</sup>

<sup>170</sup> (P)=posthumous augmentation; (NR)=not recorded. The annual value column records either the specific amount in rent or the source of the rent, e.g. two messuages, according to the wording of the licence in the CPR. All evidence listed in Appendix A.2 under surname headings. My thanks to Alison Barnett for converting all amounts of money into £ s d. For an inventory of the possessions of Thomas Houme's chantry at St. Mary Castlegate see R.N.Swanston, 'Thomas Holme and his Chantries', *York Historian* 5 (1984), pp.3-7.

Church	Chantry	Licence	Annual value	Year
St. George	Hugh de Sutton	20s	6 marks (£4)	1312
St. Helen Stonegate	William de Grantham	£20	100s (£5)	1371
St. Helen Stonegate	Joan de Hornby	45 marks (£30)	8 marks 6s 8d (£5 13s 4d)	1379
St. John Hungate	Richard Russell	NR	8 marks (£5 6s 8d)	1460
St. John Ousebridge	John de Shuption	NR	6 marks (£4)	1319
St. John Ousebridge	John de Brygnale	100s (£5)	25s (£1 5s)	1365
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Toller	NR	6 marks (£4)	1320
St. Martin Coney St.	Richard Candeler	5 marks (£3 6s 8d)	1 messuage	1375
St. Martin Coney St.	Thomas Smyth	20 marks (£13 6s 8d)	5 marks (£3 6s 8d)	
St. Martin Micklegate	Nicholas Fouke	£10	5 messuages	1367
St. Martin Micklegate	John de Feriby	1 mark (13s 4d)	1 messuage	1384
St. Martin Micklegate	John de Askham	26s 8d	1 messuage & 1 plot	1394
St. Martin Micklegate	Ellen de Gisburn	40 marks (£26 13s 4d)	1 messuage	1392
St. Martin Micklegate	Richard Toller	NR	9 marks 4d (£6 4d) & 2 messuages & 2 shops	1326
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Roger Basy	NR	6 marks (£4)	1311
St. Mary Castlegate	William Graa	£20	80s (£4)	1377
St. Mary Castlegate	William Graa (P)	100s (£5)	30s 10d	1380
St. Mary Castlegate	Andrew de Boshale	NR	5 marks (£3 6s 8d)	1338
St. Mary Castlegate	Thomas de Houme	5 marks (£3 6s 8d)	1 messuage	1377
St. Mary Castlegate	Thomas Houme	6s 8d	1 toft	1384
St. Mary Castlegate	Thomas de Howom	£4	1 messuage	1386
St. Mary Castlegate	Thomas de Howom	40s	1 toft	1392
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	William Selby	NR	79s	1339
St. Michael Spurriergate	Robert de Sallay (P)	40s	2 messuages	1385
St. Peter Little	John de Akum Sr.	6 marks (£4)	2 messuages & 6s	1348
St. Peter Little	John de Akum Sr.	30s	1 messuage	1349
St. Peter Little	John de Akum Sr. (P)	2 marks (£1 6s 8d)	1 plot of land & 9s	1359

Table 3.9 Cost of establishing chantries (cont.)

Church	Chantry	Licence	Annual value	Year
St. Peter Little	John Setryngton	12 marks (£8)	3 messuages & 41s 8d	1349
St. Peter Little	Robert & William Swetemouth	60s (£3)	2 messuages	1350
St. Peter Willows	Nicholas Swanland & Robert Halton	NR	houses & buildings	1396
St. Sampson	Nicholas de Burton	£4	1 messuage	1379
St. Sampson	John de Helmesley	25 marks (£16 13s 4d)	4 messuages & 14s	1405
St. Sampson	John Karr	£8	8 marks 3s (£5 9s 8d)	1489
St. Saviour	Richard Wartere	NR	NR	1466
St. Wilfrid	Nicholas le Flemmyng	NR	6 marks (£4)	1312

Table 3.9 Cost of establishing chantries (cont.)

Church	Chantry	Gross value	Net value
All Saints North St.	Adam Bank	106s 8d	100s
All Saints Pavement	St. Mary	100s	£4 7s
All Saints Pavement	St. Peter/ Robert Ampleford	111s 8d	104s 8d
All Saints Pavement	NR	20s	20s
All Saints Pavement	St. Thomas Martyr/ John Gilliott	£6	106s 6d
Holy Trinity King's Court	SS. Peter & Paul	£6	£6
Holy Trinity King's Court	John Langton	£4	£4
Holy Trinity King's Court	Margaret Boynton	23s	15s
Holy Trinity Micklegate	NR	106s 8d	106s 8d
St. Crux	St. Thomas Martyr	31s 6d	31s 6d
St. Crux	St. Katharine	54s 4d	54s 4d
St. Crux	St. John Baptist	12s	7s
St. Crux	St. Mary	22s	10s
St. Helen Stonegate	St. John Baptist	26s 8d	10s 4d
St. Helen Stonegate	St. Michael	40s	40s
St. John Hungate	St. Mary/ Richard Russell & John Thirsk	£4 13s 4d	£4
St. John Ousebridge	St. John Baptist	40s	40s
St. John Ousebridge	St. Mary	£8	110s
St. Lawrence	NR	26s 8d	26s 8d
St. Nicholas Micklegate	St. Thomas Martyr	40s	40s
St. Peter Little	St. John Baptist/ John Acomb & wife Joan	£4 6s	£4 3s 4d
St. Mary Bishophill	St. Katharine	£7	£6 18s 11d
St. Mary Bishophill	St. Katharine	20s	20s
St. Mary Castlegate	St. Mary	£4 15s 8d	£4 11s 8d
St. Mary Castlegate	St. Thomas	66s 8d	66s 8d
St. Mary Castlegate	SS John Baptist & Evangelist / William Gray	42s 4d	40s 4d
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	St. Michael/ John Mowbray	42s 7d	26s 3d
St. Sampson	St. Mary	40s	40s
St. Sampson	St. Mary/ John Carr	106s 8d	101s 4d
St. Saviour	St. Thomas	113s 4d	£4 10s 4d
St. Saviour	Sir William Gilliot	£4	73s 4d
St. Saviour	St. Thomas/ Richard Warter	£6	106s 8d
St. Saviour	St. Anne/ William Burton	54s 4d	49s 4d
St. Saviour	St. Mary	54s 4d	52s 4d
St. Saviour	St. James	66s 8d	59s 8d

Table 3.10 Value of medieval chantries by 1535<sup>171</sup>

<sup>171</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus* pp.26-29. NR=not recorded.

Chantry	Year	Original value	1535 value (gross)	Decline
William Graa	1377	80s (£4)	42s 4d	47%
John Langton	1378	10 marks (£6 13s 4d)	£4	40%
Richard Russell & John Thirsk	1460	8 marks (£5 6s 8d)	£4 13s 4d	12.5%
John Carr	1489	8 marks 3s (£5 9s 8d)	£5 6s 8d	2.7%

Table 3.11 Comparison between foundation values and 1535 values of chantries<sup>172</sup>

Church	Name	Social status	Medium	Date
All Saints North St.	John Gillyot	cleric	misericord (*)	c.1467-73
All Saints North St.	John Gillyot	cleric	roof boss (*A)	c.1467-73
All Saints Pavement	Percy	baronial	sedilia (A)	unknown
St. Denys	Henry Percy 4th Earl of Northumberland	baronial	bench-end (*)	c.1470-1489
St. John Ousebridge	Sir Richard Yorke	mercier	roof boss (*A)	pre-1498
St. John Ousebridge	Sir Richard Yorke	mercier	lectern (*)	pre-1498
St. Sampson	John Karr	mercier	roof boss (*A)	pre-1488
St. Sampson	John Karr	mercier	font (A)	pre-1488

Table 3.12 People commemorated in other media<sup>173</sup>

<sup>172</sup> This table is based on the only four examples for which it is possible to make a straightforward comparison in monetary terms. I am grateful to Alison Barnett for working out the percentages.

<sup>173</sup> Abbreviation: \*=surviving; A=noted by antiquarians. Evidence listed in Appendix A.1 under church headings and A.2 under surname headings. Gillyot's roof boss and misericorde are dated for the period when he held the rectorship of All Saints North St.

Name	Social status	Medium	Church	Date
Robert Verdenel	unknown	chantry	St. Saviour	pre-1281
Robert Verdenel	unknown	monument(*A)	St. Saviour	pre-1281
Nicholas le Flemmyng	unknown	chantry	St. Wilfrid	1312
Nicholas le Flemmyng	unknown	monument	St. Wilfrid	1319
Richard Toller	merchant	2 chantries	St. John Ousebridge	1320
Richard Toller	merchant	chantry	St. Martin Micklegate	1326
Richard Toller	merchant	window(*A)	St. John Ousebridge	1320s
Richard Toller	merchant	window(*)	St. Martin Micklegate	1320s
Richard Toller	merchant	monument(A)	St. Martin Micklegate	c.1335-40
Nicholas Fouke	merchant	window(*A)	St. Martin Micklegate	c.1322-1343
Nicholas Fouke	merchant	chantry	St. Martin Micklegate	1367
Robert & Margaret de Ampilford	tanner	chantry	All Saints Pavement	1378
Robert & Margaret de Ampilford	tanner	monument(A)	All Saints Pavement	1390
John & Isolda de Acaster	merchant	monument(A)	All Saints Pavement	1379
John & Isolda de Acaster	merchant	chantry	All Saints Pavement	1383
Isabel Moreton	mercier	window(A)	St. Martin Micklegate	late 14C
Isabel Moreton	mercier	monument(*A)	St. Savior	1382-1412
John Thornton & William de Pountefract	drapers	chantry	All Saints Pavement	1401
John Thornton & William de Pountefract	drapers	monument(A)	All Saints Pavement	post-1401
Alan Hamerton	merchant	chantry	All Saints North St.	c.1405
Alan Hamerton	merchant	monument	St. Peter Little	1405
John Barden	litster	chantry	St. Cruc	1407
John Barden	litster	monument(A)	St. Cruc	1411-13

Table 3.13 People commemorated in more than one medium<sup>174</sup>

<sup>174</sup> The results of this table are based on tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. \*=surviving; A=noted by antiquarians.

Name	Social status	Medium	Church	Date
John Bolton	merchant	chantry	All Saints North St.	pre-1446
John Bolton	merchant	window	All Saints North St	c.1401-1425
John Blackburne	merchant	window(A)	St. Cuthbert	pre-1426
John Blackburne	merchant	monument(*A)	St. Mary Castlegate	1426
William Bowes & wife Isabel	merchant	window(A)	St. Cuthbert	pre-1439
William Bowes & wife Isabel	merchant	monument(*A)	St. Cuthbert	1435-39
William Stockton	merchant	window(A)	St. John Ousebridge	1430s
William Stockton	merchant	monument(A)	All Saints North St.	1471
Richard Killingholme & wives Joan & Margaret	tanner	window(*A)	All Saints North St.	pre-1451
Richard Killingholme & wives Joan & Margaret	tanner	monument(*A)	All Saints North St.	1451
John Gillyot	cleric	misericorde(*)	All Saints North St.	c.1467-73
John Gillyot	cleric	roof boss(*A)	All Saints North St.	c.1467-73
John Gillyot	cleric	monument(A)	All Saints Pavement	1484
John Karr	merc	chantry	St. Sampson	pre-1488
John Karr	merc	S arch of tower(*A)	St. Sampson	pre-1488
John Karr	merc	roof boss(*A)	St. Sampson	pre-1488
John Karr	merc	W window(A)	St. Sampson	pre-1488
John Karr	merc	font(*)	St. Sampson	pre-1488
John Karr	merc	lowest N window(A)	St. Sampson	pre-1488
Sir Richard Yorke	merc	3 roof bosses(*A)	St. John Ousebridge	pre-1498
Sir Richard Yorke	merc	lectern(*)	St. John Ousebridge	pre-1498
Sir Richard Yorke	merc	window(*A)	St. John Ousebridge	pre-1498
Sir Richard Yorke	merc	monument(*A)	St. John Ousebridge	1499
Sir Richard Yorke	merc	chantry	St. John Ousebridge	post-1499

Table 3.13 People commemorated in more than one medium (cont.)

Arms	Church	Where	Date
Acaster (A)	All Saints Pavement	monument for John & Isolda Acaster (R)	1379
John Alcock (1430-1500), bishop of Ely (*)	All Saint North St.	(nVI)	c.1486-1500
Ashton quartering ?St. Hugh (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(sIV) 3rd S window or N window for Hugh Ashton (R)	c.1530
Baguley (A)	All Saints North St.	(sIII) S window for James Bagule and Robert Chapman (R)	2nd quarter 15C
Baynes, Ryther, Ayscough, Mallory, Burton, Fairfax, Slingsby, Warrington, Challoner, Lumley, Luce (A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	wood escutcheons on wall of Lady Chapel	unknown
Beauchamp (*)	All Saints North St.	(nVI)	unknown
Beauchamp (*A)	St. Helen Stonegate	(sII) NE window	15C
Beckwith (A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	4th S window for William & Anne Beckwith (R)	1535
Bellasis(A)	Holy Trinity King's Court	stonework	unknown
Bellasis (A)	St. Cuthbert	S window	unknown
Bellasis & Lings (A)	St. Saviour	NE window	unknown
Beverley (A)	All Saints Pavement	monument for Thomas & Alice Beverley (R)	1480
Blackburn (*A)	All Saints North St.	(I) NE window for Nicholas Blackburn Sr. & Jr. (R)	c.1413-26
Blackburn (A)	All Saints North St.	N window for Nicholas Blackburn Sr. or of Richmond (R)	pre-1429
Blackburn (A)	All Saints North St.	N window for Nicholas Blackburn Sr. & Reginald Bawtre (R)	pre-1429
Blackburn (A)	All Saints North St.	S window for Nicholas Blackburn Sr. & Reginald Bawtre (R)	c.1429-32
Blackburn (A)	St. Cuthbert	N window for John & Joan Blackburn (R)	pre-1426
Boswell (A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	E window	14C
Boswell impaling Vavasour (A)	St. Saviour	4 windows	unknown
Bowes (A)	St. Cuthbert	E window for William & Isabel Bowes (R)	pre-1439
Bowes (A)	St. Cuthbert	monument for William & Isabel Bowes (R)	1439

Table 3.14 Heraldry<sup>175</sup>

175 This is a complete table of identified heraldry in York churches, combining antiquarian and visual evidence. For a list of identified and unidentified shields see chapter 4 table 4.6. Arms are listed individually for each time they occur in the churches. Abbreviations: (\*)=surviving, i.e. in relation to heraldry alone; A=noted by antiquarians; I=surviving indent; R=individual(s) also represented by commemorative effigies in windows or monuments and/or by inscriptions in windows or monuments. The 'where' column indicates the surviving position of the arms in brackets with CVMA numbering for windows and the position of the arms as described by the antiquarians outside the brackets. The blazons of the shields noted by antiquarians are listed in Appendix A.1. See also chapter 4 table 4.6 and discussion in section 4.4.



Arms	Church	Where	Date
Bradley (A)	St. Maurice	SE window for Roger Bradley (R)	post-1421
Canterbury See (A)	All Saints Pavement	window	unknown
Canterbury See (A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	window	unknown
Castile (A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	NE window for Martin Soza (R)	c.1545
Chapman (A)	Holy Trinity King's Court	window for John Chapman (R)	c.1530
Charleton, Delapole, Felbrigg, Holland or Leigh (A)	Holy Trinity Micklegate	unknown	unknown
City of London (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N window	unknown
City of York (A)	All Saints Pavement	E window	unknown
City of York (A)	All Saints Pavement	S window	unknown
City of York (A)	St. Crux	monument for Ellen Waghen (R)	1421
City of York (A)	St. Crux	monument for John & Agnes Shaw (R)	1537
City of York (*A)	St. Cuthbert	(nIII) 1st N window from W	unknown
City of York (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	(YM nXIX) NE window for Sir Richard Yorke (R)	pre-1498
City of York (*A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N clerestory window	unknown
City of York (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(sV) 4th S window	1525
City of York (A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	NE window for Martin Soza (R)	c.1545
City of York (A)	St. Sampson	lowest N window for John Karr (R)	pre-1488
City of York (A)	St. Sampson	W window for John Karr (R)	pre-1488
City of York (A)	St. Sampson	font for John Karr (R)	pre-1488
Clare (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	S clerestory window	unknown
Clare (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N clerestory window	unknown
Clifford (A)	St. Denys	W window	unknown
Coltman (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	3rd S window (sV)	post-1535
Clynton, Raygate, Hese, Hussy & others (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	NE window	unknown
Curtas (A)	St. Crux	monument for Thomas & Alison Curtas (R)	1460
John Dreux duke of Brittany & earl of Richmond (A)	St. Cuthbert	2nd N window from W	unknown
Edward the Confessor (A)	St. Martin Coney st.	N clerestory window	unknown

Table 3.14 Heraldry (cont.)

Arms	Church	Where	Date
England & France for Edward I (*A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(sIII) N window	14C
England & France for Edward I (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N window	unknown
England & France for Edward I (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	S clerestory window	unknown
England & France for Edmund earl of Kent (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	S clerestory window	unknown
England & France for Edward III (A)	St. Denys	E window	unknown
England & France for Edward III (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	S clerestory window	unknown
England & France for Edward III (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N clerestory window	unknown
England & France for Thomas duke of Gloucester (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	S clerestory window	unknown
England & France for Thomas duke of Gloucester (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N window	unknown
England & France for Henry V (*A)	St. Cuthbert	(sII) 2 <sup>nd</sup> S window by door	15C
Fairfax (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	NE window	unknown
Fairfax (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Monument	unknown
Fairfax & Thwaites (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	NE window	unknown
Fairfax & Thwaites (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Monument	unknown
Fairfax impaling Ryther (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	NE window	unknown
Fairfax impaling Ryther (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	Monument	unknown
Fairfax impaling blank (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	NE window	unknown
Feriby (A)	All Saints Pavement	monument for John & Millicent Feriby ®	1491
Fitzgerald/ Fitzgerald or Neville of Homby (?*, A)	St. Cuthbert	4 <sup>th</sup> N window from W (nIII)	unknown
Fitzhugh (*A)	St. Helen Stonegate	(sII) NE window	15C
Foster (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	(YM nXX) NE window	pre-1498
Fouke (A)	St. Martin Micklegate	SE window for Nicholas Fouke ®	c.1322-43
Gare (A)	All Saints Pavement	monument for Thomas & Katherine Gare ®	c.1438
Gascoigne & Hastings (A)	St. Martin Micklegate	W window for Sir Hugh Hastings & Anne Gascoigne ®	pre-1489
Gascoigne & Vavasour (A)	St. Martin Micklegate	buttresses outside S aisle for Sir Henry Vavasour & Joan Gascoigne	pre-1500

Table 3.14 Heraldry (cont.)

Arms	Church	Where	Date
Goldsmiths (*A)	St. Helen Stonegate	(sII) window	unknown
Goldsmiths (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(sV) 4th S window	1525-37
Goldsmiths (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(nV) NE window for Martin Soza (R)	c.1545
Goldsmiths (A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	W window	16C
Glaziers (*A)	St. Helen Stonegate	(sVI) window	17C
Gillyot (*A)	All Saints North St.	roof boss for John Gillyot (R)	c.1467-73
Gillyot (*)	All Saints North St.	misericorde for John Gillyot (R)	c.1467-73
Gillyot (A)	All Saints Pavement	monument for John Gillyot (R)	1484
Graa (*)	St. Mary Castlegate	stonework of S chapel E wall	c.1377
Graa (A)	St. Mary Castlegate	monument for William & Joan Graa (R)	1377
Gylliot (A)	All Saints Pavement	monument for John & Joan Gylliot (R)	1484
Gyselay & Ross (A)	St. Cuthbert	N window for William Gyselay & Alice Ross & John Gyselay (R)	c.1446-c.1460
Hamerton (A)	St. Peter Little	monument for Alan & Isabel Hamerton (R)	1405
Hastings (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(I) E window	14C
Hastings & Tirenton/ Trehampton (A)	St. Martin Micklegate	W window	pre-1489
Henrison or Hesyl (A)	All Saints North St.	N window	1st quarter 15C
Holme (A)	St. Maurice	SE window for Thomas & Margaret Holme (R)	post-1421
Holmes (A)	St. Mary Castlegate	unknown	unknown
Hourne (A)	St. Mary Castlegate	unknown	unknown
Howme (*A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	S aisle archway of chapel of St. James	early 15C
Humphrey duke of Gloucester (A)	St. Cuthbert	2nd S window by door	15C
Hunte (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N clerestory window	unknown
Hunte (A)	St. Mary Castlegate	unknown	unknown
Illesley or Touke (A)	St. Mary Castlegate	SE window	unknown
John duke of Bedford (A)	St. Cuthbert	2nd S window by door	15C
Johnson (A)	St. Michael Spurriergate	monument for Robert Johnson (R)	1497
Thomas Kemp bp of London (*A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(I) E window	1471
Kemp (A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	roof boss	unknown
Lamb (A)	St. Crux	monument for William & Katherine Lamb (R)	1484

Table 3.14 Heraldry (cont.)

Arms	Church	Where	Date
Latimer (*A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(sII) W window	14C
Latimer (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(I) E window	mid-14C
Leon (A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	NE window for Martin Soza ®	c.1545
Luttrell (*)	All Saints North St.	(nVI)	unknown
Maners (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	NE window	unknown
Margaret of Anjou (A)	St. Mary Castlegate	SE window	unknown
Marmion (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(I)	mid-14C
Meleton (A)	St. Maurice	SE window for Henry & Isabel Meleton ®	post-1421
Merchants of Staple of Calais (A)	All Saints Pavement	window	unknown
Merchants of Staple of Calais (A)	St. Cuthbert	1 <sup>st</sup> S window by door	unknown
Merchants of Staple of Calais (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	(YM nXX) NE window for Sir Richard Yorke ®	pre-1498
Merchants of the Staple of Calais (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	roof boss in N choir for Sir Richard Yorke ®	pre-1498
Metham (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(I) E window	14C
Middleton (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	Monument for Brian & Christiane Middleton ®	1492
Middleton impaling Maleverer (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	Monument for Brian & Christiane Middleton ®	1492
Middleton impaling unknown (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	Monument for Brian & Christiane Middleton ®	1492
Midilton impaling Thwaites (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	John & Matilda Midilton monument ®	1459
Midleton (A)	St. Sampson	window for Robert Midleton ®	unknown
unknown impaling Montacute earl of	St. Helen Stonegate	NE window	unknown
Salisbury(A)	St. Martin Coney st.	N clerestory window	unknown
Monthermer (A)	St. Saviour	monument for Roger & Isabel Moreton ®	1382-1412
Moreton (AI)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(sVII) N window	14C
Mowbray (*A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(I) E window	1471
George Neville abp of York (*A)	All Saints Pavement	E window	unknown
Neville (A)	Holy Trinity King's Court	unknown	unknown
Neville (A)	St. Cuthbert	(sIV) 1 <sup>st</sup> S window by door	15C
Neville (*A)	St. Cuthbert	(nIII)	15C
Neville (*,A?)	St. Denys	outside stonework	1439

Table 3.14 Heraldry (cont.)

Arms	Church	Where	Date
Neville impaling Holland (A)	St. Denys	outside stonework	1439
Ralph Neville earl of Westmorland (*)	St. John Ousebridge	(sII) SE window	pre-1425
Neville (*)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(I)	mid-14C
Osbaldwyck (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N window	unknown
Percy ancient (*A)	All Saints North St.	(nVI) E window	unknown
Percy & Lucy (A)	All Saints Pavement	2 sedilia	post-1384
Percy (A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(*sVII) N window	14C
Percy of Holderness (A)	Holy Trinity King's Court	unknown	post-1384
Percy (A)	Holy Trinity Micklegate	window	post-1384
Percy & Lucy (A)	St. Cuthbert	1st S window by door	post-1384
Percy & Lucy (A)	St. Denys	(I) E window for Henry Percy 3rd Earl of Northumberland & family (R)	1455-61
Percy & Lucy (A)	St. Denys	outside stonework	1439
Henry Percy 4th Earl of Northumberland (*)	St. Denys	bench-end	1470-1489
Percy & Lucy (*A)	St. Helen Stonegate	(sII) NE window	post-1384
Percy & Lucy (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	NE window	post-1384
Pigott (A)	St. Sampson	SE window	unknown
Playce (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	N window for Sir William Playce (R)	c.1400
Ross (*A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(sVD) N window	14C
Ryther (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	NE window	unknown
St. George (A)	St. Cuthbert	N window	unknown
St. Paul (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(sIV) 3rd S window or N window for Hugh Ashton (R)	c.1530
St. Peter (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(sIV) 3rd S window or N window for Hugh Ashton (R)	c.1530
St. Peter (A)	St. Sampson	E window	unknown
St. Wilfrid (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	E window	unknown
St. Wilfrid (A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	N window for Christopher Ceel (R)	1537
St. William (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N clerestory window	unknown
St. William (*A)	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(sIV) 3rd S window or N window for Hugh Ashton (R)	c.1530
St. William (A)	St. Sampson	E window	unknown

Table 3.14 Heraldry (cont.)

Arms	Church	Where	Date
Scrope of Bolton (A)	St. Martin Micklegate	NW window	unknown
Scrope of Masham (*A)	St. Denys	(I) E window, for John 4th Baron	pre-1461
Scrope of Masham (*A)	St. Denys	(I) E window, for William Scrope master of St. Leonard's Hospital	pre-1461
Scrope of Masham (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	S clerestory window	unknown
Scrope of Masham (*A)	St. Martin Coney St.	(sVI) N window for John Osbaldwyck (R)	unknown
Scrope of Masham (A)	St. Martin Micklegate	S window over door	unknown
Scrope of Masham (A)	St. Martin Micklegate	another window	unknown
Scrope of Masham (A)	St. Mary Castlegate	unknown	unknown
Scrope of Masham (A)	St. Sampson	SE window	unknown
Skirlaw (A)	St. Helen Stonegate	S window	c.1388-1406
Stapleton impaling Gascoigne (A)	St. John Ousebridge	NE window (*YM nXX)	pre-1498
de Vere earl of Oxford (*A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(sVI) N window	14C
Waghen (A)	St. Crux	monument for Ellen Waghen (R)	1421
Walker (*A)	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(I) E window	1471
Warren/Warenne earl of Surrey (A)	St. Cuthbert	2nd N window from W	unknown
Warren/Warenne earl of Surrey (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	S clerestory window	unknown
Wyman (*A)	St. Crux	monument for Henry Wyman (R)	1411-13
See of York (A)	St. Martin Coney St.	N window	unknown
See of York (A)	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	E window	unknown
Yorke (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	(YM nXX) NE window for Sir Richard Yorke (R)	pre-1498
Yorke (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	roof boss in N choir for Sir Richard Yorke (R)	pre-1498
Yorke (A)	St. John Ousebridge	monument for Sir Richard Yorke (R)	1498
Yorke impaling Maleverer (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	(YM nXIX) NE window for Sir Richard Yorke & wife Joan (R)	pre-1498
Yorke impaling Maleverer (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	roof boss in N choir for Sir Richard Yorke & wife Joan (R)	pre-1498
Yorke impaling Darcy (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	(YM nXIX) NE window for eldest son of Sir Richard Yorke & wife n�e Darcy	pre-1498
Yorke impaling ?Askwith (*A)	St. John Ousebridge	(YM nXIX) NE window for another married son of Sir Richard Yorke	pre-1498

Table 3.14 Heraldry (cont.)

Site	What	Where	Who
York Minster	St. Stephen's chapel	burial of Abp Richard Scrope (d.1405)	burials: Stephen Scrope 2nd Baron Scrope of Masham (1405); archdeacon Stephen Scrope (1418); John Scrope 4th Baron (1455); William Scrope archdeacon of Durham (1463)
York Minster	windows	nII, nVI, sIV, early 15C	
York Minster	window	NIX N choir clerestory, early 15C	Stephen 2nd Baron Scrope of Masham
York Minster	window	SVI E window of S choir transept early 15C	Stephen Scrope archdeacon of Richmond
York Minster	stone shield	St. Stephen's chapel	Abp Scrope
York Minster	stone shield	nave	Henry Scrope (d.1415)
York Minster	stone shield	2nd roof boss N choir aisle	Scrope of Masham
York Minster	tapestries	St. Stephen's chapel	John 4th Baron Scrope of Masham
York Minster	2 chantries to St. Stephen		Thomas Scrope of Masham 1459
Wensley	chantry of BVM		Richard lord Scrope of Bolton 1399
Wensley	windows		Scropes of Bolton
Wensley	tombs		Scropes of Bolton
Patrick Brompton	chantry		lord Scrope of Upsall and Masham
Easby Abbey	chapel	E of choir	Scropes of Bolton
Selby Abbey	windows, book, infirmary		Scropes of Bolton
Rielvaux Abbey	charters		Scropes of Bolton
Jervaulx Abbey	windows, paintings, charters		Scropes of Bolton
Byland Abbey	refectory, wallpainting		Scropes of Bolton

Table 3.15 The commemoration of the Scropes<sup>176</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Only the principal forms of patronage are listed here, for a full list see *Scrope and Grosvenor. Scrope and Grosvenor I* pp.91-102, II pp.79-80, 271-282; Hugh Murray, 'The Scrope Tapestries', *YAJ* 64 (1992), pp.145-156, esp. pp.151-2; Y.E.Weir, *Heraldry in York Minster*, (York 1986), pp.10, 24, 26; *YCC* pp.25, 104, 109; *Fabric Rolls*, p.301; W.H.St.John Hope, 'On the Praemonstratensian Abbey of St. Agatha Juxta Richmond', *YAJ* 10 (1889), pp.117-158, esp. pp.123-5; A.H.Thompson, *Easby Abbey Yorkshire*, (London 1948), pp.3-6; T.W.French, 'The Tomb of Archbishop Scrope in York Minster', *YAJ* 61 (1989), pp.95-102; H.M.Colvin, *The White Canons in England*, (Oxford 1951), pp.297-8, 271, K.B.McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, (Oxford 1973), pp.12, 13, 164; J.R.Lander, *Crown and Nobility 1450-1509*, (London 1976), pp.122, 145; Joseph E.Morris, *The North Riding of Yorkshire*, (London 1904), pp.70-1, 299, 356, 393-5, 251, 210, 145; Morris, *East Riding*, pp.225, 237; Ross, *Yorkshire Baronage*, pp.170-226; A.P.Purey-Cust, *The Heraldry of York Minster*, Vol.I (Leeds 1890), Vol.II (Leeds 1896).

Site	What	Where	Who
Roche Abbey	window		Scropes of Bolton
Coverham Abbey	burials, windows		Scropes of Bolton
Gisburn Priory	windows		Scropes of Bolton
Warter Priory	wallpainting, vestments		Scropes of Bolton
Lanercost Abbey	windows, refectory		Scropes of Bolton
Newburgh Priory	windows, refectory		Scropes of Bolton
Bridlington Priory	windows		Scropes of Bolton

Table 3.15 The commemoration of the Scropes (cont.)

Site	What	Where	Who
York Minster	chantry of BVM		Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland and wife Mary
York Minster	stone statue	W door	Percy
Topcliff	2 chantries		Earl of Northumberland
Topcliff	Percy chapel	churchyard	
Yarom	chantry of St. Nicholas		Earl of Northumberland
Sawley Abbey			William de Percy foundation 1147
Alnewick Abbey			burials of Henry Percy 2nd lord of Alnwick (d.1352) and his son Henry 3rd lord (d.1368)
Beverley Minster	tomb	N side of Sanctuary	Eleanor Fitzalan wife of 1st lord Percy (d.1328, tomb post-1339)
Beverley Minster	tomb	Percy chantry on N side of Lady Chapel	Henry Percy 4th Earl of Northumberland

Table 3.16 The commemoration of the Percies<sup>177</sup>

<sup>177</sup> YCC pp.21-2, 87, 89, 89, 119; *Fabric Rolls*, p.294; YML LI/7 J.Torre 'York Minster', p.19; Nicholas Dawton, 'The Percy Tomb at Beverley Minster: the Style of the Sculpture', in *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, (ed.) F.H. Thompson, Society of Antiquaries Occasional Papers New Series III (1983), pp.122-150; Nicholas Dawton, 'The Percy Tomb Workshop', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, (ed.) Christopher Wilson, BAACT for 1983, (Leeds 1989), pp.121-132; P.J.P.Goldberg, 'The Percy Tomb in Beverley Minster', *YAJ* 56 (1984), pp.65-74; Joseph Morris, *The West Riding of Yorkshire*, (London 1923), pp.442-3; Colvin, *White Canons*, pp.299, 56, 370; Lander, *Crown and Nobility*, pp.303; Morris, *North Riding*, pp.208-9, 296, 329, 383, 395, 293; Morris, *East Riding*, pp.77, 83, 225; Given-Wilson, *English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages*, pp.134-5; Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', pp.96-107; *DNB* 15, pp.853-4.



Site	What	Where	Who
York Minster	stone shield	choir	Abp Alexander Neville 1372
York Minster	stone shields	E arm; N choir transept; nave clerestory	late 13C-early 15C
York Minster	glass shields	Chapter House	c.1285-95
Durham	screen	choir	John lord Neville of Raby (d.1389)
Staindrop	collegiate church		built by John lord Neville (d.1389)
Staindrop	collegiate church	N side of choir rebuilt by Ralph Neville	burial of Ralph Neville (d.1425)
Richmond	parish church	tower	rebuilt by Ralph Neville
Bulmer	castle		rebuilt by Ralph Neville
Bulmer	church of St. Mary and St. Peter	chantry	founded by Ralph Neville
Burton Agnes		tomb	Sir Walter Griffith (d.1481) and wife Joan Neville
Raby Castle	1379 licence to embattle and crenellate		John lord Neville of Raby (d.1389)
Middleham Castle			acquired c.1270
Snape and Well			Nevilles of Raby then Latimers of Snape and Well

Table 3.17 The commemoration of the Nevilles<sup>178</sup>

<sup>178</sup> See Appendix A.2 for the transfer of the Latimer inheritance to the Nevilles at the end of the fourteenth century; *YCC* p.474; *W&I* pp.68-74; *DNB 14* pp.273-7, 262-265, 243; *Complete Peerage 9* p.503; *Complete Peerage 12 Part II* pp.544-547; Morris, *North Riding*, pp.135-6, 215, 258, 296, 299, 341, 343-5, 354, 356, 391-2, 393, 408, 82; Weir, *Heraldry in York Minster*, pp.10, 24-8, 51, 74-5; Morris, *West Riding*, pp.130, 411, 477, 245; Morris, *East Riding*, pp.123, 305-6; Ross, 'Yorkshire Baronage', pp.1-84; C.Wilson, 'The Neville Screen', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, (eds.) Nicola Coldstream and Peter Draper, *BAACT 3* for 1977, (Leeds 1980), pp.90-104; John Murray, *Durham and Northumberland*, (London 1873), p.85; Nikolaus Pevsner, rev. by Elizabeth Williamson, *The Buildings of England. County Durham*, (London 1990), pp.382-383.

Date	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	Total
1275-1300															3	3
1301-1325					2							3		2	16	23
1326-1350		1		1				1				2		2	11	18
1351-1375	1										1	1	4	3	5	15
1376-1400				1		2		2			2	5		10	10	32
1401-1425			2								2		7	3	2	16
1426-1450														1		1
1451-1475							2		1	3			1	3		10
1476-1500													2			2
1501-1525									1	1						2
1526-1550																
unknown									1							1
total	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	4	4	5	11	12	22	47	123

Table 3.18 Social groups represented in chantries<sup>179</sup>

<sup>179</sup> The results of this table are based on table 3.1. Each individual commemorated in table 3.1 is counted - the social group of women is the same as that of their husbands, if known. Social groups are listed in numerical order and are abbreviated as follows: A=cordwainer; B=walker; C=dyer & lister; D=millar; E=goldsmith; F=butcher; G=lay clerk; H=tanner; I=knight/armiger; J=goldsmith & merchant; K=draper; L=clergy; M=mercator; N=merchant; O=unknown.

Date	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Total
1275-1300												1												1		2
1301-1325																								1		1
1326-1350																2						1		3	1	7
1351-1375																						1				1
1376-1400																					6		2	3	7	18
1401-1425						2					3				1							3	5	5	8	27
1426-1450				2	1			2															5	1	11	22
1451-1475					1							2								4	4	3	6	2	4	26
1476-1500			1				2		2	2			3	3	3	3	2	5	3	3	3	8	9	2	8	59
1501-1525	1																3	1			1	1		2	2	11
1526-1550																		4						4	2	10
unknown		1																	1	2		5		19	4	32
total	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	4	5	5	5	6	9	14	22	27	43	47	216

Table 3.19 Social groups represented in monuments<sup>180</sup>

<sup>180</sup> The results of this table are based on table 3.2. Each individual listed in table 3.2 is counted, the social group of women is the same as that of their husbands, if known. Where a woman has more than one husband and the husbands have different occupations, she is classified with her first husband. Social groups are listed in numerical order and are abbreviated as follows: A=fisherman; B=saddler; C=mason; D=chandler; E=carpenter; F=goldsmith & merchant; G=vintner; H=woolman; I=apothecary; J=yeoman; K=draper; L=baronial; M=cartwright; N=grocer; O=dyer/lister; P=pelter/pewterer; Q=attorney/notary/ scribe; R=goldsmith; S=butcher; T=armiger; U=tanner; V=clergy; W=mercier; X=unknown; Y=merchant. John Cotes's 1487 monument at St. Olave is entered under 'butcher'.

Date	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	Total	
1275-1300																			
1301-1325													1			3	2		6
1326-1350															2		2		4
1351-1375															3				3
1376-1400											1		2		2	1	11		17
1401-1425											2					10	8		20
1426-1450	1					2	2	3	4		3		3			21	2		41
1451-1475			1		2									2	14	2	10		31
1476-1500											2				15				17
1501-1525																			
1526-1550		1		1						4		12	4			6	2		30
unknown											2		2			3	10		17
total	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	4	4	10	12	14	14	24	44	47		186

Table 3.20 Social groups represented in windows<sup>181</sup>

<sup>181</sup> The results of this table are based on table 3.3. Each individual listed in table 3.3 is counted, including unnamed children. Only those described as 'and others' are not counted. The social group of women is that of their husbands, if known. The social group of children is that of their fathers, if known. Abbreviations: A=vintner; B=glazier; C=attorney/lawyer; D=public notary and merchant; E=baxter/miller; F=tailor; G=spicer; H=tanner; I=dyer; J=draper; K=gentleman/armiger; L=goldsmith; M=clergy; N=baronial; O=mercer; P=merchant; Q=unknown.

Church	Name	Where	Date
All Saints Pavement	William & Margaret Fenwick	(A) monument	1421
All Saints Pavement	Thomas Brounfilet	(A) monument	1458
All Saints Pavement	John & Joan Gyliot	(A) monument	1484
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Robert Howme	(*A) stonework	pre-1433
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	Thomas & Matilda Danby	(A) monument	1458
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	William & Isabel Thorpe	(A) E window I	1471
Holy Trinity King's Court	Thomas Jameson	(A) monument	1507
St. Crux	Ellen Waghen	(A) monument	1421
St. Crux	John Woghen	(A) monument	1421
St. Crux	John Lightlampe	(A) monument	1485
St. Crux	John & Agnes Shaw	(A) monument	1537
St. Denys	Robert Warde	(A) monument	1405
St. John Ousebridge	Richard Yorke	(*A) roof boss; (* ) lectern	pre-1498
St. Martin Micklegate	Richard Toller	(* ) window nVII	1320s
St. Martin Micklegate	Nicholas Fouke	(* ) window sII	c.1322-43
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	William Santore	(A) window	unknown
St. Mary Castlegate	John & Katherine Blackburne	(*sIII) SE window	pre-1426
St. Michael Spurriergate	John & Reanalde ...	(A) monument	15C
St. Michael Spurriergate	Robert Johnson	(A) monument	1497
St. Michael Spurriergate	Thomas Vicars	(A) monument	1499
St. Peter Little	Alan & Isabel Hamerton	(* ) monument	1405
St. Sampson	John Karr	(*A) roof boss; (*A) S arch of W tower; (A) font; (A) lowest N window; (A) W window	pre-1488

Table 3.21 Memorials displaying merchants' marks<sup>182</sup>

Name	Status	Memorial	Church	Date
William Blakely	vicar choral	window	St. Michael Spurriergate	unknown
William Langtofte	vicar choral	chantry	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	1315
Thomas de Ludham	warden of YM fabric; subtreasurer of YM; vicar of St. Martin Coney St.	chantry	St. Martin Coney St.	1335
John Bawtry	succentor to vicars choral; related to Adam del Bank	monument	All Saints North St.	1411
Hugh Ashton	archdeacon of York	window	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	c.1530
John Coltman	subtreasurer of YM	window	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	post-1535
Thomas Marsar	warden of YM fabric & succentor to vicars choral	window	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1535

Table 3.22 York Minster clergy commemorated in parish churches<sup>183</sup>

<sup>182</sup> \*=surviving; A=noted by antiquarians (in reference to merchants' marks only). RCHM, *York 3*, pp.18, 19; RCHM, *York 5*, pp.34, 45. CVMA numbering indicates position of surviving windows. For general material on merchants' marks see F.A.Girling, *Merchants' Marks*, (London 1964). For a discussion of merchants' marks see chapter 4 table 4.6 and section 4.3.

<sup>183</sup> Table based on tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. YM=York Minster.

Church	Family
All Saints North St.	late 14C-1429: Adam Bank and wife Margaret; John Bawtry; Reginald Bawtre
All Saints North St.	c.1425-50: Nicholas Blackburn of Richmond, Nicholas Blackburn Sr. and Jr. and wives; John and Alice Bolton; William Revetour
All Saints North St.	1471: Robert Colynson, William Stockton & Isabel
All Saints Pavement	mid 15C: Thomas Bromflete and wife Alice; Agnes Brouneflete
All Saints Pavement	1484-1509: John Gillyot cleric, John Gilyot mercer and son Sir John
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	1361-1433: Robert Houom and son Robert Howme, another Robert Howme
Holy Trinity King's Court	1410s: Robert Gaunt, wife Agnes, daughter Margaret
Holy Trinity King's Court	1450-75: Alan Hyll, William Bolton and Alice
Holy Trinity King's Court	1481: John Towthorp, wife Margaret, brother William and wife Isabel
St. Crux	1407-1413: John Barden, daughter Agnes and son-in-law Henry Wyman
St. Cuthbert	pre-1426: John Blackburne and second wife Joan
St. Cuthbert	pre-1439: William Bowes, wife Isabel and 5 daughters
St. Cuthbert	1450-75: William Gyseley, wife Alice and son John
St. John Ousebridge	1400-1436: Roger Selby and son William
St. Mary Castlegate	pre-1426: John Blackburne and first wife Katherine
St. Mary Castlegate	c.1293-1405: Robert Graa, John Graa, William Graa, wife Joan and son Thomas
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1530: John Elwald, wife Agnes, son Robert and wife Ellen
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	1535: William Beckwith, wife, son and wife
St. Michael Spurriergate	1437-8: Richard Appilgarth and son William
St. Michael Spurriergate	1437-58: Thomas Dautre and son John
St. Michael Spurriergate	1485-1496: William Hancock and wife Ellen; Ellen Hancock and second husband Robert Johnson
St. Michael Spurriergate	1499: Thomas and Nicholas Vicars
St. Sampson	1444-1487: Thomas Karr and son John Carr

Table 3.23 Familial links among the commemorated<sup>184</sup>

Date	Chamberlains	Bailiffs	Sheriffs	MPs	Mayors	No office
1275-1300		1			2	2
1301-1325	2	5		2	4	1
1326-1350	2	3			2	5
1351-1375	2	4			9	2
1376-1400		3			3	1
1401-1425	1				3	4
1426-1450					2	
1451-1475			1		3	2
1476-1500					1	
1501-1525						
1526-1550						
unknown						1
total	7	16	1	2	29	18
% of sample	10%	22%	1%	3%	39%	25%

Table 3.24 Political office-holders among those commemorated by chantries<sup>185</sup>

<sup>184</sup> See Appendix A.1 and A.2.

<sup>185</sup> For this table, I am examining only men, non-clerical and non-armiger, whose surname is known - 73 in number. Each individual appears once only - the table lists the time of the appointment to the highest office reached by an individual. Where that office was held more than once the earliest appointment only is entered. When no office was held, the date is that of the chantry foundation. Bailiffs were elected up to 1396, sheriffs from 1397.

Date	Chamberlains	Bailiffs	Sheriffs	MPs	Mayors	No office
1275-1300						1
1301-1325		1			1	
1326-1350					1	2
1351-1375		3			3	
1376-1400		2			1	4
1401-1425	1		2	2	6	2
1426-1450			2		2	5
1451-1475			3		6	6
1476-1500			2		4	9
1501-1525			1		3	4
1526-1550			1			1
unknown					1	11
total	1	6	11	2	28	45
% of sample	1%	6%	12%	2%	30%	48%

Table 3.25 Political office-holders among those commemorated by monuments<sup>186</sup>

Date	Chamberlains	Bailiffs	Sheriffs	MPs	Mayors	No office
1275-1300						
1301-1325		1				
1326-1350	1	2				1
1351-1375		1			1	
1376-1400						5
1401-1425	1			1	3	5
1426-1450	2				2	7
1451-1475			1		2	3
1476-1500					1	
1501-1525						
1526-1550			2		2	2
unknown						4
total	4	4	3	1	11	27
% of sample	8%	8%	6%	2%	22%	54%

Table 3.26 Political office-holders among those commemorated by windows<sup>187</sup>

<sup>186</sup> The principles for this table are the same as for table 3.24. Sample size: 94.

<sup>187</sup> The principles for this table are the same as for table 3.24. Sample size: 50.

Church	Name	Status	Type	Date
All Saints North St.	Nicholas Blackburn Sr. & wife Margaret	merchant	window	1413-1426
All Saints North St.	James Baguley	rector	window	1425-1450
All Saints North St.	Reginald Bawtre	merchant	2 windows	c.1429
All Saints North St.	Richard Killingholme & wife Joan	tanner	window & monument	1451
All Saints North St.	John Gillyot	priest	roof boss & misericorde	1467-1473
All Saints North St.	Robert Colynson	RC mercer	monument	1471
All Saints North St.	William Stockton	merchant	monument	1471
All Saints Pavement	Thomas Gare Sr. & wife Katherine	merc	monument	1445
All Saints Pavement	Thomas Brouneflete	merchant	monument	1458
All Saints Pavement	Thomas Beverlay & wife Alice	merchant	monument	1480
All Saints Pavement	John Gilyot	merchant & goldsmith	monument	1484
All Saints Pavement	Sir John Gilliot	merc	monument	1484
All Saints Pavement	John Gillyot	priest	monument	1484
All Saints Pavement	John Feriby & wife Millicent	merchant	monument	1491
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	William de Egremont	bishop of Dromore & rector of All Saints Pavement	window	1471
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	George Neville	archbishop of York	window	1471
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	William Thorpe & wife Isabel	merc	window	1471
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	John Walker	rector	window	1471

Table 3.27 Members of the guild of Corpus Christi among the commemorated<sup>188</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Appendix A.2 for details. In a few instances there is more than one type of commemoration for a single individual - in these cases the dating has been slightly modified to indicate all types. Sir John Gilliot had been a member of the guild for three years by the time he was commemorated in his father's funerary monument of 1484.



Church	Name	Status	Type	Date
Holy Trinity King's Court	Lady Margaret Boynton	armiger	chantry	unknown
Holy Trinity King's Court	William Ormeshede	merchant	monument	1437
Holy Trinity King's Court	Thomas Kirke & wife Alice	merc	monument	1442-1445
Holy Trinity King's Court	Agnes Bolton	vintner & tailor	window	c.1440
Holy Trinity King's Court	Thomas Jameson	merchant	monument	1507
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Robert Mem	chaplain	monument	c.1408
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Thomas Neleson	merc	chantry	1474
Holy Trinity Micklegate	Robert Irry	chaplain	monument	1503
St. Crux	Henry Wyman & wife Agnes	goldsmith & merchant	monument	1411-1413
St. Crux	John Woghen & wife Ellen	merc	monuments	1412 & 1421-1431
St. Crux	Thomas Curtas	merc	monument	1460
St. Crux	William Lambe & wife Katherine	merchant	monument	1484
St. Crux	John Lightlampe	merc	monument	1485
St. Crux	John Shaw	merchant	monument	1537
St. Cuthbert	John Blackburne	merchant	window	pre-1426
St. Cuthbert	William Bowes Sr. & wife Isabel	merchant	window & monument	c.1439
St. Denys	John Scrope	4th Baron Scrope of Masham	window	pre-1461
St. John Hungate	Guy Fairfax	lay clerk	chantry	1460
St. John Hungate	Richard Russell & wife Pemell	merchant	chantry	1460
St. John Hungate	John Shirwod	lay clerk	chantry	1460
St. John Ousebridge	Roger Selby & wife Alice	spicer	window	1430s
St. John Ousebridge	William Stockton & wife Alice	merchant	window	1430s
St. John Ousebridge	Sir Richard Yorke	merc	chantry, monument, roof bosses, lectern	c.1499
St. Margaret	Agnes Manars	armiger	monument	1499
St. Martin Micklegate	Henry Cattal	chaplain	monument	1460
St. Martin Micklegate	Nicholas Person	dyer	monument	1490
St. Martin Micklegate	Sir Henry Vavasour	knight	heraldry on stonework	pre-1500

Table 3.27 Members of the guild of Corpus Christi among the commemorated (cont.)

Church	Name	Status	Type	Date
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	John Midilton	armiger	monument	1459
St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	Brian Middleton	armiger	monument	1492
St. Mary Castlegate	John Blackburne	merchant	monument	1426
St. Mary Castlegate	John Garnett	rector	monument	1492
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Sir John Mowbray	armiger	chantry	unknown
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	John Elwald & wife Agnes	merchant	window	c.1530
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	Robert Elwald & wife Ellen	merchant	window	c.1530
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	William Beckwith	merchant	window	1535
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Langton	rector	monument	1466
St. Michael Spurriergate	Nicholas Vicars	grocer	monument	1488
St. Michael Spurriergate	Robert Johnson	grocer	monument	1497
St. Michael Spurriergate	Oliver Middleton	merchant	monument	1504
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Wilson	goldsmith	monument	1518
St. Olave	John Cotes	butcher or cordwainer	monument	1487
St. Peter Little	Isabel Hamerton	merchant	monument	1405
St. Sampson	John Carr	mercier	chantry; window; font; roof boss	c.1488
St. Saviour	Richard Wartere & wives Alice & Alice	goldsmith & merchant	chantry	1466
St. Saviour	Sir John Gilliot	merchant & goldsmith	chantry	1513

Table 3.27 Members of the guild of Corpus Christi among the commemorated (cont.)

Years	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
1275-1300															
1301-1325															
1326-1350															
1351-1375															
1376-1400	1											1			1
1401-1425									1					1	2
1426-1450														1	5
1451-1475			1								1	1	1		
1476-1500				1	1		1			1	1	1	1	3	1
1501-1525		1													1
1526-1550						1		1	1						
total	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	6	10

Table 3.28 Property ownership among the commemorated<sup>189</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Sample: 67. Property ownership is defined as any lands, tenements, messuages and houses specifically mentioned in wills and bequeathed to individuals or groups. Legend: A=liester; B=merchant & goldsmith; C=carpenter; D=apothecary; E=grocer; F=draper; G=armiger; H=goldsmith; I=public notary & merchant; J=clergy; K=attorney; L=butcher; M=tanner; N=mercer; O=merchant.

Year	Name	Church	Details
1385	John Gisburne	St. Martin Micklegate	bequests of over £100 to ecclesiastical bodies for prayers; no children in will
1426	John Blackburne	St. Mary Castlegate; St. Cuthbert	monument and window, no bequests to children in will
1435	Richard Russell	St. John Hungate	extensive commemoration at St. John H; all revenues and incomes for prayers; no children in will
1447	Nicholas Blackburn Jr.	All Saints North St.	no bequests to children; requests burial near his sons; sale of lands and tenements: half to wife, half for his soul
1450	Robert Colynson	All Saints North St.	extensive arrangements for prayers (13 years); tenements to wife then sold for prayers; no children in will
1458	Richard Wartere	St. Saviour	extensive bequests to churches, monasteries and friaries in exchange for prayers; residue to chaplains of All Saints Fishergate; no children in will
1487	John Carr	St. Sampson	extensive bequests to church, Minster, guilds and monasteries; no children in will
1494	Agnes Maners	St. Margaret	most of her property to parson of St. Margaret and successors; no children in will
1527	John Chapman	Holy Trinity King's Court	extensive bequests to monastic foundations in exchange for Masses; large bequest for chantry chapel; no children in will

Table 3.29 Childless individuals among the commemorated<sup>190</sup>

<sup>190</sup> See Appendix A.2 for details.

Church	Guild	Testamentary evidence
All Saints Pavement	BVM	1512
St. Crux	Crucifix	1440-1458
St. Denys	St. John Baptist	1389
St. Denys	St. Katherine	1503-1505
St. Giles	skinners	1442
St. Helen Stonegate	glass painters	unknown
St. Lawrence	BVM	1403
St. Lawrence	St. Anne	1403; 1502-1531
St. Margaret	BVM	unknown
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	St. Thomas martyr	1398
St. Nicholas Micklegate	BVM	1486
St. Nicholas Micklegate	St. Nicholas	1429
St. Saviour	St. Anne	1528

Table 3.30 Guilds in parish churches<sup>191</sup>

Church	Anchoress	Will
All Saints Fishergate	Lady Isabel German and servant c.1448-63	1429 Alice Haukesworth 1433 Adam Wigan 1441 John Scrope 1463 William Touthorp
All Saints North St.	Emma	1430 John de Richemonde 1433 Adam Wigan
St. Clement	unnamed	1441 John Scrope 1463 William Touthorp 1480 Thomas Beverlay
St. Cuthbert	unnamed	1388 Henry de Yarum 1404 Avicia de Pountfract 1416 Emma Eston
St. John Hungate	unnamed	1404 Avicia de Pountfract
St. Margaret	Margaret Heslington 1429-1439; (?) until 1449	1429 Margaret Salvayn 1433 Adam Wigan 1441 John Scrope 1449 John Wilton
St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	unnamed hermit 14C unnamed anchoress 16C	1391 William Fysch 1525 John Norman

Table 3.31 Recluses in parish churches<sup>192</sup>

<sup>191</sup> We cannot assume that the guilds had a continuous presence in the churches during the Late Middle Ages - the testamentary evidence helps us to date their presence to a particular time. Raine, *Mediaeval York*, pp.192, 78, 295, 106, 108, 184, 232, 295, 36, 120, 270.

<sup>192</sup> See Appendix A.2 for references, also Raine, *Mediaeval York*, pp.300, 254, 108, 235.

Church	Fittings
All Saints North St.	aumbry set in N wall of chancel; stall with carved misericorde of rector John Gilyot c.1470
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	2 altar stones and part of a third, all with consecration crosses - 1 and 2 set in floor in chancel and N chancel aisle, 3 raised on to frame and used as altar in chapel of St. James; 2 aumbries in SE chapel S wall; piscina in chapel of St. James on S wall; early 16C tenor bell
Holy Trinity Micklegate St. Cuthbert	13C piscina 13C circular base for pier or font; 15C stoup E of S door
St. Crux	15C oak lectern now at All Saints Pavement; 15C font now at St. Andrew Bishopthorpe; 13 wooden bosses now in Yorkshire Museum, another 17 reused on roof of W bay of Holy Trinity Micklegate
St. Denys	15C octagonal font; bench-end with poppy head finial, blind tracery and Percy shield now in Yorkshire Museum
St. Helen Stonegate	late 12C font in S aisle: late 12C bowl, 13C upper base, late 13C lower base; piscina reset in S aisle
St. John Ousebridge	altar stone now at Holy Trinity Micklegate; late 15C lectern now in Upper Poppleton
St. Margaret	piscina c.1400 in chancel against E wall
St. Martin Coney St.	altar stone with consecration crosses now removed; font bowl with modern base
St. Martin Micklegate	15C font in W tower; stoup in S nave aisle reset in W end of S wall
St. Mary Bishophill Sr. St. Mary Castlegate	2 enamelled 14C candlesticks now in Yorkshire Museum 13C piscina S aisle S wall; late 14C piscina S chapel S wall 15C piscina N chapel E wall; 2 15C misericords; 15C sedilia in chancel S wall (3 stalls)
St. Olave	15C font; stoup in N doorway
St. Sampson	(?)aumbry N aisle E wall; piscina (upper part only) N aisle E wall; stoup S aisle S wall
St. Saviour	font and font cover now in Holy Trinity Micklegate; 15C piscina S aisle; 2 19C copies of 15C stalls (no misericords) now in S aisle All Saints Pavement

Table 3.32 Surviving medieval church fittings<sup>193</sup>

<sup>193</sup> This is a list of practical church fittings, some of which fulfilled a specific liturgical function (such as the aumbries and altar stones) while others provided embellishment for practical objects (such as the wooden bosses and bench ends) - it deliberately excludes figurative art which will not be dealt with in this thesis, except for its connection with commemorative iconography. RCHM, *York 3*, pp.7, 10, 14, 18, 15, 16, 19, 24, 26, 34; RCHM, *York 4*, pp.28, 29; RCHM, *York 5*, pp.5, 3, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14-15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 25, 28, 35-6, 45, 46, 48.

Church	Object	Will	Date
All Saints North St.	pyx	Isabel Persay	1401
All Saints North St.	Easter Sepulchre	William de Vescy	1407
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	service books	John Hopton	1463
Holy Trinity King's Court	silver lance for crucifix	John Towthorp	1481
Holy Trinity Micklegate	chest for altar ornaments	Richard de Dalton	1392
Holy Trinity Micklegate	painted cloth with <i>Pietá</i>	Thomas Robson	1519
St. Helen Aldwark	alabaster image of BVM	Matilda Benetson	1392
St. Helen Stonegate	laten candlestick	John Brown	1492
St. John Hungate	cupboard for books and vestments	Richard Russell	1435
St. John Hungate	retables	Richard Russell	1435
St. John Ogleforth	paxboard and cruet set	John Carleton Jr.	1442
St. Martin Coney St.	altar cloth	Walter Berghe	1404
St. Martin Micklegate	pulpit	Richard Gascoygne	1486
St. Mary Castlegate	reliquary	Thomas Graa	1405
St. Mary Castlegate	standing cross	Thomas Graa	1405
St. Michael-le-Belfrey	silk banner for crucifix	John Elwald	1505
St. Michael Spurriergate	chalice and paten	Richard Appilgarth	1437
St. Michael Spurriergate	vestments	William Appilgarth	1438
St. Nicholas Micklegate	rowel	Catherine Smith	1522
St. Sampson	font	John Carre	1487
St. Saviour	alabaster retable	Sir John Gilliot	1509

Table 3.33 Examples of Lost Church Fittings<sup>194</sup>

Date	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	total
1301-1325	1													1
1326-1350														0
1351-1375														0
1376-1400								1			1	1	3	6
1401-1425				1									3	4
1426-1450		1				1			3	1	2	6	8	22
1451-1475					1	1			1	2	3	4	6	18
1476-1500					1		4	3	1	3		5	6	23
1501-1525			1			1						1	1	4
1526-1550														0
total	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	4	5	6	6	17	27	78

Table 3.34 Bequests to parish churches among the commemorated<sup>195</sup>

<sup>194</sup> All the evidence for this table is testamentary and can be found in Appendix A.2.

<sup>195</sup> Sample: 46 wills from Appendix A.2, all wills of commemorated with relevant bequests. Abbreviations: A=ivory and alabaster images; B=chests and cupboards; C=silk banners; D=tabernacles; E=silver crucifix; F=retables; G=bells; H=lamps and lights; I= plate (chalices, pattens and candlesticks in silver and bronze); J=repair and building work (roofs and windows); K=books; L=vestments; M=candles and torches for church altars (not just for testator's funeral). Bequests include both actual objects and money towards the purchase of objects.

Date	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	total
1376-1400			1		1		1	1		2	2	2	1	4	1	16
1401-1425						1					1	1	1	1	1	6
1426-1450	1				1	1	2	1	1	1	2	4	6	5	4	29
1451-1475		1							1		2	2	2	2	2	12
1476-1500							1	2	3			1	1		2	10
1501-1525				1				1		2		1		1	3	9
1526-1550						1				1						2
total	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	5	5	6	7	11	11	13	13	84

Table 3.35 Bequests to parish churches from other York testators<sup>196</sup>

Date	Churches			Friaries			Minster		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1376-1400	54	4	4	45	4	0	25	6	8
1401-1425	11	5	0	10	13	4	15	3	0
1426-1450	43	10	0	31	12	10	2	8	4
1451-1475	72	3	0	33	0	0	4	15	8
1476-1500	35	7	8	18	11	8	1	3	4
1501-1525	10	13	4	2	13	4	0	0	0
1526-1550		17	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
1551-1575	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0
Totals	227	1	0	141	14	4	58	14	0

Table 3.36 Testamentary bequests to churches, friaries and the Minster from the wills of the commemorated<sup>197</sup>

<sup>196</sup> Sample: 53 wills from Appendix A.2, mainly from printed collections, all containing relevant bequests. Abbreviations: A=relics; B=ornaments (unspecified); C=tabernacle; D=rowel; E=cupboards, aumbries and chests; F=silver crucifix; G=wood and alabaster images; H=plate (candlesticks, phials, paxboards, chalices in silver, silver-gilt and laten); I=bells and bell-tower; J=lights; K=vestments; L=candles and torches for church altars (not just for testator's funeral); M=building and repair work (roofs, windows and stalls); N=books; O=altar cloths. Bequests include actual objects and money towards the purchase of objects.

<sup>197</sup> Sample: 90, i.e. all the wills of the commemorated which it has been possible to find and which are abstracted in Appendix A.2. Unlike other tables, this one has to span the period 1550-75 in order to include the bequest to York Minster made by Martin Soza in 1560. There are no testamentary bequests for this table which pre-date 1376. Bequests to parish churches include money given for forgotten tithes and burial as well as bequests for repairs and rebuilding projects. They do not include amounts of money bequeathed to individual chaplains for prayers. Whether the sums were in fact handed over by the executors is irrelevant for our purposes, these bequests matter primarily as statements of intent.



Date	Chantries	Monuments	Windows	Other	Total
1275-1300	3	2	0	0	5
1301-1325	16	1	3	0	20
1326-1350	13	3	4	0	20
1351-1375	8	1	1	0	10
1376-1400	19	10	4	0	33
1401-1425	10	15	4	0	29
1426-1450	1	12	12	0	25
1451-1475	4	14	4	1	23
1476-1500	1	32	3	6	42
1501-1525	2	9	0	0	11
1526-1550	0	4	10	0	14
unknown	2	27	7	1	37
total	79	130	52	8	269

Table 3.37 Frequency of different types of commemoration<sup>198</sup>

<sup>198</sup> The results of this table are based on tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.12. For this table I have assumed that the Toller, Grafton, Randman and Brikenale couples from St. John Ousebridge were originally commemorated in four separate windows.

## Chapter 4 The Iconography of Commemoration

In this chapter we shall be focusing on the contribution made by the antiquarian evidence to the commemorative aspect of iconography. We will not be making a comprehensive review of parish church iconography, which can already be found in the secondary literature.<sup>1</sup> Most of the antiquarian evidence for monuments comes from Torre, who sketched all the monuments he saw in the churches, many of which no longer had identifying inscriptions on them. The majority of the antiquarian evidence for windows is due to Johnston's drawings, although Torre also noted the heraldry in the glass. A great deal of visual evidence survives in the glass, but, as we shall see, the monumental remains are meagre.

### 4.1 The visual components of monuments and windows

A wide range of options was available to the commemorated for their memorials - these included inscriptions, commemorative effigies, shields with coats of arms and/or merchants' marks, scrolls, trade tools, religious iconography, and any combination thereof. Most of the symbols deployed in the making of a memorial can be shown to have held a special significance for the commemorated.

Table 4.1 lists a total of 167 monuments - a few of these monuments are unidentified and undated so it is possible that they may have been post-medieval, although their appearance as described by the antiquarian sources suggests that they were medieval monuments. Out of these 167 monuments, 47 (28%) contained effigies and the remaining 120 (72%) did not. There were 98 effigies overall in these monuments, of which 11 (11%) can be deduced from surviving indents and the other 87 (89%) are known only from the antiquarian evidence. Table 4.2 lists 61 windows,<sup>2</sup> of which only 18 (30%) did not have effigies.<sup>3</sup> In windows, we can list 212 effigies, of which 75 (35%) survive only in the glass, 74 (35%) are known only from the antiquarian evidence, and 63 (30%) were both noted by the antiquarians and survive in the glass. Clearly, our knowledge of monuments is heavily indebted to the antiquarian evidence as no figure brasses survive at all, and the few surviving indents give us very little information beyond the number of figures originally commemorated. Even so, the loss of information about monuments is very considerable - of the 216 individuals commemorated in monuments we know of only 98 effigies. It is therefore unlikely that all the individuals listed in table 3.2 would have been commemorated by a figure brass - indeed

---

<sup>1</sup> Particularly in C. Davidson, and D.E. O'Connor, *York Art. A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art including Items Relevant to Early Drama*, Early Drama, Art and Music Reference Series 1, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1978).

<sup>2</sup> In chapter 3 we have discussed 51 windows, here we also include surviving visual evidence of unidentified commemorative effigies.

<sup>3</sup> This is probably an overestimate as there may originally have been more effigies in the glass of St. Michael-le-Belfrey than now survive.

many of them were probably commemorated by a simple plaque with a 'here lies' or 'pray for' type of inscription.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, we have 179 named individuals commemorated in windows and we also know of 212 effigies.<sup>5</sup> Some of these effigies cannot be identified and may represent yet more individuals commemorated in windows. Thus, the evidence of effigies in windows suggests that all those commemorated by windows were commemorated by an effigy as well as an inscription.

Effigies in monuments were portrayed as either recumbent or standing. It is not always possible to determine which is the case from the antiquarian drawings - for instance, the effigies of John and Isolda de Acaster at All Saints Pavement appear to be standing but a closer examination of John's effigy as sketched by Johnston reveals the outline of a pillow under his head, which suggests that his effigy was recumbent, so Isolda's must have been recumbent also (plate 96). Similarly, the unidentified female effigy from St. George Fishergate is shown to be recumbent by both a pillow shape under her head and an animal (possibly a dog) under her feet (plate 140). An animal is also shown by Johnston under the feet of another effigy from St. Mary Bishophill Sr. (plate 185). Unlike Johnston, Torre does not embellish his sketches with such fine details so that for the evidence which comes from Torre alone it is not possible to be certain that some of the effigies which appear to be standing are not in fact recumbent. This problem is inherent in the nature of figural monuments as a whole, in which the commemorated are often represented as standing, with their robes arranged vertically but with inconsistencies such as pillows under the head and animals under the feet, which suggest a horizontal pose.<sup>6</sup> One can see this effect in some of the more elaborate tombs of this period such as the alabaster tombs at Harewood.<sup>7</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, all monumental effigies have been described as being standing unless evidence is available to suggest a recumbent pose.

In figural monuments it is usual practice to have one effigy (of a priest or single lay figure) or two effigies (of husband and wife), but we also find four examples of triple commemorative effigies.<sup>8</sup> The triple effigy monument at St. Mary Castlegate must be that of John Blackburne and his wife Katherine - although Torre, who sketched the monument, did not report an inscription, Johnston described the Blackburne monument as having had three figures on it:

---

<sup>4</sup> See discussion of inscriptions below.

<sup>5</sup> Tables 3.19, 3.20, 4.1 and 4.2.

<sup>6</sup> Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Craft*, (London 1978), pp.68-9.

<sup>7</sup> Pauline E. Sheppard Routh, *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire*, (Ipswich 1976); and Pauline Routh and Richard Knowles, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, (Wakefield 1983).

<sup>8</sup> At All Saints Pavement, St. Mary Bishophill Sr., St. Mary Castlegate and St. Saviour. Only the monument at St. Mary Castlegate can be identified and dated.

'Circumscribed about a stone of marble in the middle isle of the church: ... *Johes Blackburne civis et mercator Ebor et Katherina uxor eius quorum aiabz prop deus*. There hath been three figures on it ...'<sup>9</sup>

We have no evidence to show who might have been represented by the third effigy in the Blackburne monument, but as the usual meaning of a triple effigy was for a husband and two wives (or one wife and two husbands) it seems probable that the monument commemorated John Blackburne and his two wives, Katherine and Joan. The triple monuments at All Saints Pavement, St. Mary Bishophill Sr. and St. Saviour on the other hand are much harder to identify as there are no clues either in the antiquarian nor in the visual evidence to suggest a possible attribution. Overall, single effigies and pairs are very common in figural monuments. The triple effigy design however is very unusual - the only other example in Yorkshire is at Kingston-upon-Hull where the early sixteenth-century brass of John Haryson and his wives Alice and Agnes (1525) shows three principal effigies, but in this case the commemorated are kneeling in the same space rather than standing in separate niches.<sup>10</sup> An earlier continental example with three niched standing effigies can be found in the monumental brass of Michiel van Assenede and his two wives (1398), from the church of St. Walburg at Bruges.<sup>11</sup> In general, kneeling figures on monumental brasses do not become common until 1450, usually in the context of a devotional composition with the commemorated kneeling before the figure of a saint, such as in the brass of John Stathum and his wife (1454) kneeling before a figure of St. Christopher at Morley, Derby.<sup>12</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain from the antiquarian evidence exactly how many of the figural monuments were brasses and how many were incised slabs. The sixteen monuments which can be confidently classified as figure brasses are those of: two unknown individuals at All Saints

---

<sup>9</sup> Johnston p.202, see Appendix A.1 under St. Mary Castlegate.

<sup>10</sup> Mill Stephenson, 'Monumental Brass in the East Riding', *YAJ* 12 (1893), pp.219-220. There are only 6 pre-Reformation triple effigy designs out of 330 brasses dated up to 1540 in *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984*, introduction by Malcolm Norris, (Woodbridge 1988): Maud Phelip and her husbands Walter Cookesey and Sir John Phelip (1415) at Kidderminster, Worcestershire, plate 119; Bartholomew, Lord Bouchier (c.1415) at Halstead, Essex, plate 121; Sir Thomas Skelton and wives Margaret and Katherine (1416) at Hinxton, Cambridgeshire, plates 122a-b; Sir William Etchingam, wife Joan and son Sir Thomas (1444) at Etchingam, Sussex, plate 167; Sir Thomas Stathum and wives Elizabeth and Thomasine (1470) at Morley, Derbyshire, plate 195; Sir John Dyve, wife Isabel & mother Elizabeth (1535) at Bromham, Bedfordshire, plate 321. Out of over 300 brasses illustrated in Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials*, vol.II, (London 1977) there are only two examples of triple niched standing figures: plate 96 (Thomas Widville of Grafton and wives 1435, Bromham, Bedfordshire) and plate 167 (Roger Salusbury and wives 1491, Horton, Northamptonshire).

<sup>11</sup> Sally Badham, 'Monumental Brass: the Development of the York Workshops in the fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, (ed.) C.Wilson, BAACT for 1983, (Leeds 1989), plate XXXIB; Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials*, vol.II, plate 44.

<sup>12</sup> Malcolm Norris, *Brass Rubbing*, (London 1965), p.86.

Pavement (undated; plate 100);<sup>13</sup> one unknown individual at St. John Ousebridge (undated; plate 159); two unknown individuals at St. Martin Coney St. (undated; plate 168); one unknown individual at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. (undated; plate 184); one unknown individual at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. (undated; plates 185, 187); one unknown individual at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (undated; plate 204); two unknown individual at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (undated; plate 203); two unknown individuals at St. Sampson (undated; plate 225); William and Joan Graa at St. Mary Castlegate (post-1378; plate 192); John, Katherine & Joan Blackburne at St. Mary Castlegate (1426; plate 193); Henry and Eleanor Percy at St. Denys (1461); William and Agnes Todd at All Saints Pavement (1479; plate 97); Thomas and Alice Beverley at All Saints Pavement (1480; plates 93, 98); John and Joan Gilyot at All Saints Pavement (1484; plates 94, 100); John and Millicent Feriby at All Saints Pavement (1491; plates 95, 99); and George and Beatrice Evers at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (1520; plates 200, 205). On the most basic level, apart from the effigies, what all these monuments share is a rectangular brass inscription plate, except for the Blackburne monument which had a marginal inscription and possibly the Graa and Percy monuments whose precise details are unknown.<sup>14</sup> The more elaborate brasses also include these other characteristics - one, two or three large figures, either freestanding or in niches; two smaller plates containing the effigies of children; and four corner shields with coats of arms and/or merchants' marks. It is unclear whether the monument of John and Isolda de Acaster was a brass or an incised slab - Johnston pays it special attention alongside other brass monuments from All Saints Pavement, and although its design differs from the others at All Saints in that it shows two canopied figures, we do know that the brass of John Blackburne at St. Mary Castlegate also showed canopied figures.<sup>15</sup> However, neither Torre nor Johnston explicitly state the nature the Acaster monument. In addition to these sixteen figure brasses we must also add a further 26 monuments which were decorated with brass inscription plates, thus bringing to 42 (32% of the overall total of 130 monuments) the total number of monuments which contained some form of brass decoration.<sup>16</sup> We have surviving visual evidence for only 12 of these 42 monuments, but this evidence is limited to 10 surviving inscription plates and to the bare stone fabric of the Graa and Blackburne monuments - the true extent of the use of brass

---

<sup>13</sup> Our knowledge of this monument comes from Torre. Although his sketch shows some similarity to Johnston's sketch of the Todd monument, this must refer to a different monument for the following reasons: Johnston sees the Todd monument in the south aisle whereas Torre's monument is in the north aisle; Johnston sees the effigies of three children and Torre notes only two; and there are no shields in the Todd monument as sketched by Johnston whereas Torre' monument has four corner shields.

<sup>14</sup> Marginal inscriptions are not uncommon in monumental brasses, see the brass of Roger Thornton and his wife (1411) at St. Nicholas, Newcastle-upon-Tyne in Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Craft*, plate 143.

<sup>15</sup> We know that the Blackburne monument was a brass because Johnston's description of it ('there hath been three figures on it') indicates that he was looking at an indent rather than an incised slab.

<sup>16</sup> In addition, some of these 25 monuments also showed corner shields or other corner decoration, merchants' marks and in William Langton's case a chalice.

decoration for funerary monuments in York parish churches can only be retrieved through the antiquarian evidence.<sup>17</sup> Additionally, the sixteen figure brasses described above must be added to the other 31 undated and unidentified monuments with effigies (standing and recumbent, freestanding and in niches; see table 4.1). Thus, there were at least 47 (36% of the overall total of 130 monuments) figural monuments in York parish churches, none of which survives. The discovery of brass monuments and of figural monuments in York parish churches is one of the most important discoveries to be made from a study of the antiquarian evidence, and fills a large gap in our knowledge of memorials at York.

The 31 effigial monuments mentioned above bring us to discuss another issue. It cannot be assumed that every monument which showed an effigial design had necessarily been a brass. Incised slabs were also a common form of funerary monument in the Middle Ages, and although originally their most common form of decoration had been crosses and other inanimate objects, effigial slabs were also produced.<sup>18</sup> Of the monuments listed in table 4.1, those decorated with crosses were most likely to be incised slabs rather than brasses - the monument of Thomas and Juliana de Kyllingwyke which survives at All Saints North St. is a clear example of an incised slab.<sup>19</sup> As the decoration of effigial slabs is very similar to that of figural brasses, it is difficult to say which medium had been used for these 31 monuments. Both slabs and brasses included effigies in niches as well as freestanding ones - examples of the former are the effigial slab of John Croxby (c.1470) at Howell, Lincs. and the brass of Prior Thomas Nelond (1433) at Cowfold, Sussex; examples of the latter are the effigial slab of Dorothy Markham (1495) at Sedgebrook, Lincs. and the brass of a female member of the Clopton family (c.1420) at Long Melford, Suffolk.<sup>20</sup>

Brasses and incised slabs were not two mutually exclusive forms. Some incised effigial slabs also displayed brass inlays (or indeed inlays in other materials such as white marble) for subsidiary details of their decoration such as inscription plates - this is the case for the monument of two unknown civilians (c.1325) in the church of St. Mary at Barton-on-Humber, Lincs. where the heads, hands and marginal inscription were once of brass.<sup>21</sup> However, given that our knowledge of figural monuments in York parish churches is entirely dependent on antiquarian sketches and notes, it is difficult to say whether such mixed monuments existed at York.

---

<sup>17</sup> Nothing survives now of the brass of John Shaw from St. Crux, although in 1905 one shield and one merchants' mark from the monument were noted by Stephenson, see Mill Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in the City of York', *YAJ* 18 (1905), pp.37-38.

<sup>18</sup> F.A.Greenhill, *Monumental Incised Slabs in the County of Lincoln*, (Newport Pagnell 1986), pp.xix-xxv.

<sup>19</sup> The Kyllingwyke monument is the only one of the cross-type to have survived - the other cross-monuments were those of Robert and Matilda Bridesale, Robert de Duffeld, John Bawtry and Laurence Jole.

<sup>20</sup> Greenhill, *Monumental Incised Slabs in the County of Lincoln*, plates 9, 41; Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Craft*, plates 182, 188.

<sup>21</sup> Greenhill, *Monumental Incised Slabs in the County of Lincoln*, p.16 no.5.

It is noticeable that out of the sixteen figure brasses a cluster of four monuments was made in a relatively short space of time between 1479 and 1491. These four brasses were all sited at All Saints Pavement and all four commemorated members of the merchant classes. As far as can be assessed from the antiquarian sketches, the Feriby brass (1491) appears to have been the most sumptuous - it displayed two large brass effigies, an inscription, two smaller panels for the five Feriby children, a prayer scroll inscribed '*mater dei miserere mei*', another panel showing the Virgin and Child, and four corner shields. This is the only brass in a York parish church for which we have evidence of the use of figures of saints as part of the design although such imagery is not unheard of in brass monuments<sup>22</sup> - the brass of Thomas Worsley at Wimpole, Cambridgeshire (1501) shows a Virgin and Child; that of Anthony Hansart and his wife Katherine at March, Cambridgeshire (1517) shows an Annunciation scene; and that of John Shelley and his wife Elizabeth at Clapham, Sussex (1526) shows a Trinity.<sup>23</sup>

The commemorated in stained glass are represented kneeling, generally on cushions. In two cases - both from the fourteenth century - the commemorated offer a model of their window (Robert Skelton at St. Denys and unidentified at St. Michael-le-Belfrey).<sup>24</sup> The effigy of William Santore at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. (plate 186) can be identified as coming from a window, although this is not mentioned by Johnston, precisely because it is depicted in a kneeling position. It is unlikely to come from a monument because as we have seen the funerary effigies are portrayed as standing or recumbent except possibly in one case.<sup>25</sup> Female effigies in windows generally appear accompanied by their husbands or other male relatives, either in the same or adjacent panels, but we also have two single fourteenth-century lay female effigies in window sII at All Saints North St. and a single fifteenth-century female figure in window sIV at St. Martin Coney St. (see plates 77, 164).<sup>26</sup>

Usually, in both monuments and windows, the children of the commemorated are represented on a smaller scale than their parents - the exceptions are the effigies of John de Skelton in window nIV at St. Denys and of Nicholas Blackburn Jr. in window I at All Saints North St., who are portrayed on the same scale as those of their parents, Robert and Joan Skelton and Nicholas and Margaret Blackburn Sr. respectively (plates 66, 67, 131-134). In windows, boys are ranked behind the father and girls are ranked behind the mother, as in the Soza window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey

---

<sup>22</sup> For evidence of other types of religious imagery see table 4.4 (attributes).

<sup>23</sup> *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society*, plates 261, 290, 305.

<sup>24</sup> The presentation of a model of a window is not a very common depiction in English glass, although we have two more at York Minster in windows nXXIV - Richard Tunnoc's Bellfounders Window - and nXXVI; see Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, (London 1993), p.12.

<sup>25</sup> In table 4.1 is listed a surviving medieval indent with two kneeling figures. This has been noted in RCHM, *York 5*, p.46, but it has not been possible to study its appearance firsthand because the church of St. Sampson is now used as a centre for the over 60s and most of the floor area is covered over.

<sup>26</sup> However, window sII has been heavily restored so the female effigies may not originally have been alone, see RCHM, *York 3*, p.8 and Gee, 'Glass of All Saints' pp.167-8.

and in the Orinshead panel from St. John Ousebridge (plate 151, 153, 196); in monuments on the other hand the figures of the children are represented in separate smaller panels below the inscription plate, as in the Feriby and Gilyot monuments at All Saints Pavement (plates 94, 95, 99, 100).<sup>27</sup> Children can either be portrayed in the same commemorative panels as their parents, such as the Orinshead children from St. John Ousebridge and the Soza children from St. Michael-le-Belfrey, or represented in panels of their own, such as John de Skelton at St. Denys, and the sons and daughters of Richard Yorke at St. John Ousebridge (plates 151, 153, 196, 131-134, 146-148). In windows children kneel like their parents, but in monuments they can be either kneeling or standing. At All Saints Pavement, John Gilliot's children (1484) are kneeling whereas John Feriby's (1491) are standing (plates 94, 95, 99, 100). Both standing and kneeling children are found in Yorkshire brasses. The former can be seen in the brass of Thomas Mountford and his wife Agnes (1489) at Hornby and the latter in the brass of John Haryson and his wives (1525) at Kingston-upon-Hull.<sup>28</sup> For windows, kneeling effigies are the norm for children as well as parents, but in some fourteenth-century glass the children are represented on the same scale as the parents, such as the sons of Peter de Mauley in window sXXXII at York Minster.<sup>29</sup>

All the commemorated wear contemporary dress, both lay and clerical, with a variety of accessories to denote status.<sup>30</sup> Dress itself can be a status symbol, as in Reginald Bawtre's surviving commemorative panel at All Saints North St. which shows him decked in a fur(ermine?)-lined gown (see plate 74). Dress can also be a form of identity - in the Percy window at St. Denys all the lay figures were wearing heraldic robes with the Percy device, while Margaret Blackburn Sr. wears heraldic dress in the glass at All Saints North St. (plates 67, 128). Clerics are represented in two different types of dress - officiating robes and plain soutanes. The difference does not depend on whether the commemorated appears in a window or on a monumental brass, but rather on whether the setting of the commemorative panel requires formal vestments or not. For example, James Bagule in the glass of All Saints North St. and Robert Semar in the glass of St. Martin Coney St. both wear plain clerical costume because they are depicted as kneeling in prayer - for which formal robes would not have been necessary (plates 79, 82, 163). According to Johnston's sketch, Richard

---

<sup>27</sup> We have no evidence regarding the original arrangement of the figures of the children in John Blackburne's window at St. Cuthbert, while for the Yorke window at St. John Ousebridge we can only say that the effigies were arranged in four separate panels - one for Richard Yorke, one for his two wives, one for the seven sons and one for the four daughters.

<sup>28</sup> Mill Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in the North Riding', *YAJ* 17 (1903), pp.285-6; Mill Stephenson, 'Brasses in the East Riding', pp.219-220.

<sup>29</sup> Marks, *Stained Glass*, p.13.

<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of changing fashions in this period see Joseph Strutt, *The Dress and Habits of the People of England* vol.2, (first printed 1842, repr. London 1970), pp.67-268; Iris Brooke, *English Costume of the Later Middle Ages. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, (London 1935); and S.M.Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: a study of the years 1340-1365*, (London 1980).



de Grimston's monument at St. Nicholas showed the recumbent effigy dressed in mass robes with a chalice suspended just below the hands (plate 217).<sup>31</sup> In this case the robes and the chalice served as the symbols of the commemorated's social category - in addition to the marginal inscription on Grimston's monument which already indicated that he was the parson at Stillingfleet. The officiating priest in the Toller panel from St. John Ousebridge is celebrating mass at an altar - the figure of the priest does not seem to represent a commemorated individual as it is not identified in the inscription, but is rather the visual focus of the Toller panel and possibly of the Randeman, Grafton and Brikenale panels as well, if the four panels were originally arranged so that the effigies all faced inwards towards the central scene where the mass was being celebrated (plates 146, 147, 149, 155).

We can trace changes in fashion from the different types of head-dresses worn by female effigies. The earliest examples of female head-dresses are the soft linen unisex bonnets tied under the chin in the fourteenth-century glass of St. John Ousebridge and St. Michael-le-Belfrey (plates 146, 147, 149, 155, 194, 195). These are followed by the veil, wimple and netted caul (crespine) worn by Joan Skelton in the mid-fourteenth-century panel at St. Denys (plate 133);<sup>32</sup> then by the veil-like coverings of the Henrison, Chapman and Blackburne women from the early fifteenth century glass of All Saints North St. (plates 66, 67, 79, 82);<sup>33</sup> by the more elaborate horned head-dress of the late fifteenth century worn by Joan Gilliot in 1484 and by the pearl- or bead-studded coronets worn by the daughters of Richard York in 1498 (plates 94, 146, 155);<sup>34</sup> and finally by the rigid Tudor head coverings of the daughters of Martin Soza and the wives of John Lister at St. Michael-le-Belfrey dating from c.1535-45 (plates 196, 197).<sup>35</sup> It is rather more difficult to trace parallel changes in fashion from the clothes worn by the commemorated as the details of these are less easy to retrieve. If we take the same examples listed above we can see that the fourteenth-century effigies at St. John Ousebridge and St. Michael-le-Belfrey all wear the same multi-layered combination of white shift, coloured gown and coloured cloak - the difference being in the colours used for the gowns and cloaks. Joan Skelton wears a white shift overlaid by a heavy dark green gown, although her husband and son both wear the three-layered combination of shift, gown and

---

<sup>31</sup> Torre's sketch of the same monument is too vague while Gent's cannot be accurate as the robes worn by the effigy do not conform to late medieval types, see plates 218 and 219.

<sup>32</sup> For a similar arrangement see the brass of Hawise Botiller (1360) from Norbury, Staffs. in *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio plates of the Monumental Brass Society*, plate 38.

<sup>33</sup> For an example of this popular type of head-dress see the brass of John Lyndewode and wife Alice (1419) from Linwood, Lincs., in *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio plates of the Monumental Brass Society*, plate 128.

<sup>34</sup> Among the many examples of horned head-dresses see the brass of Thomas Salmon and his wife Agnes (1430), from Arundel, Sussex and for a beaded head-dress see the brass of Joan, Lady Cromwell (1490), from Tattershall, Lincs. in *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society*, plates 148, 233.

<sup>35</sup> We have several examples of this type of head-dress; for an example see the brass of Sir Edward Grey and two wives (1528), in *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society*, plate 309.

cloak (plates 132, 134). The effigies at All Saints North St. are rather more richly dressed but still show two- or three-layered ensembles - Margaret Blackburn Sr. wears a cloak with decorated edges which match her veil, while the Henrison and Hesyl women wear belted gowns. The main change in these early fifteenth-century female effigies is the display of very long hanging pointed sleeves, which were popular at the time.<sup>36</sup> The female effigies in the late-fifteenth-century monuments at All Saints Pavement (plates 93-95) show either the cloak-over-gown arrangement, used for the Beverley and Feriby women, or a belted gown with tight long sleeves and shoulder sashes worn by Joan Gilyot.<sup>37</sup> The wives and daughters of Richard Yorke wear simple gowns with decorated collars, wrist-bands and edging (plates 146, 152, 155).<sup>38</sup> The Lister and Soza women at St. Michael-le-Belfrey wear simple gowns with white collars.<sup>39</sup>

Out of 90 monuments for which we have sufficient evidence, 56 (62%) showed an inscription carved on a white stone (i.e. a freestone slab), 5 (6%) showed a brass inscription on a white stone, and 29 (32%) showed a brass on a blue or black stone (i.e. a marble slab).<sup>40</sup> As white stones were the most popular it is therefore likely that a white stone with an inscription was the cheapest type of monument, whereas a blue or black stone with a brass would have represented a much more expensive memorial.

Torre's evidence of monuments gives us some useful information about the size of these memorials. As size would clearly have been related to cost, it is worth noting that the larger monuments - i.e. those 3 or 4 yards long - were also those made of blue or black marble, while the smaller monuments - measuring 1 or 2 yards in length - were usually made of freestone (white stone in Torre's terminology, see table 4.1).

The use of shields for displaying heraldry and merchants' marks on monuments can be seen consistently from the late 1370s (William and Joan Graa, St. Mary Castlegate, plate 192) up to

---

<sup>36</sup> For an example of a long-sleeved female effigy see the brass of a man in armour and his wife (c.1420), at Brampton-by-Dingley, Northants., in *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society*, plate 137.

<sup>37</sup> For an example of female costume almost identical to Joan Gilyot's see the brass of Ralph St. Leger and his wife Anne (1470) from Ulcombe, Kent, in *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society*, plate 196. Anne St. Leger however wears a different kind of head-dress.

<sup>38</sup> Johnston draws two out of the four daughters of Richard Yorke and writes '2 more like this' (plate 155) - we can see how his sketch closely resembles the surviving panel (plate 146). It is difficult to assess whether Johnston sketched Yorke's wives - they may have been among the paired effigies in plate 156. Plate 152 shows what is possibly the wives' panel as it survives today.

<sup>39</sup> Similar outfits to those of the Yorke, Lister and Soza women can be seen in the brasses of Thomas Fowler and wife Edith (c.1510), from Christ's College, Cambridge, and in that of a civilian and wife (c.1520) from Orford, Suffolk, in *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society*, plates 278 and 297.

<sup>40</sup> All brasses on blue/black stone carried an inscription, a few also showed effigies and other details. The five brasses on white stone were the Mawlturas (no date), Acaster (1379), Fenwick (1421), Stockton-Colynson (1471) and Wilson (1518) monuments. Freestone is any fine-grained sandstone or limestone that can be cut or sawn easily.

1537 (John and Agnes Shaw, St. Crux, plate 122). Out of the 90 monuments for which we have sufficient evidence, 24 (27%) use a heraldic display. In windows, heraldry appears consistently from c.1322 (Nicholas Fouke, St. Martin Micklegate, plates 173, 177, 178) until c.1545 (Martin Soza, St. Michael-le-Belfrey, plate 196); while merchants' marks also appear from c.1322 (Nicholas Fouke) until c.1488 (John Karr, St. Sampson, plates 222 and 223).

The only canopied monument which can be securely dated is that of John and Isolda de Acaster (1379), while the freestanding effigies all date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>41</sup> As we have already seen, it is difficult to say whether the Acaster monument was an incised slab or a brass. In the country as a whole, canopied effigial slabs were made from as early as the thirteenth century through to the sixteenth century - an early example is the monumental slab of William de Wermington at Crowland Abbey, Lincs. (c.1275), while at Bardney, Lincs. is the canopied slab of Abbot Richard Horncastel (1508).<sup>42</sup> Similarly, canopied brasses can be found ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, such as those of Lady Joan de Kobeham at Cobham, Kent (c.1320) and of Thomas Bushe and his wife at Northleach, Glos. (1526).<sup>43</sup>

A small number of monuments are shown by Torre to have included trade tools (see table 4.3). These tools are somewhat difficult to identify, and only two out of seven such monuments can in fact be dated to the Middle Ages so it is possible that some or all of the other monuments may be post-medieval. However, the monument at St. Denys which commemorates an unknown tailor and his wife Joan was decorated with a set of tailor's shears over the top half of the slab - as Torre calculated that the slab was almost 3 yards long, the shears appear to have measured about 1½ yards (plate 136). The monument to the mason Laurence Jole at St. Olave is described by Torre as being about 1 yard long and shown as having been decorated with a standing cross on a pedestal and what could be a stone-breaking tool to the right of the cross (plate 221).

## 4.2 Status Symbols

An important aspect of the representation of commemorative effigies lies in the use of attributes - these can be seen to refer to particular possessions of the commemorated and to suggest what were perceived to be desirable qualities. Out of 148 examples in table 4.4 we find evidence for 94 (64%) exclusively in the antiquarian evidence, 33 (22%) are retrievable only in the surviving material and 21 (14%) were both noted by the antiquarians and survive in the visual evidence.

Attributes are primarily symbols of status and wealth. Purses, swords, beads and rings are clearly linked with monetary wealth. Books not only denote learning but are also luxury items - it is

---

<sup>41</sup> Another canopied brass was at St. Denys, it supposedly commemorated Henry Percy third Earl of Northumberland and his wife Eleanor, which would date it to 1461 although the antiquarian evidence regarding this brass is based on hearsay, see Appendix A.1 under St. Denys.

<sup>42</sup> Greenhill, *Monumental Incised Slabs in the County of Lincoln*, plates 2, 10.

<sup>43</sup> Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Craft*, plates 125, 215.

worth noting that in the Blackburn window which shows in the main lights St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read it is the Blackburn women who carry the books (plates 65-67). Books were highly valued and expensive objects, bequeathed in wills with the same care as other material possessions (table 4.5).

While we would expect the clergy to possess more books than the laity, books did exist in lay hands, particularly service books. At least six of the commemorated owned books, and two (Reginald Bawtre and Robert Semar) are represented in stained glass with books (plates 74, 83, 163).<sup>44</sup> For these individuals at least, books represented an important possession, a symbol of literacy and of social status, a desirable accessory to display before one's peers. Lecterns and altars perform a rather similar dual function - physical support for books as well as symbols of piety. Spurs indicate knighthood - but not always. In Nicholas Blackburn Sr.'s case they are a purely honorific symbol, probably designed to accompany the heraldry in the window but not intended to declare an official status (plate 67). Torre saw another Blackburn effigy decked in armour 'in the north aisle window by the door' which may have been another effigy of Nicholas Sr. or one of his father Nicholas of Richmond. It has been suggested that the assumption of knightly attributes on the part of Nicholas Blackburn Sr. are a reference to his appointment as Admiral of the Northern Fleet in 1406, in recognition of his efforts in organizing the collection and transport of victuals for Henry IV's army during the Northumberland rebellion. The depiction of the spurs in silver rather than gold could be interpreted as an admission of his somewhat unorthodox assumption of the knighthood.<sup>45</sup> Although Nicholas Blackburn Jr. does not seem to have worn any knightly attributes in the glass of All Saints North St., Dodsworth noted that the effigy of John Blackburne in the north window at St. Cuthbert was also depicted wearing armour with the Blackburn arms upon his breast. As the eldest son of Nicholas Sr., John Blackburne may have felt he was entitled to follow in his father's footsteps in this particular respect. Among the other spur-wearers, only Richard York and the two Percies were legitimate knights, while there is no evidence to suggest that John Acaster had been knighted (plates 96, 128, 147).<sup>46</sup> However, the aura - if not the reality - of knighthood was clearly seen to be desirable, as at least one other of the commemorated, the merchant William Bowes Sr., was the

---

<sup>44</sup> We must beware of making categorical statements about book-ownership on the basis of testamentary evidence. While it is possible to see how books are bequeathed in wills, it cannot be said that a testator who does not bequeath any books has none to bequeath - for example, neither the merchant John Bolton nor the cleric John Gillyot mention books in their wills, yet we know that the former was the owner of the Bolton Hours and the latter owned a copy of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, see Appendix A.2 for details.

<sup>45</sup> Richard Lewis Almond, 'Nicholas Blackburn, a Medieval Conundrum, York M.A. essay 1990, pp.21 and 23; Richard Almond, 'All Saints' Church, York, the Blackburn Window: A Medieval Conundrum', *Medieval Life* 1 (1995), pp.26-30.

<sup>46</sup> Two other merchants among the commemorated were also knighted: William Todd and John Gilliot, see Appendix A.2 and Jennifer I. Kermode, 'The Merchants of three Northern English Towns', in *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Late Medieval England*, (ed.) C.H.Clough, (Liverpool 1982), p.37.

proud owner of no less than two whole suits of armour, which he bequeathed to his grandson.<sup>47</sup> The spur-wearing effigies all came from memorials which also contained heraldry.<sup>48</sup>

Heraldry and merchants' marks also served to enhance the status of the commemorated. The role of merchants' marks was to highlight the social standing of the commemorated, indicating that the belonged to the socially prestigious and politically powerful mercantile group. Heraldry served a very similar purpose, indicating that the commemorated were armigers, although this was not always an official status. Both merchants' marks and heraldry could be made into a form of personalized commemoration, with the former bearing the initials of the commemorated (such as Alan Hamerton's merchants' marks at St. Peter Little, plate 210) and the latter chosen to pun on the name of the commemorated (such as William Bowes' arms at St. Cuthbert).<sup>49</sup>

Beads occurred on effigies in monuments and represent both piety (rosary beads were used for prayer) and wealth. Testamentary evidence suggests that beads were a precious possession, carefully and thoughtfully bequeathed alongside silverware and expensive fabrics. Beads were usually made of expensive imported materials such as coral or amber. Among the commemorated, William de Langetoft (1321) bequeathed beads to the altar of St. Thomas Martyr at York Minster and John Dautre (1458) bequeathed a pair of rosaries each made of 50 coral beads in aid of Richard Scrope's canonization.<sup>50</sup>

Children represent a particularly significant symbol. As we have seen in chapter 3, the children represented in these commemorative panels may not necessarily have been alive when the memorials were made, so we must be aware of the potential for a variety of meanings. For John Blackburn the representation of children serves as a memorial to his dead sons and daughter. It is not certain that the 5 boys and 13 girls in window sIII at St. Michael-le-Belfrey belong to William Beckwith and his wife, but they certainly date from the early sixteenth century and are therefore related to one of the lay couples commemorated in the glass, none of whom seem to have had such a large living family.<sup>51</sup> John Feriby, Martin Soza and John Gilliot show many more offspring on their memorials than they mention in their wills indicating that, while they did not die childless, they too may have had children to mourn (plates 94, 95, 99, 100, 196). On the other hand, children represent a kind of personal wealth, ensuring perpetuation of one's name and preservation of one's property within the family and hopefully prayers for one's soul after one's death.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Appendix A.2 under Bowes.

<sup>48</sup> For discussion of heraldry see below, section 4.3 and table 4.6.

<sup>49</sup> See section 4.3 for full discussion of heraldry and merchant's arms.

<sup>50</sup> See Appendix A.2 under surname headings.

<sup>51</sup> We have no extant will for William Beckwith, but neither John Listar nor John Elwald mention 18 living children in their wills.

<sup>52</sup> See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, (New Haven and London 1992), chapter 10 'The Pains of Purgatory', pp.338-376 esp. p.352.

These family groups appear to have been introduced quite early on. In spite of the surviving evidence, from which we might think that the earliest case of a family group does not appear until the end of the fifteenth century in Richard York's window, we have in fact three examples from the antiquarian record dating between the end of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth century (see details in table 4.4).

Most of the evidence for religious motifs in table 4.3 comes from the antiquarian evidence which provides us with 20 (87%) out of 23 examples, while the visual evidence gives us the remaining 3 (13%). In table 4.4 we need to distinguish between motifs which constitute the principal design for a monument, and those which represent peripheral decoration. The chalices in the two unidentified monuments and in those of John Grinedale and William Langton represent the principal design for each monument, whereas in Richard de Grimston's monument the chalice is suspended just below the effigy's hands (plates 113, 119, 161, 211, 215, 217-219).<sup>53</sup> The Evangelist symbols on Alan Hamerton's monument from St. Peter Little (now at St. Michael Spurriergate) are set in shields in the corners and alternated with merchants' marks,<sup>54</sup> while those on Thomas Clerk's monument are positioned in quatrefoils in the corners as were those on George Evers' (plates 64, 200, 205, 210). This is the usual location for this type of decoration, although the symbols could be set in circles as well as shields and quatrefoils.<sup>55</sup> The usual choice for corner decoration is heraldry and merchants' marks (see table 4.1 and section 4.3) - as Thomas Clerk was an attorney he presumably could not avail himself of either of these designs.<sup>56</sup> Religious imagery was a popular and obvious choice for clerics. However we can see that a cross was chosen as decorative design for at least three known lay commemorated, i.e. Helen de Duffeld, whose husband Robert was a merchant, the tanner Thomas de Kyllingwyke, and the mason Laurence Jole (plates 89, 221, 228). In addition to the evidence listed in table 4.4, there are four unidentified monuments in Torre's evidence, one at St. Martin Coney St., one at St. Sampson and two at St. Saviour, which show a pattern of small crosses arranged over the whole slab in a saltire cross pattern (plates 170, 225 and 228). These are not in fact monuments but rather medieval altar slabs, originally decorated with consecration crosses, which had probably been buried into the church floor at the time of the Reformation.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Chalices on funerary monuments appear to be particularly associated with York and East Anglian engravers, see Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials*, vol.I, (London 1977), pp.199-200.

<sup>54</sup> RCHM, *York 5*, p.43.

<sup>55</sup> Norris, *Brass Rubbing*, p.95. The Evangelist symbols are set in circles in the brass of John Huntingdon (1458) at Manchester Cathedral, Lancashire, see *Monumental Brasses, Portfolio Plates of Monumental Brass Society*, plate 180.

<sup>56</sup> See table 4.6. Apart from legitimate armigers and merchants, the cleric John Gillyot was the only other member of the urban classes whose memorial displayed heraldry as a decorative motif.

<sup>57</sup> F. Bond, *The Chancel of English Churches*, (Oxford 1916), pp.13, 14, 15.

### 4.3 Heraldry and Merchants' Marks

Table 4.6 lists 544 shields, of which 85 (16%) showed merchants' marks and the remaining 459 (84%) showed coats of arms. Of these 544, 400 (74%) are known to us through the antiquarian evidence alone, 73 (13%) through both antiquarian and surviving visual evidence, and 71 (13%) through visual evidence alone.<sup>58</sup> Heraldry and merchants' marks were inherently possessed of great flexibility as iconographic symbols of commemoration. Out of the 544 examples in table 4.6, 240 (44%) come from windows; 233 (43%) come from monuments; 44 (8%) were to be found on roof bosses, sedilia, a misericorde, a bench-end, a lectern, a font, and various parts of the wood and stone fabric of the churches, both on the inside and on the outside; and 27 (5%) were noted on unspecified memorials. However, from an iconographic point of view, heraldry in particular is an unsatisfactory form of commemoration as it does not often enable us to identify specific individuals, even when we are able to identify the family group commemorated by the shield. Out of a total of 544 coats of arms and merchants' marks listed in table 4.6, 146 (27%) were accompanied by a total of 59 inscriptions which enable us to identify the commemorated irrespective of the heraldry and merchants' marks displayed.<sup>59</sup>

It is noticeable that the members of the urban classes whose memorials displayed heraldry were primarily merchants, followed by clergy and armigers. Out of the 544 shields listed in table 4.6, 174 (32%) represented merchants, 13 (2%) represented the urban clergy, and 13 (2%) represented the urban nobility.<sup>60</sup> Of the remaining 344 shields, 95 (17%) represented members of the aristocracy, 14 (3%) were royal arms, 9 (2%) were arms of saints, 9 (2%) represented the higher clergy (episcopal and archiepiscopal), 6 (1%) were unconnected civic arms, 6 (1%) represented craft affiliations, 93 (17%) are unidentified arms and 112 (21%) are unidentifiable because although they were recorded by the antiquarians the shields were blank by the time they were noted.<sup>61</sup>

The shield on the monument of John Midilton at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. has not been identified with the surviving indent before, but I would like to suggest this identification in view of the fact that there was only one known monument from the church which had a single shield (plate 183). The indent with 2 quatrefoils from All Saints Pavement could represent the remains of either

---

<sup>58</sup> One example of the visual/antiquarian heraldry has not survived to the present but was noted by Stephenson in 1905, i.e. that of John Shaw (1537) from St. Crux.

<sup>59</sup> The 42 memorials include John Gillyot's misericorde at All Saints North St. which is initialled (GIM for *Magister Johannes Gillyot*) rather than inscribed.

<sup>60</sup> The 13 members of the urban nobility include William Gyselay and his family. According to the Register of Freeman, William Gyselay was a scrivener, but it is likely that he was an armiger as well since the Gyselay arms are officially recorded by Burke, his memorial also displayed the Ross arms for his wife Alice, and his son John was listed in the Freeman's Register as a gentleman.

<sup>61</sup> The unconnected civic arms are those which cannot be said to represent a particular individual, in contrast to for example the arms of the city of York at St. Sampson, which represent the mercer John Karr.

of the two lost monuments decorated with 4 corner quatrefoils from the church. i.e. the monuments of John and Isolda de Acaster and of John Gillyot cleric (plates 96 and 99). Sets of 4 shields are always displayed in the four corners of a monument, which suggests that the 2 sets of 2 quatrefoil indents at All Saints Pavement and St. Denys are part of a heraldic display, where the other 2 quatrefoils have been lost. The quatrefoils from St. Denys may have come from the Percy brass which Johnston saw stripped of its decoration.

At St. Martin Coney St. was the largest collection of royal arms - it is impossible to explain why it should have been there at all, but it is an very unusual display (plate 167). Nine shields commemorated Edward the Confessor (1003-1066), Edward I (1239-1307) and Edward III (1312-1377) and their respective youngest sons - whose arms were those of their fathers differenced with a bordure argent - Edmund earl of Kent (1321-1330) and Thomas duke of Gloucester (1355-1397).<sup>62</sup> Edward I was also commemorated in a north window at Holy Trinity Goodramgate, and the arms of Edward III were also noted at St. Denys, while the arms of Margaret of Anjou (1430-1482), queen of Henry VI, were at St. Mary Castlegate. Other royal arms were at St. Cuthbert where Henry V (1387-1422) and his two younger brothers John duke of Bedford (1389-1435) and Humphrey duke of Gloucester (1391-1447) were commemorated (plate 126).

Royal arms could be deployed for the commemoration of individuals. Martin Soza's arms were displayed in his window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey. Soza was a goldsmith, who had been born in Spain but was nevertheless able to forge a distinguished career at York. His will shows him to have been a wealthy man, and although he was not able to reach the mayoralty, he served as a sheriff.<sup>63</sup> It is notable that his choice of arms should refer not only to his professional identity as goldsmith and to his civic achievements as sheriff of the city of York but also to his geographical origins, for which he grandly adopted the royal arms of Spain.

While it seems certain that the arms represented on funerary monuments were personal arms, the arms represented in windows need not have been. For instance, John Karr's heraldic commemoration at St. Sampson consisted of a merchants' mark, which was his personal symbol, and a coat of arms, which was not his personal shield but rather the shield of the City of York to commemorate his mayoral status (plates 222, 225).<sup>64</sup> Similarly, the arms in Christopher Ceel's window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey are those of St. Wilfrid, whose full-length figure was in the same window.<sup>65</sup> The arms in Hugh Ashton's window also at St. Michael-le-Belfrey were quartered arms

---

<sup>62</sup> The arms of Edward the Confessor were not contemporary arms, but were conferred upon him at a later date.

<sup>63</sup> D.M.Palliser, *Tudor York*, (Oxford 1979), p.94.

<sup>64</sup> The arms of Carr (York and Bristol) are listed in Burke as *gules on a chevron argent three mullets sable*, p.171, but these do not appear either in the antiquarian or in the surviving visual record.

<sup>65</sup> The figure of the saint is now in window sIII but the coat of arms is lost; see RCHM, *York 5*, p.38.



of Ashton and probably St. Hugh, whose figure was also represented in the window - this is the only known example of personal arms quartered with the arms of a saint. The window also showed the arms of Sts. Peter, Paul and William, whose figures, together with that of St. Hugh, were represented in the main lights. The two coats of arms displayed in the east window at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. may have been those of the rectors Robert Savage and John Manfeld who were commemorated by an inscription in the same window. However, one of these coats (*azure six eagles' heads erased or*) also appeared in the east window of St. Mary Bishophill Jr., alongside those of St. Wilfrid, so it is possible that all the four coats of arms displayed in the two east windows were those of saints rather than of particular individuals.

Some of the personal arms were legitimate heraldic shields for that particular family, such as those of Ashton, Beckwith, Wyman, Holme/Howme, Graa, Johnson and Yorke.<sup>66</sup> There is no official listing for the arms shown on the Acaster, Gyselay and Fouke memorials, while the personal arms of the Blackburnes, Bowes, Gilliots, Playce and Waghens are registered but differ substantially from those displayed on the memorials of these five families. The arms of the Blackburne family appeared both at All Saints North St. and at St. Cuthbert as *gules a lion rampant chequy ermine and ermines crowned or*, whereas Burke lists the arms of Blackburne as *argent a fesse nebulée between three mullets sable*.<sup>67</sup> The official Gilliot arms are: *argent on a fesse gules between six martlets sable three ears of wheat stalked and leaved or*, but the arms of John Gillyot at All Saints North St. which were noted by Torre on a roof boss in the chancel and which also appear on the misericorde are: *ermine on a bend sable three goats' heads coupéd argent*.<sup>68</sup> The arms of William Bowes in the east window at St. Cuthbert were described by Dodsworth as *ermine three bows and on a canton a fret*, whereas the Bowes arms as listed in Burke are: *ermine three long bows bent in pale gules stringed or*.<sup>69</sup> The arms which accompany the inscription to William Playce in a north window at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. are *Ar 3 greyhounds cursant sa collar & bell or*, however none of the seven different versions of the Place or Playse arms listed in Burke resemble this blazon.<sup>70</sup> The arms displayed on the monument of Ellen Waghens at St. Crux include the shield *argent on a bend gules three lions or*, but the arms of Wogan as listed in Burke are *argent a lion's gamb coupéd and erect or*.<sup>71</sup> Thus, it would seem that some families adopted - perhaps prematurely or unofficially and therefore illegally - personal coats of

<sup>66</sup> These can all be found in Burke, pp.28-9, 65, 417, 501, 544, 1143 and 1150.

<sup>67</sup> Appendix A.1 sub All Saints North St. and St. Cuthbert; and Burke p.86.

<sup>68</sup> Burke p.400; Appendix A.1 under All Saints North St.; RCHM, *York 5*, pp.5 and 10; Gee, 'Roofs of All Saints', p.3 describes the untinged arms as *ermine on a bend (sable) three lucies' heads coupéd (argent)*. Similarly, the arms on the monument of John Gyllot, merchant, at All Saints Pavement as sketched by Johnston also appear to be: *ermine on a bend three (goats?) heads (coupéd argent)*.

<sup>69</sup> Appendix A.1 under St. Cuthbert and Burke p.108.

<sup>70</sup> Appendix A.1 under St. Mary Bishophill Sr. and Burke pp.806-7.

<sup>71</sup> Appendix A.1 under St. Crux and Burke p.1127.

arms to enhance their status in their commemoration on stonework and woodwork as well as in monuments and windows.<sup>72</sup>

The coats of arms on urban-class memorials follow a convention already established in aristocratic arms - the device can constitute a pun on the owner's name. For instance, the arms on the monument of John Acaster, which were described by Dodsworth and also sketched by Johnston, displayed *argent on a chevron three acorns* (plate 96).<sup>73</sup> Similarly, the arms in William Bowes's window at St. Cuthbert incorporated a pun on the family name: *ermine three bows & on a canton a fret*.<sup>74</sup> Punning, or 'canting', was a common practice in aristocratic arms, as can be seen in the Percy & Lucy arms, in which the arms of Lucy are represented by *gules three lucies or pikes hauriant argent*.<sup>75</sup> On the memorials of John Gillyot, John Karr and Richard Yorke were both merchants' marks and coats of arms, indicating that the use of one did not preclude the use of the other (plates 94 and 222). On the whole, the use of merchants' marks and heraldic shields did not represent the sole means of identification of a memorial. Thirteen out of the nineteen cases of memorials containing merchants' marks in table 4.6 were accompanied by an inscription which spelled out the name of the commemorated.<sup>76</sup> Thus, the use of merchants' marks on memorials can be considered as a form of attribute, indicating the prestigious mercantile status of the commemorated.<sup>77</sup>

The eight shields in the tracery of the north east window at St. John Ousebridge (and now in windows nXIX and nXX at York Minster) were designed to display the pedigree of Sir Richard Yorke. Some of the arms related directly to Yorke's career - alongside his personal arms, which he was entitled to bear as he had been knighted in 1487, were the arms of the City of York, to indicate that he had held the office of mayor (in 1469 and 1482), and those of the Merchants of the Staple, of whom he had been mayor in 1467. The rest of the arms appear to refer to the marriage alliances of

---

<sup>72</sup> Arms assumed without legal authority are called assumptive, see Sir Francis Grant, *The Manual of Heraldry*, (Edinburgh 1937), p.55.

<sup>73</sup> An alternative reading of the arms is given by Torre who describes them as *on a chevron 3 cups covered*, in which case Acaster may have incorporated one of the heraldic symbols of the goldsmiths guild into his personal arms, see Appendix A.1 under All Saints Pavement.

<sup>74</sup> We only have antiquarian written evidence for this, see Appendix A.1 under St. Cuthbert.

<sup>75</sup> Chesshyre and Woodcock, p.133; see also Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, (Oxford 1988), p. 63; Charles Boutell, *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, revised by A.C.Fox-Davies, (London 1914), pp.16-17.

<sup>76</sup> The memorials for which we do not have inscriptions are: John Karr's merchants' marks on the stonework, the font and the roofboss at St. Sampson; Richard York's lectern and roof boss; the unknown monument at Holy Trinity Goodramgate; and Richard Toller's window at St. Martin Micklegate. It is likely that the monument at Holy Trinity Goodramgate would at one time have had an inscription but the remaining 6 memorials by their very nature probably did not carry inscriptions in the first place.

<sup>77</sup> The original function of merchants' marks was simply as a form of identification on the packaging of goods provided by a particular merchant.

Yorke himself and of his children. This is an unusually complex heraldic display, although there are several memorials which incorporate the arms of husband and wife.<sup>78</sup>

Merchants' marks fulfil the role of pseudo-heraldry, serving the urban classes in the way that heraldry proper served the aristocracy and higher clergy. We can only identify merchants' marks if the memorial where they are displayed provides us with sufficient evidence - unlike heraldry, merchants' marks are not classified in reference works although as a general guideline the mark is supposed to incorporate the merchant's initials. For instance, Richard Toller's and Nicholas Fouke's merchants' marks in the windows of St. Martin Micklegate are distinguished by an 'R' and an 'N' motif respectively (plates 175-178). Thomas Vicars' monument at St. Michael Spurriergate showed a merchants' mark with the letters 'T' and 'V' on either side of an anchor-like shape (plate 216). Alan Hamerton's monument from St. Peter Little (now at St. Michael Spurriergate) shows merchants' marks with an intertwined 'AH' motif repeated three times rather like a heraldic display (plate 210).<sup>79</sup> However, this use of initials does not apply to John Karr's merchants' marks at St. Sampson (plate 222), which can be securely identified through Johnston's evidence, nor to the mark in window sII panel 1b at St. Mary Castlegate, which I have suggested is John Blackburne's mark and which contains a 'W' and a 'V' (plate 191). Whereas heraldry had originated in the mid-twelfth century as a form of military status symbol which was displayed and popularized in tournaments, merchants' marks had originally been derived from runes and served as identification marks on traded goods.<sup>80</sup> Merchants' marks in windows can be seen displayed along the borders, as in Richard Toller's window at St. Martin Micklegate, or in the tracery panels, as in Nicholas Fouke's window in the same church (plates 175-178).

It is noticeable that the early sixteenth-century commemorated at St. Michael-le-Belfrey are also represented by shields containing their initials and that this is the case for both lay and clerical individuals. These shields were not noted by the antiquarians but still survive and they are perhaps an indication of how the non-armigers adapted the heraldic form of commemoration in this period in preference to the display of assumptive arms which we have already noted above in some late fourteenth and fifteenth-century memorials.

---

<sup>78</sup> These are the arms on the memorials of William Gyselay and his wife Alice Ross at St. Cuthbert; of Sir Hugh Hastings and his wife Anne Gascoigne at St. Martin Micklegate; of Sir Henry Vavasour and his wife Joan Gascoigne also at St. Martin Micklegate; of John Midilton and his wife Matilda Thwaites at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. and of Brian Middleton and his wife Christiane Mauleverer also at St. Mary Bishophill Jr.

<sup>79</sup> This was noted in F.A. Girling, *English Merchants' Marks*, (London 1914), p.18, although the location of the monument is wrongly said to be 'All Saints Church'.

<sup>80</sup> Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, (Oxford 1988), pp.1-13; Girling, *English Merchants' Marks*, pp.9-10.

#### 4.4 Inscriptions and Scrolls

A major component of commemorative panels is the presence of inscriptions and scrolls. Scrolls generally contain exhortative material, such as *Miserere mei, Ora pro me, Libera nos*<sup>81</sup>; or appeals to specific saints such as the Virgin, St. Martin, St. Margaret or St. John.<sup>82</sup> Although we find them in windows that date from the fourteenth, the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries they are invariably in Latin. Also in Latin are Biblical and liturgical quotes such as that which appears on the book held by Robert Semar in his window at St. Martin Coney St. and those on the books held by the Blackburn women in the east window at All Saints North St.<sup>83</sup>

Inscriptions in windows tend to run along the lower border of the panels which contain commemorative effigies and give information regarding the identity of the commemorated. Inscriptions in funerary monuments either run along the outer border, as in William Londisdall's monument at All Saints North St., or are contained in a central plaque, as in John Feriby's monument at All Saints Pavement (plates 90, 95, 99).

The popularity of Latin as a language for inscriptions, which can be seen from table 4.7, is unsurprising. In total, 157 (88%) inscriptions out of 178 were written in Latin, of which 119 (67%) come from monuments and 38 (21%) come from windows.<sup>84</sup> What is more interesting is why other languages were used at all. It is significant that French, or rather Anglo-Norman, should have been used for just three very early examples (2%). In general, Anglo-Norman was used in inscriptions until c.1340.<sup>85</sup> It is possible that it was thought to carry cultural connotations, being the language of the court and of the aristocracy in this period.

English makes a sporadic appearance in the fifteenth century but does not increase in popularity until the sixteenth century. The 13 examples listed in table 4.7 represent 7% of the total inscriptions. It is important to bear in mind that, while all the sixteenth-century stained glass at St. Michael-le-Belfrey carries inscriptions in English, there are still funerary monuments of the same

---

<sup>81</sup> See window nIII at St. Denys (plate 130); the Baguley/ Chapman window and the Bawtre window at All Saints North St. (plates 74, 79, 83); the east window of the north aisle at St. Martin Coney St. (plate 165); and the Soza window from St. Michael-le-Belfrey (plate 196).

<sup>82</sup> As in Robert Semar's window at St. Martin Micklegate (plate 163); the panel containing the sons of Richard York from St. John Ousebridge (plate 148); the St. Margaret panel from St. Michael Spurriergate (plate 208); and the Lister window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (plate 197).

<sup>83</sup> The Semar quote reads: '*Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum*' (Lord have mercy on me according to your great mercy and to your great compassion), from Psalm 51, 1; the Blackburn quotes read: '*Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me neque in ira tua*' (Lord do not accuse me in your anger nor in your fury), from Psalm 6, 1 for Margaret Jr. and '*Domine labia mea aperies et os meum*' (Lord open my lips and my mouth) from the opening of the Office for Margaret Sr., see Gee, 'Glass of All Saints, pp.155-6 and RCHM, *York 5*, p.28; plates 66, 67, 163.

<sup>84</sup> It is quite likely that John Chapman's inscription at Holy Trinity King's Court should originally have been in Latin and that Glover reported it in shorthand English, although this cannot be firmly proved, see chapter 1 section 1.3.1.

<sup>85</sup> Norris, *Brass Rubbing*, p.83.

date which carry Latin inscriptions, such as those of Oliver Middleton at St. Michael Spurriergate (1504) and of George Evers at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (1520).<sup>86</sup>

English and Latin together are also a rare occurrence, and both cases (1%) are recorded at St. Michael Spurriergate. They may indicate a transitional stage in the changeover between Latin and English inscriptions but as neither inscription survives they may simply be cases in which the antiquarians reported two overlapping but distinct inscriptions, insensibly restored.

All the inscriptions listed in table 4.7 are written in black letter script except for three - Nicholas Fouke's window inscription at St. Martin Micklegate, Richard de Grimston's funerary inscription at St. Nicholas and another funerary inscription for a man named William at St. Mary Castlegate. These inscriptions are also three out of the four which were written in Anglo-Norman (see table 4.7). None of these inscriptions carry a date but it is likely that they should all date to no later than c.1340, when Lombardic letters went generally out of use in favour of black letter script.<sup>87</sup>

The phrasing of inscriptions is another important aspect (see table 4.8). At their most basic, inscriptions merely record the identity of the commemorated. The next stage is to supplement this with information on the status of these individuals in the community and, for funerary monuments, with the date of death. The 'pray for' type of inscription was more popular than the 'here lies' type because of its greater flexibility, which made it suitable for both windows and funerary monuments. The most common type of inscription simply specified the occupation of the commemorated - although here we must point out that this category includes all clergy, who never held civic office. Even so, a great many lay people preferred to specify their civic roles rather than their profession, even when they belonged to the prestigious mercantile class.<sup>88</sup> In fact, relatively few of the commemorated went to the extent of declaring both their profession and their civic roles.

The 'Pray for' inscription worked equally well for monuments as well as windows. Out of a total of 97 such inscriptions, 40 come from windows and 57 come from monuments. Only two window inscriptions carried the date of the death of the principal commemorated - Richard Yorke's window at St. John Ousebridge and John Chapman's window at Holy Trinity King's Court. Nine other windows carried a date for when the window was made - Robert Semar's at St. Martin Coney St. and eight of the sixteenth-century windows at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (chapter 3 table 3.4).<sup>89</sup> The remaining 30 window inscriptions carried no date at all, nor does it appear as though they were ever

---

<sup>86</sup> Appendix A.1 and A.2.

<sup>87</sup> Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials*, vol.I, pp.15-16, 23-24.

<sup>88</sup> For instance all the merchant commemorated at All Saints Pavement preferred to emphasize their roles as mayors and sheriffs rather than their mercantile status.

<sup>89</sup> The only sixteenth-century window inscription at St. Michael-le-Belfrey not to carry a date is William Tomson's, which does not survive to the present and which was seen by the antiquarians in a fragmentary condition.

intended to. For monuments, there are 37 'pray for' inscriptions which carried the date of death and 20 which did not. No funerary inscriptions carried the date of the monument itself. The 57 'here lies' funerary inscriptions can be divided into 34 which carry the date of the death of at least one of the people commemorated by the inscription, and 23 which carry no date at all.

There is one inscription which does not conform to either the 'pray for' or the 'here lies' categories. This is John Walker's inscription in the east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, which is of the 'may God have mercy on' type. This particular inscription is one of a group of five inscriptions which deserve special mention. These are inscriptions which go beyond recording the basic facts about the commemorated and which introduce an additional dimension to the genre. This group bursts the confines of the inscription and transforms it into an epitaph.

The antiquarian evidence provides us with 100% of our knowledge of epitaphs (table 4.9), whereas the surviving material only gives us fragmentary evidence for 60% of them. In order to be able to comment on the significance of these epitaphs we first need to translate them and assess the meaning of their content.<sup>90</sup> The Gylliot monument represents the most articulate example. The verse was written by a competent versifier, with internal rhymes. It reiterates a common funerary theme - the impermanence of human life - and links it with Gilliot's civic roles and family ties. In Gilliot's will only his wife Joan and son John are mentioned, so we may consider this a memorial to his daughters as well. William Wilson's epitaph belongs to the same genre as Gilliot's, emphasizing his civic qualities and the funerary theme of impermanence. Robert Semar's epitaph is centred on his clerical appointments and on the window, which is explicitly declared to have been made before his death. John Walker's epitaph is fragmentary and incomplete. As far as we can assess, it focuses on the religious aspect of the commission. William Graa's tomb carries another incomplete epitaph - this time with part of the text from the medieval Office of the Dead in it.<sup>91</sup> This text occurs in monumental brasses of the period in various forms - it can be found in its entirety on the brass of John de Campeden (1382) at St. Cross, Winchester, while an abbreviated version of it is on the brass of John Lumbarde (1408) at Stone in Kent.<sup>92</sup>

On the whole, the York epitaphs expand the basic requirement of identifying the commemorated by placing him in his social context, whether clerical or civic, and introducing a new dimension - of reflection on the fragility of human life and of religious contemplation. All five inscriptions use Latin, even though they span almost 150 years - this is clearly the most suitable language. It is significant that they belong to individuals from both clerical and lay groups - although the different motivations which may have prompted these special memorials are not

---

<sup>90</sup> See Appendix A.1 for texts and translations of the five epitaphs listed in table 4.9.

<sup>91</sup> The medieval Office of the Dead is taken from Job 19, 25-27.

<sup>92</sup> Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials*, vol.I, pp.69, 71.

necessarily related to membership of laity or clergy.

Self-advertisement is still a powerful element here. The Gilliot epitaph, which is the longest, must also have been considerably more expensive than a plain inscription. It emphasizes Gilliot's civic role and elevates it to almost regal proportions. Semar's epitaph is rather similar in this respect, as it reveals that the commemorated was no mere parish priest but a Minster cleric as well - although not a high-ranking one, as he was not one of the canons. On the other hand Walker's and Graa's epitaphs are less directed towards exalting the commemorated and more focused on prayer and praising God. Among monumental brasses there are various examples of longer inscriptions in verse written in Anglo-Norman and English as well as Latin which extol the piety and civic virtues of the deceased as well as moralizing on the brevity of life, such as can be found on the brasses of Justice John Martyn (1436) at Graveney, Kent, of Thomas Frowyk (1448) at South Mimms, Middlesex, and of Judge Nicholas Assheton (1465) at Callington, Cornwall.<sup>93</sup>

#### **4.5 Commemoration and iconography - relationships between different visual components of memorials**

Commemorative panels do not constitute an independent art form so we need to see how they relate to the rest of the memorials of which they are an integral part. Commemorative panels in windows usually appear along the bottom row of the main lights - this is a convention that has also been followed in reconstruction and rearrangement schemes, such as the east window of St. Michael-le-Belfrey.<sup>94</sup> Overall, commemorative effigies can be found in both main and tracery lights in fourteenth-century windows while from the fifteenth century onwards they are usually placed in the main lights only, generally along the bottom row.<sup>95</sup> All the commemorated in windows are depicted on a smaller scale than the figures of saints in the central main lights. In the east window at Holy Trinity Goodramgate, the effigy of John Walker can still be seen in the central main light at the feet of the Corpus Christi group (God the Father supporting Christ with a dove symbolizing the Holy Spirit above, plate 107) - Walker's effigy is one out of only eight sets of known commemorative figures which were depicted in the same register as the main religious iconography, but in a much smaller scale (about 1:4). Of the others, two figures are at St. Michael Spurriergate, where John Dautre and William Appilgarth are represented in the same panels as the figures of St.

---

<sup>93</sup> The inscriptions on these three examples are all in Latin. Richard Adane and his wife Maryon (1435) at Kelshall, Herts., had an English inscription, as did the three children of Robard Manfeld (1455) at Taplow, Bucks., while Richard Spage and his wives Emmeline and Alice (c.1412) at Aldershot, Hants., had an unusual inscription in French, Latin and English. See Norris, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials*, vol.I, pp.97-99, 152-153; vol.II plate 103.

<sup>94</sup> There are a few exceptions to this convention, e.g. in the east window at Holy Trinity Goodramgate there was a row of commemorative panels along the bottom of the window but the effigy of John Walker was in the main lights (plates 107-110); and the 14 Percy effigies in the east window at St. Denys may have been arranged in three rows along the bottom of the window (plates 127-128).

<sup>95</sup> Marks, *Stained Glass*, pp.11, 13.

John the Baptist and St. Margaret respectively - as these are much smaller panels the ratio between the commemorated and the saints is about 1:2 (plates 208, 209). The remaining effigies belong to the small panels known to have existed in the lowest register of the east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, which have not survived and for which we only have Johnston's evidence (plate 110). It is difficult to assess the size ratios in these cases, as Johnston only sketches three out of the five panels, although his drawing suggests a ratio of 1:1 for the Biller and Thorpe panels and a ratio of 1:2 for the Egremont panel, which would be consistent with the small size of the panels. This is not always the general case - at York Minster there are some fourteenth-century commemorative effigies which are on the same scale as the religious imagery.<sup>96</sup> Some of the commemorated look up to the iconography of the main lights (as Robert Skelton does at St. Denys, plate 132), and some face east towards the high altar (as James Bagule and the Chapmans do at All Saints North St., plates 79, 82). Occasionally, when a window contains more than one commemorative panel, the individual groups provide an internal coherence to the row by looking inwards towards a central religious image as in the Blackburn east window at All Saints North St., where the two sets of commemorated couples look towards the central lower panel depicting the Trinity (plate 65).

We have already discussed one example of interaction between commemorative panels and the principal iconography of a window - in the Blackburn window at All Saints North St. where the theme of women reading of the main panel with the Virgin and St. Anne is echoed by the attributes of Margaret Blackburn Sr. and Jr. (plate 65). This window is a unique occurrence in York parish churches in that the commemorative panels contain visual references to the central iconography. The commemorated usually exist in a separate space, removed from the religious iconography by being in a different row, and, for the most part in the fifteenth century, confined in a canopied space - as we have seen, there are only eight cases in which the effigies of the commemorated share the same space as representations of saints.<sup>97</sup> In the earlier and later parts of our period the commemorated are seen in a less claustrophobically defined space, against a decorative quarry background, such as Robert Skelton (1350s) at St. Denys, Richard Toller (1320s) at St. John Ousebridge and Richard Yorke (1498) also at St. John Ousebridge (plates 132, 146, 147, 155).<sup>98</sup> We have no individuals or groups being presented by their patron saints to a central Marian or Christological scene in York parish church art as we do in many contemporary Flemish altarpieces.<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> In windows nXXIV and nXXV; see Marks, *Stained Glass*, p.11.

<sup>97</sup> John Walker in the east window at Holy Trinity Goodramgate; William Appilgarth and John Dautre in window sV panels 1b and 4c at St. Michael Spurriergate respectively (plates 107, 208, 209).

<sup>98</sup> The condition of the early sixteenth-century commemorative panels at St. Michael-le-Belfrey does not enable us to say against what kind of background the figures were originally set.

<sup>99</sup> Such as the Portinari altarpiece (c.1473-76) commissioned by the Florentine financier Tommaso Portinari and painted by Hugo van der Goes for the chapel of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence, see Shirley Neilsen Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs. A Study in Patronage*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969), pp.77-85.



We need to bear in mind that stained glass windows not only integrate commemorative iconography with religious iconography, but are also made up of two constituent parts - tracery lights and main lights. To some extent, because of the level of reorganization and rearrangement that has taken place in some churches, it is important to be aware that what we now see as a whole may in fact have come from different windows.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, in discussing imagery as a whole, we need to restrict ourselves to those examples whose constituent parts can be relied upon to have been originally interrelated.

At St. Denys, the surviving east window shows tracery containing the heraldic shields of John Scrope fourth Baron Scrope of Masham and of William Scrope, the master of St. Leonard's hospital which held the advowson of the church. In the main lights are the figures of St. Leonard, a Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, and St. Denys, the last being the dedicatory saint of the church.<sup>101</sup> This is what is left of the Percy window, as Dugdale notes the inscription commemorating Henry Percy and his wife Joan in the east widow of the chancel, while Gent notes the iconography and the Scrope arms in the same window and Torre notes the Scrope arms.<sup>102</sup> Commemoration was therefore divided between the lower main lights and the tracery, with the latter being used for secondary commemoration. The principal commemorated, i.e. the fourteen figures of members of the Percy family, could either have been displayed along the bottom row, or, if Dugdale's and Drake's diagrams give an accurate reproduction of their arrangement, they were spread out over three rows (plates 128 and 128a). The surviving east window has a large expanse of clear glass below the saints in the main lights which could easily have accommodated three rows of commemorative figures, although the division of the main inscription under the effigies in Dugdale's and Drake's illustrations suggests that the figures could have been arranged in a single row in five horizontal panels, such as still exist in the window now (plate 127).<sup>103</sup> This is the only known instance in the glass of York parish churches in which the commemorative effigies could have been displayed over more than one row, although at York Minster we find commemorative effigies similarly arranged - for instance those displayed along the two lowest rows in the St. Cuthbert window in the south choir aisle.

In a few cases it is possible to relate the religious iconography to the specific interests of the commemorated. The influence of the commemorated can be seen most clearly in the east window of

---

<sup>100</sup> The east window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey, 2 out of 3 windows at St. Michael Spurriergate, and the west window at St. Helen Stonegate are all examples of windows made up of fragments from several windows. The east window at All Saints North St. has original main lights and commemorative panels but tracery dating from 1844, RCHM, *York 3*, pp.8-9.

<sup>101</sup> RCHM, *York 5*, p.17.

<sup>102</sup> Appendix A.2 under St. Denys, and plates 128 and 128a.

<sup>103</sup> Although the nave of St. Denys was demolished in 1798, the east end is relatively unaltered, see chapter 1 table 1.14. The stonework around the east window is fifteenth century, see plate 48 (ground plan of St. Denys).

All Saints North St. and in the two lost windows given to the church of St. Sampson by John Karr (plate 65).<sup>104</sup> The saints represented in these windows are given a special mention in the respective wills of Nicholas Blackburne Sr. and John Karr. Nicholas Blackburne Sr. had a special devotion to the Virgin and St. Anne - in his will he commended his soul to them and mentioned the chantry he had founded on Fossbridge in St. Anne's name. The window at All Saints North St. which commemorates him, his wife Margaret, his son Nicholas and his wife Margaret shows St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read in the main lights. John Karr commended his soul to St. Sampson, St. John of Beverley and St. Mary Magdalen in his will and his window in the north aisle at the west end of the church of St. Sampson depicted, according to Johnston, St. Sampson and St. John of Beverley. In view of the infrequency with which testators mention special saints, this suggests that the devotional interests of these two individuals played an important part in the choice of religious iconography (table 4.10). We have already seen in chapter 3 how John Dautre's special devotion to St. John the Baptist and William Appilgarth's bequests to the altar of St. Margaret make them likely to have been commemorated in the surviving panels depicting respectively St. John and St. Margaret, each with a kneeling effigy. However, the question of why particular subjects are chosen for representation is a very complex one which cannot be discussed in its entirety here and which involves taking into account several other factors, including the position of the window within the church, the church dedication, the dedication of nearby altars, liturgical influences and other issues as well as the interests of the commemorated.

We can see how the interests of the commemorated play an important part in the iconography of another kind of memorial. The misericorde at All Saints North St. which commemorates the rector John Gillyot shows from left to right the letters GIM (for *Magister Johannes Gillyot*), the Pelican in its Piety (a symbol of the Crucifixion, based on the earliest Bestiary by the anonymous Physiologus) and the arms of Gylliot (plate 81).<sup>105</sup> The Pelican in its Piety was an extremely popular subject in medieval art. It can be found on a brass lectern in Norwich cathedral, also on roof bosses, in stained glass and other misericordes - at Ely, Cartmel, Lavenham and Beverley Minster among others.<sup>106</sup> As a symbol of the Crucifixion, it was also a device connected with the guild of Corpus Christi, with which Gillyot had been associated since 1462 - first as a member, then as master of the guild in 1472 and finally as one of its patrons when in 1477 its statutes were approved.<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>104</sup> Appendix A.1.

<sup>105</sup> James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, (London 1974), pp.86, 238. The Pelican was also an attribute of Charity personified.

<sup>106</sup> Francis Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches I. Misericords*, (London 1910), p.44.

<sup>107</sup> Appendix A.2 and Gee, 'Roofs of All Saints', p.3.

Some aspects of the iconography of the east window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate can be seen to be related to the guild connections of the commemorated. In the main lights of the window are represented St. George, St. John the Baptist, the Corpus Christi, St. John the Evangelist and St. Christopher (plates 107-110). Both John Walker and William and Isabel Thorpe were members of the guild of Corpus Christi, and although John Biller and his wife were not themselves affiliated to the guild, their son William was. In addition, Walker made bequests in his will not only to the guild of Corpus Christ, but also to the guild of St. Christopher and St. George.<sup>108</sup> However, the overall iconography of the window is very complex and includes the lost panels of the Holy Family as well as the individuals saints worshipped in the Thorpe, Biller, Egremond and two other panels in the lowest row which were noted by Johnston and therefore cannot be reduced simply to guild connections, which is but one facet of it.

We can see how all the individual forms of commemoration could be brought together in a single memorial in some of the most complete memorials among the windows and monuments. In the east window of All Saints North St. we can see how inscriptions, scrolls, commemorative effigies, attributes and status symbols, heraldry, and religious imagery all work together (plates 65-67). Nicholas Blackburn Sr., his wife, his son and his daughter-in-law are represented kneeling at the bottom of the window facing inwards towards a panel showing the Trinity. The inscription below the effigies of Nicholas and Margaret Sr. celebrates Nicholas's mayoralty, while that below the effigies of Nicholas and Margaret Jr. suggests that they had caused the window to be glazed. Nicholas Sr. is dressed as knight while his son wears a dagger at his waist and rings on his fingers. Four heraldic shields, two displaying the letter 'B' and two displaying the lion rampant are behind the kneeling figures. The women hold books to show both learning and piety, and prayers are written both on the two books and on a scroll issuing from the mouth of Nicholas Sr. The figures of the Virgin and St. Anne in the main lights of the window reflect Nicholas Sr.'s favourite saints as shown in his will.

At All Saints Pavement were the four best documented figure monuments. The earliest of the four, which commemorated John and Isolda de Acaster (1379) showed two recumbent figures in niches. He was dressed as a knight while she wore a long robe and a coronet on her head; both were portrayed in prayer. Along the margins of the monument was the '*Hic jacet*' inscription - which emphasized John's service as mayor of York - and four shields were displayed at the corners (plates 96, 102). The brass of Thomas and Alice Beverley (1480) showed the two freestanding effigies in the centre - Alice's effigy was shown wearing beads and both were portrayed in prayer. Below them

---

<sup>108</sup> Appendix A.1 under Holy Trinity, A.2 under surname headings, also Pauline E. Sheppard Routh, 'A Gift and its Giver: John Walker and the East Window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York', *YAJ* 58 (1986), pp.111-112, 119-120.

was the '*Hic jacent*' inscription on a rectangular plate - this inscription pointed out that Thomas had been mayor of York and merchant of the Staple of Calais. Below the inscription were two smaller squarish plates which would have contained effigies of the children. These were probably the four sons and two daughters mentioned in Alice's will, who were all still living as late as 1482, two years after the monument was made.<sup>109</sup> Shields for coats of arms or merchants' marks were in the corners of the monument (plates 93, 98). The brass of John and Joan Gyliot (1484) showed the same layout as the Beverley brass - two standing effigies in the centre, Joan's effigy being enhanced by fashionable accessories such as a horned head-dress with netted cauls, a belt and beads; a rectangular inscription plate which contained a long epitaph extolling John's civic virtues, particularly his mayoralty; a small plate for the effigy of the Gyliot's son and another plate for those of their four daughters, and in the corners two shields with coats of arms and two shields with merchants' marks (plates 94, 100). The last brass in the series at All Saints Pavement was probably the most expensive and impressive for, in addition to the well-dressed effigies, the inscription plate, the two plates for the children's effigies and the corner shields, the brass of John and Millicent Feriby (1491) also showed a prayer scroll between the two figures inscribed with '*mater dei miserere mei*' and another plate with the figures of the Virgin and Child (plates 95, 99). The prayer to the 'Mother of God' and the representation of the Virgin and Child were probably related to Feriby's testamentary request to be buried in the south chancel before the image of the Virgin and to his bequest of four tenements to the chantry of St. Mary at All Saints Pavement for daily prayers for himself, his wife, their sons and their fellow-merchants Thomas and Alice Beverley and their sons.<sup>110</sup> The Feriby inscription emphasized that John had twice served as mayor of York and that he had died in office. Although the Blackburns, the Acasters, the Beverleys, the Gilyots, and the Feribys all belonged to the merchant class, it is noticeable that their inscriptions do not state this, and instead focus on the men's civic achievements. There may be various reasons why it was considered unnecessary to mention the occupations of these particular men: they may have been so well known in their respective parish churches that contemporaries would not have needed this information; alternatively, as in this period the mayoralty was almost a mercantile monopoly, it would have been superfluous to state the mayors' occupation as contemporaries would have automatically been aware of their social status; and finally, it may have been considered more

---

<sup>109</sup> See Appendix A.2 for details of Alice Beverley's will.

<sup>110</sup> See Feriby's will in Appendix A.2.

desirable to include such high civic achievements in inscriptions than even the membership of the prestigious mercantile class.<sup>111</sup>

#### 4.6 Conclusion

The antiquarian evidence makes a major contribution to our knowledge of effigies and of the use of heraldry and merchants' marks in parish church memorials. The new evidence which has emerged in this chapter suggests that like many other late medieval towns, York had a flourishing market for figured monumental brasses and effigial slabs, all of which are now lost. The few surviving brasses in York churches are simple plaques with the more common forms of inscription, such as the Danby brass at Holy Trinity Goodramgate (1458) and the Stockton-Colynson brass at All Saints North St. (1471) (plates 63, 87, 105, 113). From the surviving visual evidence for monuments it is therefore impossible to retrieve a sense of the variety and quantity of the iconographic aspects of commemoration in this medium. Similarly, much of the heraldry and many of the merchants' marks noted by the antiquarians no longer survive so that we are now able to draw a much more complete picture of the numbers involved and of the sites where these genres were displayed.

---

<sup>111</sup> All the male commemorated who had been mayors and whose social category is known were members of the merchant class, although not all the men who attained the mayoralty in this period were merchants, e.g. the carver Thomas Drawswerde who was mayor in 1515 and 1523, see Drake p.364 and Appendix A.2. Only seven memorials out of a total of 178 are known to have mentioned both the occupation and the civic achievements of the commemorated, see table 4.8.

Date	Name	Church	Details
U		All Saints North St.	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U		All Saints North St.	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U		All Saints North St.	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U		All Saints North St.	(*I) marble slab with standing effigy and insc plate together
U		All Saints Pavement	(*I) floor slab with indent for insc plate and standing effigy
U	Agnes de Brounlete	All Saints Pavement	(A) orate pro insc
U	Robert & Matilda de Bridesale	All Saints Pavement	(A) white stone 2 yds long with hic jacet BL insc at head & central cross design
U		All Saints Pavement	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with orate pro insc on rectangular plate, 2 large freestanding brass effigies, 2 smaller effigies, 4 corner shields
U	one woman & two men, one of the men in armour	All Saints Pavement	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with marginal insc, 3 ?recumbent effigies, 4 corner shields
U		Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(*I) indent for standing effigy and insc plate
U		Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(*I) indent for standing effigy and insc plate
U	William Pollemerham	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(A) orate pro insc at head of white stone

Table 4.1 Chronological list of monuments<sup>112</sup>

<sup>112</sup> This table is based on Appendix A.1, Appendix A.2, chapter 3 table 3.2, Mill Stephenson, 'Brasses in York', pp.1-67; RCHM, York 3, pp.7, 18, 29 and RCHM, York 5, pp.3, 7, 28, 34, 37, 46, 48; and plates 63-229. A=noted by antiquarians; yd(s)=yard(s); I=effigy lost, but its existence known through surviving indent; \*=surviving; insc=inscription; BL=black letter; U=unknown; freestanding=an effigy which is not placed inside a niche or under a canopy; (free)standing=not kneeling. This is a full list of designs, both named and anonymous, which combines the antiquarian evidence with surviving visual material. The undated monuments are listed first in alphabetical order by church, all the other monuments are listed in chronological order. The single standing effigy of fourteenth-century date at All Saints North St. is attributed to either Margaret Etton or William Meburn because these are two known fourteenth-century testators who requested burial in the church, although there may be other possible candidates. It has not been possible to determine the exact number of children which accompany the two effigies in the surviving indent at St. John Ousebridge. Equally, it is impossible to determine from Torre's sketch whether the effigies of the two children in the anonymous brass at All Saints Pavement are standing or kneeling. All measurements come from Torre's evidence and are approximate. Wherever possible, the shape of brass inscription plates is indicated - this information also comes from Torre.

Date	Name	Church	Details
U	John Cowpar	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) orate pro insc
U	John Ralmord & wife	Holy Trinity Micklegate	(A) orate pro insc
U	Walter Flos	Holy Trinity Micklegate	(*A) part of coffin lid with BL insc
U	William ... & wife	Holy Trinity Micklegate	(A) white stone 2 yds long with orate pro insc at head
U	U	St. Crux	(A) blue stone 4 yds long with 2 freestanding effigies & 4 corner shields
U	U	St. Denys	(A) blue stone 2 yds long with standing effigy in niche
U	female	St. George Fishergate	(A) recumbent effigy, pillow under head, animal under feet, canopy above
U	U	St. Helen Stonegate	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with standing effigy in niche
U	Philip Snaugwell	St. Helen Stonegate	(A) orate pro insc
U	U	St. John Ousebridge	(*D) blue-grey marble with indents for 2 effigies and children & 2 small shields
U	U	St. John Ousebridge	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with standing effigy under arch, rectangular plate above
U	U	St. John Ousebridge	(A) blue marble 4 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U	Richard Byrkyn	St. Lawrence	(A) hic jacet insc
U	U	St. Martin Coney St.	(*D) indent for standing effigy
U	U	St. Martin Coney St.	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with standing effigy in niche
U	U	St. Martin Coney St.	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with 2 freestanding effigies, rectangular plate below, 4 corner quatrefoils
U	U	St. Martin Micklegate	(A) blue marble 4 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	(A) blue stone 2½ yds long with freestanding effigy and one shield
U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	(A) blue marble 2½ yds long with freestanding effigy, rectangular insc plate and corner shields
U	female	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	(*D) grey marble slab with indents for shield and standing effigy
U	Wilfrid ...	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	(A) white stone 2½ yds long with orate pro insc at head
U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A) blue marble 4 yds long with recumbent effigy, rectangular plate above and square plate in top right corner
U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A) blue stone with 2 standing effigies in niches
U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with 3 standing effigies in niches
U	Margaret Northeby	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A) hic jacet insc
U	U	St. Mary Castlegate	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U	U	St. Mary Castlegate	(A) blue marble 4 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U	Roger Marton	St. Mary Castlegate	(A) pray for insc

Table 4.1 Chronological list of monuments (cont.)

Date	Name	Church	Details
U		St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*I) indent for small standing effigy & insc plate
U		St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with standing effigy in niche
U		St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with freestanding effigy, rectangular plate below
U		St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U		St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) blue marble 3½ yds long with 2 freestanding effigies, narrow rectangular plate under each, 4 corner shields
U		St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U	Thomas de Bolyn & wife	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) white coffin-like stone 1½ yds long with hic jacet marginal insc
U	Agnes Buller	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) white stone 2 yds long with hic jacet insc at head
U	Henry Flemyng	St. Olave	(A) hic jacet insc
U	Isabel Sparry	St. Olave	(A) orate pro insc
U	Robert Asby	St. Olave	(A) white stone 1½ yds long with hic jacet insc at head
U	brother Richard Kendall	St. Olave	(A) white stone 1 yd long with orate pro insc at head
U	Jannet Walton	St. Olave	(A) white stone 1 yd long with orate pro insc at head
U	Robert de Mawlturas	St. Olave	(A) white stone 2 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate at head
U	John & Joan de Mawldynge	St. Olave	(A) white stone 3 yds long with marginal insc
U		St. Sampson	(*I) indent for 2 ?kneeling effigies
U		St. Sampson	(A) blue stone 2 yds long with 2 freestanding effigies, rectangular plate below
U		St. Saviour	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with 2 standing effigies in niches
U		St. Saviour	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with 3 standing effigies in niches
U	John Kapwyk & wife	St. Saviour	(A) white coffin-like stone 2 yds long with orate pro insc at head & central shield
pre-1281	Robert Verdenel	St. Saviour	(*A) white coffin lid 2½ yds long with hic jacet Lombardic marginal insc
1280s	Simon or Henry Scrope	St. Martin Micklegate	(* ) coffin lid fragment built into outer face of N nave aisle
14C	possibly Margaret Eiton or William Meburn	All Saints North St.	(*I) tapered freestone with incised cross
1319	Nicholas Flemyng	St. Wilfrid	(A)
c.1335-40	Richard Toller	St. Martin Micklegate	(A) French insc
post-1336	William & Emma de Dale	All Saints North St.	(A) hic jacet insc
pre-1340	William ...	St. Mary Castlegate	(*A) white stone 2½ yds long with French Lombardic insc at head
pre-1340	Richard de Grimston	St. Nicholas	(A) white stone with marginal French Lombardic insc & recumbent effigy with mass robes, chalice, pillow under head

Table 4.1 Chronological list of monuments (cont.)



Date	Name	Church	Details
post-1367	William & Katherine Graie	All Saints North St.	(A) white stone 2½ yds long hic jacet insc at head
1375	Robert Hutteram/de Feriby	St. Martin Micklegate	(A) white stone 2½ long with hic jacet marginal insc (partly*, A) tomb with 2 brass effigies and insc, 4 or 6 shields around front and side edges
post-1378	William & Joan Graa	St. Mary Castlegate	
1379	John & Isolda de Acaster	All Saints Pavement	(A) white stone 3 yds long with hic jacet marginal insc, two niched recumbent figures, 4 corner shields
post-1381	Thomas & Juliana de Kyllingwyke	All Saints North St.	(*A) white stone 2 yds long with hic jacet insc at head & central cross
1382-1412	Roger & Isabel Moreton	St. Saviour	(*A) blue stone 3 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate in centre & 4 corner shields
1390	John Rothum	All Saints North St.	(*A) white stone 2½ yds long with hic jacet insc in centre
1390	Robert & Margaret de Ampleford	All Saints Pavement	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with hic jacet rectangular brass insc plate at head, a narrower rectangular brass plate below
1391	John Youle	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(*A) white stone 2 yds long with hic jacet insc at head
1394	John & Alice de Spawldynge	St. Olave	(A) hic jacet insc
1395	John de Wardalle & wife	All Saints North St.	(*A) hic jacet insc at head of white stone
pre-1398	Helen de Duffeld	St. Saviour	(A) white coffin-like stone with orate pro insc at head
1398	Robert de Duffeld	St. Saviour	(A) white coffin-like stone with orate pro insc at head & central cross
post-1400	John & Reanalde ...	St. Michael Spurriergate	(A) white stone 3 yds long with marginal insc & shield at head
post-1401	John & Katherine Thornton & William Pountfratte	All Saints Pavement	(A) blue stone 2 yds long with hic jacet rectangular brass insc plate in centre & shield below
1403	John Sullyngelne	St. Mary Castlegate	(A) ?white stone 2 yds long with orate pro insc at head
1405	Robert Warde	St. Denys	(A) white stone 3 yds long with hic jacet marginal insc & 2 central shields with merchants' marks
1405	Alan & Isabel Hamerton	St. Peter Little	(*A) ?white stone with hic jacet marginal insc, 4 corner shields with Evangelist symbols & merchants' mark
c.1407	Robert Gaunt, wife Agnes & daughter Margaret	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) hic jacet insc
c.1408	Robert Mem	Holy Trinity Micklegate	(A) orate pro insc
1408	brother William Cokerham	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) white stone 3 yds long with orate pro marginal insc
1411	John Bawtry	All Saints North St.	(A) white stone 2 yds long with central cross, name cut into horizontal arm

Table 4.1 Chronological list of monuments (cont.)

Date	Name	Church	Details
1411-13	Henry & Agnes Wyman & John Barden	St. Crux	(A) blue stone 4 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate at head, 4 corner shields with arms
post-1418	Thomas, Beatrice & Joan Santon	All Saints Pavement	(A) orate pro insc
1420	William & Margaret K...	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) blue stone 2 yds long with hic jacet rectangular brass insc plate at head
1421	William & Margaret Fenwick	All Saints Pavement	(A) white stone 2 yds long with hic jacet rectangular brass insc plate & merchants' mark
1421	Ellen Waghon	St. Crux	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate, 4 corner shields with merchants' marks and arms
1425	Thomas & Ellen Wilton	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A) white stone 2½ yds long with hic jacet insc at head
1426	Richard & Avice Welles	All Saints Pavement	(A) white stone 2½ yds long with orate pro insc at head
1426	John, Katherine & Joan Blackburne	St. Mary Castlegate	(partly*, A) black marble stone ?3 yds long with marginal insc & 3 standing effigies
1428	Robert Appylby & daughter Alice	St. Michael Spurriergate	(A) white stone 2 yds long with hic jacet insc at head
1429	Thomas & Alice	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A) hic jacet insc
1431	John Woghen	St. Crux	(A) orate pro insc
post-1433	John Bolron	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) hic jacet insc
1435	William & Isabel Bowes	St. Cuthbert	(*A) blue marble 3½ yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate in centre & 4 corner shields
1437	William, Helen, Joan & Agnes Ormeshede	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) orate pro insc
c.1438	Thomas & Katherine Gare	All Saints Pavement	(A) blue stone 3½ yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate in centre & 4 corner shields
1439	Nicholas Miers	St. Michael Spurriergate	(A)
1442-5	Thomas & Alice Kirke	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) marble with hic jacet brass insc
c.1450	... & wife Joan	St. Denys	(A) white stone 3 yds long with hic jacet marginal insc, tailor's shears in centre
1451	Richard, Joan & Margaret Killingholme	All Saints North St.	(*A) white stone 2 yds long with orate pro BL insc at head
1457	Gilbert & Margaret Pynchebek	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) white stone 1 yd long with orate pro insc along left side
1458	Thomas & Alice Brounfleet	All Saints Pavement	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate in centre & central shield with merchants' mark
1458-63	Thomas & Matilda Danby	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(*A) black marble with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate in centre & 4 corner shields with merchants' marks
1459	John & Matilda Midilton	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	(A) white stone with hic jacet marginal insc & central shield with arms

Table 4.1 Chronological list of monuments (cont.)

Date	Name	Church	Details
1460	Thomas & Alyson Curtas & daughter Alyson	St. Crux	(A) white stone 2½ yds long with her lyes insc in centre & 2 shields with ?merchants' marks
1460	Henry Cattall	St. Martin Micklegate	(*A) white stone 2½ yds long with hic jacet BL marginal insc
1461	Henry & Eleanor Percy	St. Denys	(A) blue marble with 2 standing brass effigies in niches
1464	John Crathorne	All Saints Pavement	(A) hic jacet insc
1464	Robert Crathorne	All Saints Pavement	(*A) blue stone 2½ yds long with hic jacet square brass insc plate
1466	William Langton	St. Michael Spurriergate	(*A) blue marble 3 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass BL insc plate & central chalice
1469	John Coupeland	All Saints North St.	(*A) white stone 1 yd square with orate pro insc in centre
1471	William Stockton, Robert Colynson & Isabel	All Saints North St.	(*A) orate pro rectangular brass insc plate set into Wardalle stone
1473	Thomas Gudebarne	St. Olave	(A) hic jacet insc
1475	William Burton	St. Martin Micklegate	(A) hic jacet insc
1479	William & Agnes Todd	All Saints Pavement	(A) ?blue stone 3 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate, 2 large freestanding brass effigies, 3 smaller effigies (one son, two daughters)
c.1479	Mary Gylle	St. Helen Stonegate	(A)
1480	Thomas & Alice Beverley	All Saints Pavement	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with hic jacet rectangular brass insc plate, 2 large freestanding brass effigies, 2 brass plates for smaller effigies, 4 corner shields
1480	John Boulington	St. Crux	(A) hic jacet insc
1481	John & Margaret Towthorpe, William & Isabel Towthorpe	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) hic jacet brass insc plate
1482	Thomas & Margaret Clerke	All Saints North St.	(*A) blue stone with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate and 4 corner quatrefoils with Evangelist symbols, reused 1642
1482	William de ...	Holy Trinity Micklegate	(A) white stone 1 yd square with hic jacet marginal insc
1484	John & Joan Gilyot, daughters Joan, Alice, Agnes & Katherine, & son John	All Saints Pavement	(A) blue marble 3½ yds long with quod jacet rectangular brass insc plate, 2 large freestanding brass effigies, 2 plates with smaller effigies (one son, four daughters), 4 corner shields with 2 coats of arms & 2 merchants' marks
1484	John Gillyot & William ...	All Saints Pavement	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate at head of blue stone, 4 corner roses
1484	William & Katherine Lambe	St. Crux	(*A) blue stone 3 yds long with hic jacet rectangular brass insc at head & 4 corner shields, reused 1626

Table 4.1 Chronological list of monuments (cont.)

Date	Name	Church	Details
1484	William, Ellen & Margaret Crosby	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	(A) white stone 3 yds long with orate pro marginal insc
1485	John Lightlampe	St. Crux	(A) white stone 2 yds long with orate pro insc & central shield with merchants' mark
1485	William & Ellen Hancock	St. Michael Spurriergate	(*A) blue stone 2 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate, reused 1681
1485	Laurence Jole	St. Olave	(A) white stone 1½ yds long with orate pro insc at head, large central cross and ?mason's tool
1485	William & Agnes Vendor	St. Olave	(A) white stone 1 yd long with insc in centre
1486	John Brounfield	St. Crux	(A) orate pro insc
1486	Richard & Katherine Gascoygne	St. Martin Micklegate	(A) orate pro insc
1486	Matilda Westbe	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A) white stone 2 yds long with hic jacet marginal insc
1487	William, Ellen & Alice Londisdall	All Saints North St.	(*A) white stone with orate pro marginal insc
1487	John Cotes	St. Olave	(A) hic jacet insc
1488	John Grinedale	St. Crux	(A) orate pro insc
1488	Nicholas Vicars	St. Michael Spurriergate	(A) blue stone more than 3 yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate in centre & shield with coat of arms above
1490	Nicholas, Alice & Cecily Person	St. Martin Micklegate	(A) orate pro insc
c.1490-99	Thomas Vicars	St. Michael Spurriergate	(A) blue stone 2½ yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc plate at head & central shield with merchants' mark
1490	William Briggys	St. Olave	(A) orate pro insc
1491	John & Millicent Feriby	All Saints Pavement	(A) blue stone 3 yds long with hic jacet rectangular brass insc plate, 2 large freestanding brass figures, brass scroll inscribed <i>mater dei miserere mei</i> , small plate with seated BVM and Child, 2 small plates with standing figures (2 sons, 3 daughters), 4 corner shields
c.1491	John Topham	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	(A) white stone 2 yds long with orate pro insc
1492	Brian & Christiane Middleton	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	(A) white stone 3 yds long with orate pro marginal insc & 3 central shields with coats of arms
1492	John Garnett	St. Mary Castlegate	(A) orate pro insc
1497	Robert Johnson	St. Michael Spurriergate	(A) hic jacet insc, shield with coat of arms, shield with merchants' mark
1498	Sir Richard Yorke	St. John Ousebridge	(*A) marble tomb with matrices for 5 shields
1499	Agnes Manars	St. Margaret	(*A) white stone 2½ yds long with orate pro BL insc at head
1503	Henry ...	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) white stone 1 yd long with orate pro insc at head

Table 4.1 Chronological list of monuments (cont.)

Date	Name	Church	Details
1503	Robert Iry	Holy Trinity Micklegate	(A) white stone 1 yd long with orate pro insc at head
1504	Richard Clerk	St. Margaret	(A) white stone 2 yds long with hic jacet insc at head
1504	Oliver Middleton	St. Michael Spurriergate	(A) blue stone 2 yds long with hic jacet rectangular brass insc at head
1507	Thomas Jameson	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) blue stone 1½ yds long with orate pro rectangular brass insc in centre & shield with merchants' mark below
1509	William Garton	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) white stone 2 yds long with orate pro insc at head
1515	Richard Fugget	St. Denys	(A) white stone 1 yd long with hic jacet insc at head
1518	William Wilson	St. Michael Spurriergate	(*A) white stone 2 yds long with BL rectangular brass insc plate at head
1520	George & Beatrice Evers & daughter	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) blue marble 3 yds long with rectangular brass insc plate, 2 large brass freestanding effigies, scroll between them inscribed 'dns deus adjutor meus', 4 comer quatrefoils with 4 Evangelists
1537	John & Agnes Shaw	St. Crux	(A) blue stone 3½ yds long with hic jacet rectangular brass insc plate in centre, 4 comer shields with 2 merchants' marks and 2 coats of arms
1542	Richard & Joan Birgman	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) orate pro brass insc
1544	Richard & Alice Savege	St. Michael Spurriergate	(A) orate pro insc
post-1545	Richard & Beatrice Crafurth & 2 children	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A) pray for English insc

Table 4.1 Chronological list of monuments (cont.)

Date	Names	Church	Details
U	knight	St. Margaret	(A, E window) kneeling effigy
U	man and woman	St. John Ousebridge	(A) 2 kneeling effigies, scroll inscribed 'see Thomas'
U	Robert & Katherine Kirkby	St. Cuthbert	(A) insc in Latin
U	James	St. John Ousebridge	(*YM nXIX 4a) kneeling effigy holding lighted candle
U	Richard Erghes	St. Margaret	(A) insc in Latin
U	William, Matilda & Joan Dainton	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.	(A) insc in Latin
U	William Santore	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A) insc in Latin, kneeling man with sword, belt & sash, one of these decorated with a fish hauriant, a ?seahorse rampant and a merchants' mark
U	William Blakely	St. Michael Spurriergate	(A) insc in Latin & English
14C	females	All Saints North St.	(*sII 1a & 1c) two kneeling effigies
14C	U	St. Denys	(A, over vestry; *nIII 1b) man kneeling & holding scroll inscribed 'domine miserere mei'
14C	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*I 1a) kneeling effigy holding model of window
14C	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*I 1b) two kneeling figures, facing inwards
14C	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*I 1d) two kneeling figures facing W
c.1322-1343	Nicholas Fouke	St. Martin Micklegate	(A, SE window; *sII, A) Lombardic insc in French, merchants' marks, coat of arms
c.1330s	Richard & Isabel Toller, William & Agnes Grafton, John & Joan Randman, Richard & Katherine Brikenale	St. John Ousebridge	(A, NE window; *YM nXIX 2a & 2b, nXX 2a & 2b) Lombardic insc in Latin, 4 sets of kneeling couples & priest
1350s	Robert & Joan Skelton & son John	St. Denys	(A, N aisle; *nIV 1a, 1b & 1c) Lombardic insc in Latin, 3 kneeling effigies in individual panels, RS presents model of window, St. Margaret & BVM above
pre-1394	Robert Savage & John Manfeld	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A, E window) insc in Latin, two coats of arms of ?saints
pre-1398	John Osbaldwyck	St. Martin Coney St	(A, N aisle) insc in Latin on a scroll, one coat of arms

Table 4.2 Chronological list of windows<sup>113</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Windows are dated in agreement with chapter 3 table 3.3 (people commemorated in windows); those windows not mentioned there are dated 14C, 15C or 16C depending on the style and colouring of the panels. See also RCHM, *York 3*, pp.7-9, 19, 24-5; RCHM, *York 5*, pp.8-9, 17-19, 21, 28-9, 38-9, 42; Appendix A.1; plates 63-229. Abbreviations: A=noted by the antiquarians, with reference to any or all components of the window; insc=inscription; L=left; R=right; U=unknown; YM=York Minster.

Date	Names	Church	Details
late 14C	5 brothers and 6 sisters of Isabel Moreton	St. Martin Micklegate	(A, NE window) insc in Latin, 12 effigies, figure of St. John in the cauldron, bishops et al
c.1400	Sir William Playce	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.	(A, NE window) insc in Latin, kneeling effigy
15C	U	St. Helen Stonegate	(*wI 1c) 4 kneeling effigies, 3 men & one woman
15C	priest	St. John Ousebridge	(*YM nXIX 1b) kneeling effigy
15C	?Richard Orinshead	St. John Ousebridge	(A, SE window; *YM nXIX 5a) kneeling man & 6 kneeling sons behind him, scroll inscribed 'sca maria ora pro ...tis nobis'
15C	female	St. Martin Coney St.	(*sIII 1b) kneeling effigy with scroll
15C	knight, lady, Percy & Lucy arms, ?priest	St. Martin Coney St.	(A, NE window) 3 kneeling effigies
15C	U	St. Michael Spurriergate	(*sV 2b) kneeling effigy in made-up panel
1st quarter 15C	Wilobys, Hesyls, Roger & Cecily Henrison, Abel & Agnes Hesyl, ?John & Alice Bolton	All Saints North St.	(A, N window; *nIII 1a, 1b & 1c) insc in Latin, 3 sets of 3 kneeling figures, one coat of arms, above 'The Prick of Conscience'
c.1413-26	Nicholas & Margaret Blackburn Sr., Nicholas & Margaret Blackburn Jr.	All Saints North St.	(A, NE window; *I 1a & 1c) BL insc in Latin, 2 sets of kneeling couples flanking Trinity, 4 coats of arms, above St. John Evangelist, BVM & St. Anne, St. Christopher
post-1421	Henry & Isabel Meleton, Roger Bradley & wife, Thomas & Margaret Holme	St. Maurice	(A, SE window) insc in Latin, 3 sets of kneeling couples, 3 coats of arms
pre-1426	John & Joan Blackburne	St. Cuthbert	(A, N aisle) insc in Latin, kneeling man in heraldic armour, woman, 3 sons, 1 daughter
c.1426-50	James Baguley, Robert Chapman & wife	All Saints North St.	(A, 1st S window; *sIII 1a & 1c) insc in Latin, kneeling figures: priest, man & woman on right with coat of arms, woman and two men on left, above St. Michael & St. John Evangelist
pre-1428	John & Joan Kirkeby	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) insc in Latin
pre-1428	John & Joan Kirkeby	St. Martin Coney St.	(A) insc in Latin
pre-1429	Reginald Bawtre & Nicholas Blackburn	All Saints North St.	(A, N aisle by door; *nIV 1a) 1 kneeling man with scroll 'ora pro me', Blackburn crest and coat of arms, above 'The Six Corporal Acts of Mercy'
c.1429-32	Nicholas & Margaret Blackburn Sr., Reginald & Cecily Bawtre & daughter	All Saints North St.	(A, S aisle; *nIV 1c) kneeling couple with scrolls 'ora p no..' and ut dign... effican.. pro un ffu et', kneeling man and two women
1430s	Roger & Elizabeth Selby; William & Alice Stockton	St. John Ousebridge	(A, NE window; *YM nXXII 2a & 3a) insc in Latin, 2 sets of kneeling couples

Table 4.2 Chronological list of windows (cont.)

Date	Names	Church	Details
1437	Robert Semar	St. Martin Coney St.	(A, W window; *nII) insc in Latin, kneeling cleric with scroll, cycle of life and miracles of St. Martin
pre-1438	William Appilgarth	St. Michael Spurriergate	(*sV) kneeling cleric before figure of St. Margaret
pre-1439	William & Isabel Bowes	St. Cuthbert	(A, E window) insc in English, kneeling man, wife, 5 sons, 5 daughters, one coat of arms
c.1440	Alan Hyll, William Bolton & Agnes	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) insc in Latin
1446-60	William & Alice Gyselay & son John	St. Cuthbert	(A, N window) insc in Latin, kneeling man & wife, two coats of arms
pre-1451	Richard, Joan & Margaret Killingholme	All Saints North St.	(A, S aisle; *?sIII & sV, commemorative figures lost) insc in Latin, above St. James, BVM & Abp
pre-1459	John Dautre	St. Michael Spurriergate	(*sII) man kneeling before figure of St. John Baptist, scenes from life of St. John B in other windows
pre-1461	Henry Percy 3rd Earl of Northumberland, wife Eleanor & 12 members of Percy family	St. Denys	(A, E window) insc in Latin, 14 kneeling effigies with scrolls: 13 effigies in heraldic robes & one in episcopal robes with coat of arms before him; above figures of St. Leonard, BVM, Crucifixion, St. John Evangelist, St. Denys
1464	Robert, Edith & Agnes Atkynson	St. Maurice	(A, N aisle) insc in Latin, man kneeling & wearing liveried uniform, 2 wives & 3 children
1471	John Walker; John Biller & wife; William & Isabel Thorpe; William de Egremond, two other couples	Holy Trinity Goodramgate	(A, E window; partly* I, nII, sII) BL insc in Latin; 5 sets of kneeling figures (4 couples and one man) before figures of episcopal saints; above 5 representations of BVM; above 4 representations of Holy Family & St. Ursula; above St. George, St. John Baptist, Corpus Christi with kneeling cleric, St. John Evangelist & St. Christopher; above 3 coats of arms
pre-1488	John Karr	St. Sampson	(A, lowest N window) one merchants' mark and one coat of arms, figures of St. Sampson & St. John of Beverley
pre-1488	John Karr	St. Sampson	(A, W window) one merchants' mark & one coat of arms
pre-1489	Sir Hugh Hastings & Anne Gascoigne	St. Martin Micklegate	(A, W window & SE window; *sII 1a & 1c) kneeling knight, kneeling lady with book, 2 coats of arms
1498	Richard, Joan & Joan Yorke	St. John Ousebridge	(A, NE window; *YM nXIX 3b, nXX 3a & 3b, nXXI 2a) BL insc in Latin; kneeling knight, two kneeling women, 6 or 7 kneeling sons, 4 kneeling daughters; Trinity, St. George, Crucifixion, St. Christopher; eight coats of arms

Table 4.2 Chronological list of windows (cont.)



Date	Names	Church	Details
16C	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*nVII 2b & 2c) 2 reconstructed kneeling effigies
16C	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(*sVI 2b & 2c) 2 kneeling effigies
c.1530	William Tomson et al	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A, SE window) insc in English
c.1530	Hugh Ashton	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A, S aisle; *sIV) insc in Latin; figures of St. Paul, St. Peter, St. Hugh & St. William; 4 coats of arms
c.1530	John & Agnes Elwald; Robert & Ellen Elwald	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A, SE window; *sIV) insc in English
c.1530	John Chapman	Holy Trinity King's Court	(A) inscription; one coat of arms
1535	John Listar & 3 wives	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A, S aisle; *nIV 2b & 2c) insc in English; one kneeling man, 3 kneeling women
1535	Thomas Marser	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A, S aisle; *sVI) insc in English
1535	William & Jane Beckwith Sr.; William & Anne Beckwith Jr.	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A, S aisle; *sIII 2a-2d) insc in English; one coat of arms; kneeling man & woman; 5 boys & 13 girls on left, 12 boys & 4 girls on right
post-1535	John Coltman	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A, S aisle; *sV) insc in English, shield with coat of arms
1537	Christopher Ceel	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A, N aisle; *nVII) insc in English, one coat of arms, kneeling effigy
c.1545	Martin & Ellen Soza	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	(A, NE window; *nV 2b & 2c) insc in English, kneeling man & 7 sons, kneeling woman & 3 daughters, 3 coats of arms

Table 4.2 Chronological list of windows (cont.)

Date	Name	Church	Details
U	U	Holy Trinity King's Court	?hammer
c.1450	... & wife Joan	St. Denys	tailor's shears
U	U	St. Margaret Walmgate	?pierced coin
U	U	St. Martin Coney St.	2 ?chisels
U	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	?woodworking tool
U	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey	spur, 2 nails, pliers
1485	Laurence Jole	St. Olave	cross and ?mason's tool

Table 4.3 Monuments displaying trade tools<sup>114</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Plates 116, 136, 161, 168,, 204, 206, 221.

Attribute	Genre	Commemorated	Date	Church
altar(*)	W	Richard Toller	1320s	St. John Ousebridge
altar(*)	W	Richard York	1498	St. John Ousebridge
altar(*)	W	Robert Semar	1437	St. Martin Coney St.
armour(A)	M	unidentified second male from triple monument	U	All Saints Pavement
purse(A)	M	unidentified first male from triple monument	U	All Saints Pavement
purse(A)	M	John Feriby	1491	All Saints Pavement
purse(*)	W	Robert Skelton	1350s	St. Denys
purse(A)	W	William Santore	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
purse(*)	W	Martin Soza	c.1545	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
book(*)	W	Margaret Blackburn Sr.	c.1413-26	All Saints North St.
book(*)	W	Margaret Blackburn Jr.	c.1413-26	All Saints North St.
book(*)	W	Reginald Bawtre	pre-1429	All Saints North St.
book(*)	W	Reginald Bawtre	post-1429	All Saints North St.
book(*)	W	Richard York	1498	St. John Ousebridge
book(*)	W	Robert Semar	1437	St. Martin Coney St.
book(*)	W	Ann Gascoigne	pre-1489	St. Martin Micklegate
lectern(A)	W	Reginald Bawtre	post-1429	All Saints North St.
lectern(*A)	W	James Bagule	1426-50	All Saints North St.
lectern(A)	W	Henry Percy	pre-1461	St. Denys
heraldry(A)	W	Wilobys, Henrison, Hesylys	c.1401-25	All Saints North St.
heraldry(*A)	W	James Baguley	c.1426-50	All Saints North St.
heraldry(A)	W	Nicholas Blackburn Sr.	pre-1429	All Saints North St.
heraldry(A)	W	Nicholas Blackburn Sr.	c.1429-32	All Saints North St.
heraldry(A)	W	Nicholas Blackburn Sr.	c.1429-32	All Saints North St.

Table 4.4 Attributes in commemorative genres<sup>115</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Appendix A.1, A.2, table 4.6 (iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks) and plates 63-229. Heraldry is listed as an attribute in reference to memorials which commemorate specific individuals, rather than as a vague reference to aristocratic families whose connection with the churches is unclear. (\*)=surviving visual evidence; U=unknown; ?=uncertain; A=seen by antiquarians; W=window; M=monument; RB=roof boss; MC=misericorde; SW=stonework; I=surviving indent; F=font; L=lectern. The Evangelist symbols in Thomas Clerk's monument are upside down in relation to the inscription (plate 64) so it is possible that the symbols may belong to the 1642 monument of Thomas Atkynson which used to overlay the Clerk slab (plate 87).

Attribute	Genre	Commemorated	Date	Church
heraldry(*)	RB	John Gillyot	c.1467-73	All Saints North St.
heraldry(*)	MC	John Gillyot	c.1467-73	All Saints North St.
heraldry(*A)	W	Nicholas & Margaret Blackburn Sr. & Nicholas & Margaret Blackburn Jr.	c.1413-26	All Saints North St.
heraldry(A)	M	John & Joan Gylliot	1484	All Saints Pavement
heraldry(A)	M	John & Joan de Acaster	1379	All Saints Pavement
heraldry(A)	M	Thomas & Katherine Gare	c.1438	All Saints Pavement
heraldry(A)	M	Thomas & Alice Beverley	1480	All Saints Pavement
heraldry(A)	M	John Gillyot	1484	All Saints Pavement
heraldry(A)	M	John & Millicent Feriby	1491	All Saints Pavement
heraldry(*A)	SW	Robert Howme	pre-1433	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
heraldry(*A)	W	John Walker	1471	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
heraldry(A)	W	John Chapman	c.1530	Holy Trinity King's Court
heraldry(A)	M	Thomas & Alison Curtas	1460	St. Crux
heraldry(AI)	M	Henry & Agnes Wyman	1411-1413	St. Crux
heraldry(AI)	M	William & Katherine Lamb	1484	St. Crux
heraldry(A)	W	John & Joan Blackburne	pre-1426	St. Cuthbert
heraldry(A)	W	William & Isabel Bowes	pre-1439	St. Cuthbert
heraldry(A)	W	William & Alice Gyselay	1446-60	St. Cuthbert
heraldry(A)	W	Henry Percy 3 <sup>rd</sup> Earl of Northumberland & family	pre-1461	St. Denys
heraldry(*A)	RBs	Richard Yorke	pre-1498	St. John Ousebridge
heraldry(*A)	W	Richard Yorke	1498	St. John Ousebridge
heraldry(*A)	M	Richard Yorke	1498	St. John Ousebridge
heraldry(A)	W	John Osbaldwyck	U	St. Martin Coney St.
heraldry(A)	W	Nicholas Fouke	c.1322-43	St. Martin Micklegate
heraldry(A)	W	Sir Hugh Hastings & Anne Gascoigne	pre-1489	St. Martin Micklegate
heraldry(A)	SW	Sir Henry Vavasour & Joan Gascoigne	pre-1500	St. Martin Micklegate
heraldry(A)	M	John & Matilda Midilton	1459	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
Heraldry(A)	M	Brian & Christiane Middleton	1492	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
Heraldry(A)	W	Robert Savage & John Manfeld	pre-1394	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
Heraldry(A)	W	William Playce	c.1400	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.

Table 4.4 Attributes in commemorative genres (cont.)

Attribute	Genre	Commemorated	Date	Church
heraldry(A)	W	William Santore	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
heraldry(*)	SW	William & Joan Graa	c.1377	St. Mary Castlegate
heraldry(A)	M	William & Joan Graa	1377	St. Mary Castlegate
heraldry(A)	W	Henry & Isabel Meleton	post-1421	St. Maurice
heraldry(A)	W	Roger Bradley & wife	post-1421	St. Maurice
heraldry(A)	W	Thomas & Margaret Holme	post-1421	St. Maurice
heraldry(*A)	W	Hugh Ashton	c.5130	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
heraldry(A)	W	William & Jane Beckwith & William & Anne Beckwith	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
heraldry(A)	W	Christopher Ceel	1537	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
heraldry(A)	W	Martin & Ellen Soza	c.1545	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
heraldry(*)	W	John Coltman	post-1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
heraldry(*)	W	John Lister	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
heraldry(*)	W	Thomas Marsar	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
heraldry(A)	W	Robert Middleton & wife	U	St. Sampson
heraldry(A)	M	Roger & Isabel Moreton	1382-1412	St. Saviour
heraldry & merchants' marks(A)	M	John & Joan Gyliot	1484	All Saints Pavement
heraldry & merchants' marks(A)	M	Ellen Waghon	1421	St. Cruc
heraldry & merchants' marks(*A)	M	John & Agnes Shaw	1537	St. Cruc
heraldry & merchants' marks(A)	M	Robert Johnson	1497	St. Michael Spurriergate
heraldry & merchants' marks(*)	M	Alan & Isabel Hamerton	1405	St. Peter Little
heraldry & merchants' marks(A)	Ws	John Karr	pre-1488	St. Sampson
heraldry & merchants' marks(A)	F	John Karr	pre-1488	St. Sampson
merchants' marks(A)	M	William & Margaret Fenwick	1421	All Saints Pavement
merchants' marks(A)	M	Thomas Brounflete	1458	All Saints Pavement
merchants' marks(*A)	SW	Robert Howme	pre-1433	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
merchants' mark(A)	W	William & Isabel Thorpe	1471	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
merchants' marks(A)	M	Thomas & Matilda Danby	1458	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
merchants' marks(A)	M	Thomas Jameson	1507	Holy Trinity King's Court
merchants' marks(A)	M	John Lightlampe	1485	St. Cruc
merchants' marks(A)	M	John Woghen	1421	St. Cruc

Table 4.4 Attributes in commemorative genres (cont.)

Attribute	Genre	Commemorated	Date	Church
merchants' marks(A)	M	Robert Warde	1405	St. Denys
merchants' marks(*)	L	Richard Yorke	pre-1498	St. John Ousebridge
merchants' marks(*A)	RB	Richard Yorke	pre-1498	St. John Ousebridge
merchants' marks(*)	W	Nicholas Fouke	c.1322-43	St. Martin Micklegate
merchants' marks(*)	W	Richard Toller	1320s	St. Martin Micklegate
merchants' marks(A)	W	William Santore	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
merchants' marks(*)	W	John & Katherine Blackburne	pre-1426	St. Mary Castlegate
merchants' marks(A)	M	John & Reanalde ...	15C	St. Michael Spurriergate
merchants' marks(A)	M	Thomas Vicars	1499	St. Michael Spurriergate
merchants' marks(*A)	SW	John Karr	pre-1488	St. Sampson
merchants' marks(*A)	RB	John Karr	pre-1488	St. Sampson
sword(*A)	W	Nicholas Blackburn Jr.	c.1413-26	All Saints North St.
sword(*A)	W	Nicholas Blackburn Sr.	c.1413-26	All Saints North St.
sword(A)	M	John Acaster	1379	All Saints Pavement
sword(A)	W	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
sword(A)	W	William Santore	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
sword(*)	W	Hugh Hastings	pre-1489	St. Martin Micklegate
spurs(*)	W	Nicholas Blackburn Sr.	c.1413-26	All Saints North St.
spurs(A)	M	John de Acaster	1379	All Saints Pavement
spurs(A)	W	John Blackburne	pre-1426	St. Cuthbert
spurs(A)	W	George Percy & Ralph Percy	pre-1461	St. Denys
spurs(*)	W	Richard Yorke	1498	St. John Ousebridge
rings(*)	W	Nicholas Blackburne Jr.	c.1413-26	All Saints North St.
rings(*)	W	Reginald Bawtre	pre-1429	All Saints North St.
beads(A)	M	unidentified female from triple monument	U	All Saints Pavement
beads(A)	M	Agnes Todd	1479	All Saints Pavement
beads(A)	M	Alice Beverley	1480	All Saints Pavement
beads(A)	M	Joan Gilyot	1484	All Saints Pavement
beads(A)	M	John Feriby	1491	All Saints Pavement
beads(A)	M	unidentified female	U	St. George Fishergate
beads(*A)	W	daughters of Richard Yorke	1498	St. John Ousebridge

Table 4.4 Attributes in commemorative genres (cont.)

Attribute	Genre	Commemorated	Date	Church
beads(A)	M	Beatrice Evers	1520	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
children(A)	M	Thomas Beverley	1480	All Saints Pavement
children(A)	M	John Gilliot	1484	All Saints Pavement
children(A)	M	John Feriby	1491	All Saints Pavement
children(A)	W	John Blackburne	pre-1426	St. Cuthbert
children(A)	W	William Bowes	pre-1439	St. Cuthbert
children(*)	W	?Richard Orinshead	U	St. John Ousebridge
children(*A)	W	Richard York	1498	St. John Ousebridge
children(A)	W	parents of Isabel Morton	late 14C	St. Martin Micklegate
children(*)	W	?William Beckwith	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
children(*A)	W	Martin & Ellen Soza	c.1545	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
chalice(A)	M	U	U	All Saints North St.
chalice(A)	M	Robert & Matilda Bridesale	U	All Saints Pavement
chalice(A)	M	U	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
chalice (A)	M	U	U	St. Margaret
chalice (A)	M	Richard de Grimston	pre-1340	St. Nicholas
chalice (A)	M	William Langton	1466	St. Michael Spurriergate
chalice (A)	M	John Grinedale	1488	St. Crux
cross(A)	M	U	U	All Saints North St.
cross (A)	M	U	U	All Saints North St.
cross (A)	M	U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
cross (A)	M	U	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
cross (A)	M	U	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
cross (A)	M	U	U	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
cross (A)	M	U	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
cross (A)	M	Thomas de Kyllingwyke	late 13C	All Saints North St.
cross (A)	M	Helen Duffield	post-1381	St. Saviour
cross (A)	M	John Bawtry	pre-1398	All Saints North St.
cross (A)	M	Laurence Jole	1411	St. Olave
cross (A)	M	U	1485	St. John Ousebridge
Evangelist symbols (*I)	M	U	U	St. Peter Little
Evangelist symbols (*)	M	Alan Hamerton	1405	St. Peter Little

Table 4.4 Attributes in commemorative genres (cont.)

Attribute	Genre	Commemorated	Date	Church
Evangelist symbols (3*, 1I)	M	Thomas Clerk	1482	All Saints North St.
Evangelist symbols (A)	M	George Evers	1520	St. Michael-le-Belfrey

Table 4.4 Attributes in commemorative genres (cont.)

Will	Testator	Occupation	Details
1429	Reginald Bawtre	merchant	half to stepson and half to wife's relation
1435	Richard Russell	merchant	service books
1438	James Bagule	cleric	service books, music books
1442	Robert Semar	cleric	Higden's <i>Polichronicon</i> , <i>De Regimine Principum</i>
1445	John Bolton	merchant	Bolton Hours
1446	William Revetour	cleric	service books, devotional literature, drama texts
1458	John Dautre	lawyer	romances, law books, saints' lives, service books, history books, book formerly belonging to Richard Scrope

Table 4.5 Testamentary bequests of books among the commemorated<sup>116</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Appendix A.2 for details. Apart from the 5 commemorated, John Bolton and William Revetour are included because of their possible connection with the Prick of Conscience window at All Saints North St. although the Bolton Hours are not mentioned in Bolton's will.



Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
1 shield (A)	window	U	U	U	All Saints North St.
1 shield (A)	SE brass	U	U	U	All Saints North St.
1 shield (A)	NE window	U	U	U	All Saints North St.
1 shield (A)	SW window	U	U	U	All Saints North St.
1 shield (*)	(nVI)	Beauchamp	baronial	U	All Saints North St.
1 shield (*A)	E window (nVI)	Percy ancient	baronial	14C	All Saints North St.
1 shield (A)	N window	... Wiloby or Roger & Cecily or Abel & Agnes Hesyl (INS)	U	c.1401-25	All Saints North St.
1 shield (*A)	S window (sIII)	James Bagule (INS)	rector	c.1426-50	All Saints North St.
1 shield (A)	N window	Nicholas Blackburn Sr.	merchant	pre-1429	All Saints North St.
1 shield (A)	N window	Nicholas Blackburn Sr.	merchant	c.1429-32	All Saints North St.
1 shield (A)	S window	Nicholas Blackburn Sr.	merchant	c.1429-32	All Saints North St.
1 shield (*A)	roof boss	John Gillyot	rector	c.1467-73	All Saints North St.
1 shield (*)	misericorde	John Gillyot (INS)	rector	c.1467-73	All Saints North St.
1 shield (*)	(window nVI)	John Alcock bishop of Ely	episcopal	c.1486-1500	All Saints North St.

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks<sup>117</sup>

<sup>117</sup> This table is based on Appendix A.1 and on surviving visual evidence, see RCHM, *York 3-5*. The table is complementary to tables 3.14 and 3.21, it includes all entries from table 3.14 and all quantifiable entries from table 3.21. It also attempts to give a single listing for each shield noted by the antiquarians, and great care has been taken to attempt to avoid repetitions, which would give a false impression as to overall numbers of shields - it may however still be possible that a few of the shields in this table are entered more than once. The 'where' column indicates the position of the shields as noted by the antiquarians, for windows this is supplemented by indicating the present position in brackets using CVMA numbering. Entries are normally listed individually to help identification - however, some shields are listed together when they all refer to the same individual or when one site contains a number of unidentified shields. Of the monuments from St. Crux, only the Wyman and Lamb monuments survive now, although the Shaw monument was noted by Mill Stephenson in 1905. Abbreviations: \*=surviving visual evidence, relating to heraldry and merchants' marks only, rather than the whole memorial; A=noted by antiquarians; I=indent. INS=accompanying inscription; imp=impaling; INS?=may have been accompanied by an inscription, but this is not clear from the antiquarian evidence provided by Johnston. The term 'urban armiger' is used to refer to those members of the urban nobility with specific ties to parish churches.

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
4 shields (*A)	NE window(I)	Nicholas & Margaret Blackburne Sr. & Nicholas & Margaret Blackburne Jr. (INS)	merchant	c.1413-26	All Saints North St.
1 merchants' mark (A)	monument	William & Margaret Fenwick (INS)	merchant	1421	All Saints Pavement
2 blank quatrefoils (*)	monument	U	U	U	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	S window	U	U	U	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	E window	U	U	U	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	W window	U	U	U	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	window	Canterbury See	archiepiscopal	U	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	window	Merchants of the Staple	craft	U	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	E window	City of York	civic	U	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	S window	City of York	civic	U	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	E window	Neville	baronial	U	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	sedilia	Percy & Lucy	baronial	post-1384	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	sedilia	Percy & Lucy & U	baronial	post-1384	All Saints Pavement
1 merchants' mark (A)	monument	Thomas Brounflete (INS)	merchant	1458	All Saints Pavement
2 shields (A)	woodwork	U	U	U	All Saints Pavement
2 shields & 2 merchants' marks (A)	monument	John & Joan Gyllot & 5 children (INS)	merc	1484	All Saints Pavement
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	All Saints Pavement
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	All Saints Pavement
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	All Saints Pavement
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	All Saints Pavement
4 shields (A)	monument	John & Isolda de Acaster (INS)	merchant	1379	All Saints Pavement
4 shields (A)	monument	Thomas & Katherine Gare (INS)	merc	c.1438	All Saints Pavement
4 shields (A)	monument	Thomas & Alice Beverley (INS)	merchant	1480	All Saints Pavement
4 shields (A)	monument	John Gillyot (INS)	cleric	1484	All Saints Pavement
4 shields (A)	monument	John & Millicent Feriby (INS)	merchant	1491	All Saints Pavement
1 shield (A)	N side of W window	U	U	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (A)	window	Canterbury See impaling U	archiepiscopal	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (*, A)	N window (?sIII)	Edward I	royal	14C	Holy Trinity Goodramgate

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
1 shield (*A)	N window (sVI)	Ross	baronial	14C	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (*A)	N window (sVI)	de Vere earl of Oxford	baronial	14C	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (*A)	N side of W window (sVII)	Percy	baronial	14C	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (*A)	5th window of W end (sII)	Latimer	baronial	14C	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (A)	roof boss	Kemp	episcopal?	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (A)	roof boss	U	U	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (*A)	window (sVII)	Mowbray	baronial	14C	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (*A)	stonework	Robert Howme	merchant	pre-1433	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (*A)	E window (I)	John Walker (INS)	rector	1471	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (*A)	E window (I)	Thomas Kemp bishop of London	episcopal	1471	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (*A)	E window (I)	George Neville archbishop of York	archiepiscopal	1471	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 merchants' mark (*A)	stonework	Robert Howme	merchant	pre-1433	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 merchants' mark (A)	E window	William & Isabel Thorpe (INS)	mercier	1471	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
4 merchants' marks (A)	monument	U	merchant	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
4 blank shields (*I)	monument	U	U	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
4 merchants' marks (A)	monument	Thomas & Matilda Danby (INS)	mercier	1458	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
12 shields (A)	S aisle wood	Baynes, Ryther, Ayscough, Mallory, Burton, Fairfax, Slingsby, Warrington, U, Challoner, Lumley, Luce	armiger	U	Holy Trinity Goodramgate
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	Holy Trinity King's Court
1 shield (A)	stonework	U	U	U	Holy Trinity King's Court
1 shield (A)	stonework	Bellasis	armiger	U	Holy Trinity King's Court
1 shield (A)	U	Percy of Holderness	baronial	14C	Holy Trinity King's Court
1 shield (A)	U	Neville	baronial	U	Holy Trinity King's Court
1 shield (A)	window	John Chapman (INS)	notary & merchant	c.1530	Holy Trinity King's Court
1 merchants' mark (A)	monument	Thomas Jameson (INS)	merchant	1507	Holy Trinity King's Court
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	Holy Trinity King's Court

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	Holy Trinity King's Court
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	1632	Holy Trinity Micklegate
1 shield (A)	U	Charleton, Delapole, Felbrigge, Holland or Leigh	armiger	U	Holy Trinity Micklegate
1 shield (A)	N window	Percy	baronial	14C	Holy Trinity Micklegate
2 shields (A)	stonework	U	U	U	Holy Trinity Micklegate
1 blank shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Crux
1 blank shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Crux
1 shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Crux
1 merchants' mark (A)	monument	John Lightlampe (INS)	merc	1485	St. Crux
2 shields & 2 merchants' marks (A)	monument	City of York, ?Waghen & mark for Ellen Waghen (INS)	merc	1421	St. Crux
2 shields (A)	monument	Thomas & Alison Curtas & daughter (INS)	merc	1460	St. Crux
2 shields & 2 merchants' marks (A*)	monument	City of York & mark for John & Agnes Shaw (INS)	merchant	1537	St. Crux
4 merchants' marks (A)	monument	John Woghen (INS)	merc	1421	St. Crux
4 merchants' marks (A)	monument	U	merchant	U	St. Crux
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Crux
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Crux
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Crux
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Crux
4 shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Crux
4 shields (*AI)	monument	Henry & Agnes Wyman (INS)	goldsmith & merchant	1411-13	St. Crux
4 shields (AI)	monument	William & Katherine Lamb (INS)	merchant	1484	St. Crux
1 shield (A)	N window	U	U	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	N window	U	U	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	brass	U	U	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	brass	U	U	U	St. Cuthbert

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
1 shield (A)	brass	U	U	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	NW window	U	U	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (*A)	1st S window by door (sIV)	Neville	baronial	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	1st S window by door	Percy & Lucy	baronial	post-1384	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	1st S window by door	Merchants of Staple	craft	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	2nd S window by door	Henry V	royal	15C	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	2nd S window by door	John duke of Bedford	royal	15C	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	2nd S window by door	Humphrey duke of Gloucester	royal	15C	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	2nd S window by door	Bellasis	armiger	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	1st N window from W	City of York	civic	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	2nd N window from W	John Dreux duke of Brittany & earl of Richmond or Warenne earl of Surrey	baronial	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	3rd N window from W	St. George	saint	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (*, A)	4th N window from W (nIII)	Fitzgerald/ Fitzgerald duke of Leinster or Neville of Hornby	baronial	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (*, A?)	(nIII)	Neville	baronial	U	St. Cuthbert
1 shield on effigy's armour (A)	N window	John & Joan Blackburne & 4 children (INS)	merchant	pre-1426	St. Cuthbert
1 shield(A)	E window	William & Isabel Bowes & 10 children (INS)	merchant	pre-1439	St. Cuthbert
2 shields (A)	N window	William Gyselay & wife Alice (Ross) & son (INS)	scrivener & urban armiger	1446-60	St. Cuthbert
4 shields (AI)	monument	William & Isabel Bowes (INS)	merchant	1439	St. Cuthbert
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	NW window	U	U	U	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	SE window	U	U	U	St. Denys

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
1 shield (A)	U	Edward III	royal	U	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	W window	Clifford	baronial	U	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	outer stonework of N choir	Neville	baronial	1439	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	outer stonework of N choir	Neville impaling Holland	baronial	1439	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	outer stonework of N choir	Percy & Lucy	baronial	1439	St. Denys
1 shield (*A)	E window (I)	John 4th baron Scrope of Masham	baronial	pre-1461	St. Denys
1 shield (*A)	E window (I)	William Scrope master of St. Leonard's Hospital	baronial	pre-1461	St. Denys
1 shield (*)	bench-end	Henry Percy 4th earl of Northumberland	baronial	c.1470-89	St. Denys
2 quatrefoils (*)	monument	U	U	U	St. Denys
2 merchants' marks (A)	monument	Robert Warde (INS)	merchant	1405	St. Denys
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Denys
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Denys
4 blank quatrefoils (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Denys
4 blank quatrefoils (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Denys
13 coats of arms on clothes & 1 shield (A)	E window	Percy & Lucy for Henry Percy 3rd earl of Northumberland & family (INS)	baronial	pre-1461	St. Denys
1 shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Helen Stonegate
1 shield (A)	NE window	U & Montacute earl of Salisbury	baronial	U	St. Helen Stonegate
1 shield (*A)	E window (sII)	goldsmiths	craft	U	St. Helen Stonegate
1 shield (*A)	S window (sVII)	glaziers	craft	17C	St. Helen Stonegate
1 shield (A)	S window	Skirlaw	bishop of Durham	c.1388-1406	St. Helen Stonegate
1 shield (*A)	NE window (now sII)	Fitzhugh	baronial	U	St. Helen Stonegate
1 shield (*A)	NE window (now sII)	Beauchamp	baronial	1430s?	St. Helen Stonegate
1 shield (*A)	NE window (now sII)	Percy & Lucy	baronial	post-1384	St. Helen Stonegate
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	St. John Ousebridge

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*)	(window sill)	Ralph Neville 1st earl of Westmorland	baronial	15C	St. John Ousebridge
1 merchants' mark (*)	lectern	Sir Richard Yorke	merc	pre-1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 merchants' mark (*A)	roof boss	Sir Richard Yorke	merc	pre-1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	roof boss	Sir Richard Yorke	merc	pre-1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	roof boss	Yorke impaling Maleverer for Sir Richard Yorke & wife Joan	merc	pre-1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	roof boss	Merchants of Staple for Sir Richard Yorke	merc	pre-1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	NE window (YM nXX)	Yorke for Sir Richard Yorke (INS)	merc	1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	NE window (YM nXIX)	Yorke impaling Maleverer for Sir Richard Yorke & wife Joan (INS)	merc	1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	NE window (YM nXIX)	Yorke impaling Darcy for Sir Richard Yorke's eldest son Richard & wife (INS)	merc	1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	NE window (YM nXIX)	Yorke impaling ?Askwith for another son of Sir Richard Yorke (INS)	merc	1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	NE window (YM nXIX)	City of York for Sir Richard Yorke's mayoralty (INS)	merc	1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	NE window (YM nXX)	Merchants of Staple for Sir Richard Yorke (INS)	merc	1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	NE window (YM nXX)	?Forster (INS)	U	1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 shield (*A)	NE window (YM nXX)	?Stapleton impaling Gascoigne (INS)	U	1498	St. John Ousebridge
2 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. John Ousebridge
5 shields (*A)	monument	Sir Richard Yorke	merc	1498	St. John Ousebridge
1 blank shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Margaret
1 blank shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Margaret
2 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Margaret

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Margaret
1 shield (A)	SE window	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	NE window	Percy & Lucy	baronial	post-1384	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S aisle window	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S aisle window	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S aisle window	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S window	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S window	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	U	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S clerestory window	Edward I	royal	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S clerestory window	Edmund earl of Kent	royal	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S clerestory window	Edward III	royal	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S clerestory window	Thomas duke of Gloucester	royal	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S clerestory window	Scrope of Masham	baronial	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S clerestory window	Clare	baronial	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S clerestory window	Warren	baronial	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N window	John Osbaldwick (INS)	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N window	Scrope of Masham	baronial	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N window	Edward I	royal	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N window	Thomas duke of Gloucester	royal	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N window	Edward the Confessor	royal & saint	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N clerestory window	Edward III	royal	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N clerestory window	See of York	archiepiscopal	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N clerestory window	City of York	civic	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N clerestory window	City of London	civic	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N clerestory window	Clare	baronial	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N clerestory window	Monthermer	baronial	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N clerestory window	St. William	saint	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	N clerestory window	Hunte	armiger	U	St. Martin Coney St.
2 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
3 shields (A)	monument on N side	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)



Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
5 shields (A)	S clerestory windows	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
7 shields (A)	N clerestory windows	U	U	U	St. Martin Coney St.
1 shield (A)	S window over door	Scrope of Masham	baronial	U	St. Martin Micklegate
1 shield (A)	NW window	Scrope of Bolton	baronial	U	St. Martin Micklegate
1 shield (A)	SE window	?Nicholas Fouke (INS)	merchant	c.1322-43	St. Martin Micklegate
2 shields (A)	W window	Sir Hugh Hastings & Anne Gascoigne	urban armiger	pre-1489	St. Martin Micklegate
2 shields (A)	outer stonework at SW end	Sir Henry Vavasour & Joan Gascoigne	urban armiger	pre-1500	St. Martin Micklegate
6 merchants' marks (*)	(window sII)	Nicholas Fouke (INS)	merchant	c.1322-43	St. Martin Micklegate
36 merchants' marks (*)	(window nVII)	Richard Toller	merchant	1320s	St. Martin Micklegate
1 shield (A)	NE window	U	U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 shield (A)	E window	U	U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 blank shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 shield (A)	NE window	quarterly of 6: U, Clynton, Raygate, Hese, U & Hussy	armiger	U	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 shield (*AI)	monument	Middleton impaling Thwaites for John & Matilda Midilton (INS)	urban armiger	1459	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 shield (A)	E window	St. Wilfrid	saint	U	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 shield (A)	E window	See of York	archiepiscopal	U	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 shield (A)	monument	Middleton impaling Mauleverer for Brian & Christiane Middleton (INS)	urban armiger	1492	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 shield (A)	monument	Middleton for Brian & Christiane Middleton (INS)	urban armiger	1492	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 shield (A)	monument	Middleton impaling unknown for Brian & Christiane Middleton (INS)	urban armiger	1492	St. Mary Bishophill Jr.
1 shield (A)	a S window	U	U	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
2 shields (A)	E window	unknown for Robert Savage and John Manfeld (INS)	rectors	pre-1394	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 shield (A)	N aisle window	William Playce (INS)	urban armiger	c.1400	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 merchants' mark (A)	window	William Santore (INS)	merchant	unknown	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
1 shield (A)	NE window	Fairfax	armiger	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 shield (A)	NE window	Ryther	armiger	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 shield (A)	NE window	Fairfax & Thwaites	armiger	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 shield (A)	NE window	Fairfax impaling Ryther	armiger	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 shield (A)	NE window	Fairfax impaling blank	armiger	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 shield (A)	monument	Fairfax	armiger	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 shield (A)	monument	Fairfax impaling Ryther	armiger	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 shield (A)	monument	Fairfax & Thwaites	armiger	U	St. Mary Bishophill Sr.
1 blank shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Mary Castlegate
1 blank shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Mary Castlegate
1 shield (A)	U	Margaret of Anjou	royal	U	St. Mary Castlegate
1 shield (A)	U	Hunte	armiger	U	St. Mary Castlegate
1 shield (A)	U	Holmes	armiger	U	St. Mary Castlegate
1 shield (A)	U	Illesley or Touke	armiger	U	St. Mary Castlegate
1 merchants' mark (*)	window sIII	John & Katherine Blackburne (INS)	merchant	pre-1426	St. Mary Castlegate
4 shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Mary Castlegate
2 shields (*)	stonework	William & Joan Graa	merchant	c.1377	St. Mary Castlegate
6 shields (A)	monument	William & Joan Graa (INS)	merchant	1377	St. Mary Castlegate
8 shields (A)	U	U	U	U	St. Mary Castlegate
1 shield (A)	SE window	Henry & Isabel Meleton (INS)	urban armiger	post-1421	St. Maurice
1 shield (A)	SE window	Roger Bradley & wife (INS)	merchant	post-1421	St. Maurice
1 shield (A)	SE window	Thomas & Margaret Holme (INS)	urban armiger	post-1421	St. Maurice
1 shield (*A)	E window (I)	Latimer	baronial	14C	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*A)	E window (I)	Metham	baronial	14C	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*A)	E window (I)	Hastings	baronial	14C	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*A)	E window (I)	Marmion	baronial	14C	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*)	E window (I)	Neville	baronial	14C	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	E window (I)	Boswell	baronial?	14C	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
2 shields (A)	E window (I)	U	U	14C	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	S window	U	U	16C?	St. Michael-le-Belfrey

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
1 shield (*A)	3rd S window or N window (sIV)	Ashton quartering ?St. Hugh for Hugh Ashton (INS)	residiary canon of YM	c.1530	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	3rd S window or N window	St. Peter	saint	1530s	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*A)	3rd S window or N window	St. Paul	saint	1530s	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*A)	3rd S window (sIV)	St. William	saint	1530s	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*A)	4th S window (sV)	York City	civic	1530s	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*A)	4th S window (sV)	goldsmiths	craft	1530s	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	S window (sIII)	William Sr. & Jane Beckwith, William Jr. & Anne Beckwith (INS)	WB Sr. merchant, WB Jr. U	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	N window (nVII)	St. Wilfrid for Christopher Ceel (INS)	saint	1537	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	NE window	goldsmiths for Martin & Ellen Soza (INS)	goldsmith	c.1545	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	NE window	Castile for Martin & Ellen Soza (INS)	goldsmith	c.1545	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	NE window	Leon for Martin & Ellen Soza (INS)	goldsmith	c.1545	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	NE window	City of York for Martin Soza (INS)	goldsmith	c.1545	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	NE window	MS for Martin Soza (INS)	goldsmith	c.1545	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*)	sV	JC for John Coltman (INS)	subtreasurer of YM	post-1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*)	nVI	IL for John Lister (INS)	draper	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (*)	sVI	TM for Thomas Marsar (INS)	warden of YM fabric & succentor to vicars choral	1535	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 shield (A)	W window	Goldsmiths	craft	16C	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
2 shields (A)	W window	U	U	16C	St. Michael-le-Belfrey
1 blank shield (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Michael Spurriergate
1 shield (with 3 merchants' marks?) (A)	monument	John & Reanalde ... (INS)	merchant	15C	St. Michael Spurriergate
1 merchants' mark and 1 shield (A)	monument	Robert Johnson (INS)	grocer	1497	St. Michael Spurriergate
1 merchants' mark (A)	monument	Thomas Vicars (INS)	merchant	1499	St. Michael Spurriergate

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Design	Where	Name	Status	Date	Church
4 shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Olave
2 shields and 2 merchants' marks (*)	monument	Alan & Isabel Hamerton (INS)	merchant	1405	St. Peter Little
1 shield (A)	window	U	U	U	St. Sampson
1 shield (A)	E window	St. Peter	saint	U	St. Sampson
1 shield (A)	E window	St. William	saint	U	St. Sampson
1 shield (A)	woodwork	U	U	U	St. Sampson
1 shield (A)	window	Robert Middleton & wife (INS)	armiger	U	St. Sampson
1 merchants' mark (*A)	stonework	John Karr	mercer	pre-1488	St. Sampson
1 merchants' mark & 1 shield (A)	lowest N window	City of York for John Karr (INS)	mercer	pre-1488	St. Sampson
1 merchants' mark & 1 shield (A)	W window	City of York for John Karr (INS)	mercer	pre-1488	St. Sampson
1 merchants' mark & 1 shield (A)	font	City of York for John Karr	mercer	pre-1488	St. Sampson
1 merchants' mark (*A)	roof boss	John Karr	mercer	pre-1488	St. Sampson
1 shield (A)	SE window	Pigott	U	U	St. Sampson
1 shield (A)	SE window	Scrope of Masham	baronial	U	St. Sampson
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Sampson
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Sampson
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Sampson
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Sampson
1 shield (A)	window by door	U	U	U	St. Saviour
1 shield (A)	NE window	Bellasis & Lings	armiger	U	St. Saviour
4 shields (A)	4 windows	Bosswell impaling Vavasour	armiger	U	St. Saviour
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Saviour
4 blank shields (A)	monument	U	U	U	St. Saviour
4 shields (AI)	monument	Roger & Isabel de Moreton (INS)	mercer	1382-1412	St. Saviour

Table 4.6 The iconography of heraldry and merchants' marks (cont.)

Language	Details	Genre	Date
Latin	all except see below	38 in windows	14C-16C
Latin	all except see below	119 in monuments	14C-16C
English	Roger Marton	monument	unknown
English	William Bowes	window	pre-1439
English	Thomas Curtas	monument	1460
English	Thomas Marsar	window	c.1530
English	John Coltman	window	c.1530
English	John Elwald	window	c.1530
English	William Tomson	window	c.1530
English	William Beckwith	window	1535
English	John Lister	window	1535
English	Christopher Ceel	window	1537
English	Martin Soza	window	c.1545
English	Richard Crafurth	monument	post-1545
French	Richard de Grimston	monument	unknown (14C)
French	William...(*)	monument	unknown (14C)
French	Nicholas Fouke(*)	window	c.1322-43
French	Richard Toller	monument	post-1335
English and Latin	William Blakely	window	unknown
English & Latin	Robert Appylby & daughter	monument	1428
Unknown	Nicholas Flemyng	monument	1319
Unknown	Nicholas Miers	monument	1439
Unknown	Mary Gylle	monument	c.1479
Unknown	John Chapman	window	c.1530

Table 4.7 Languages used in inscriptions in windows and monuments<sup>118</sup>

Type of inscription	Numbers	%
name(s) only - pray for	36	20
name(s) only - here lies	25	14
name(s) and occupation - pray for	40	22
name(s) and occupation - here lies	21	12
name(s) and civic role - pray for	18	10
name(s) and civic role - here lies	7	4
name(s), occupation and civic role - pray for	3	2
name(s), occupation and civic role - here lies	4	2
other	1	1
unknown	24	13
total	179	100

Table 4.8 Phrasing of inscriptions in windows and monuments<sup>119</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Appendix A.1 and plates 63-229. (\*)=inscription surviving in visual evidence. The current inscriptions at St. Michael-le-Belfrey are copies of those noted by the antiquarians. The inscription on the monument at St. George Fishergate is not included here as I cannot tell whether it is in French or Latin.

<sup>119</sup> An assessment of the relative ratios of surviving inscriptions in relation to the antiquarian evidence has already been presented in chapter 1. This list is intended as a breakdown of inscription types based on the evidence of Appendix A.1. 'Unknown' refers to those inscriptions which are too fragmentary to allow categorization. 'Pray for' and 'here lies' refer to inscriptions which use these formulae whether in Latin, English or French.

Church	Name	Status	Genre	Date
All Saints Pavement	John Gilliot(A)	mercator	monument	1484
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	John Walker(*A)	rector	window	1471
St. Martin Coney St.	Robert Semar(*A)	vicar	window	1437
St. Mary Castlegate	William Graa(A)	merchant	monument	post-1378
St. Michael Spurriergate	William Wilson(*A)	goldsmith	monument	1517

Table 4.9 Special epitaphs<sup>120</sup>

Saint(s)	Testator	Will	Church
BVM	Nicholas Blackburn Sr.	1421	All Saints North St.
BVM	John Feriby	1490	All Saints Pavement
St. Anne	Nicholas Blackburne Sr.	1421	All Saints North St.
St. Anne	Richard Russell	1435	St. John Hungate
St. John Baptist	Richard Russell	1435	St. Sampson
St. John Baptist	John Dautre	1458	St. Michael Spurriergate
St. John of Beverley	John Carre	1487	St. Sampson
St. Katherine	Richard Russell	1435	St. John Hungate
St. Margaret	William Appilgarth	1438	St. Michael Spurriergate
St. Mary Magdalen	John Carre	1487	St. Sampson
St. Sampson	John Carre	1487	St. Sampson
St. Thomas Apostle	Thomas Clerke	1482	All Saints North St.
BVM, St. Michael, St. Peter, St. Lawrence, St. Sebastian, St. Nicholas, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Cecilia, St. Helen	John Chapman	1527	Holy Trinity Goodramgate

Table 4.10 Testamentary evidence of devotion to saints among the commemorated<sup>121</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Appendix A.1 for full texts and translations. (\*)=surviving visual evidence; A=noted by antiquarians. I am grateful to Dr.J.Binns for translating the Gylliot epitaph and explaining its finer points.

<sup>121</sup> All wills in Appendix A.2.

## **Chapter 5 Conclusion**

Commemoration in the parish churches of late medieval York was a major concern for many individuals. It represented a considerable financial investment and made a noticeable impact on the appearance of parish churches. It involved both men and women, layfolk and clerics, the urban classes and the aristocracy, the urban elite and the wider circles of urban society. Where it has been possible to acquire sufficient background knowledge on the commemorated, it can usually be shown that the different iconographic components of their memorials were not chosen haphazardly but were rather indicative of both the religious and lay concerns of the commemorated.

The process of commemoration was built upon an inherent contradiction. A sense of tension arises out of the dual purpose of monuments, windows and chantries. This is the tension underlying the divergent needs which the memorials are called upon to fulfil. On the one hand the memorials fulfil a religious purpose, which is exemplified in the chantry masses, the call for prayers for the dead and the prayers for God's mercy on the souls of the commemorated as expressed in the inscriptions, and in the display of piety by kneeling effigies holding prayer books and mouthing prayers written in scrolls. On the other hand the memorials also fulfil a secular purpose, which finds its expression in the use of symbols of wealth and social status both on the effigies and in the memorials as a whole, and in the deployment of inscriptions to advertise family connections, professional status and civic standing. This is particularly the case for memorials which commemorate lay folk. There is something very striking about a memorial, such as the east window at All Saints North St., which commemorates Nicholas Blackburn Sr. and Jr. and their respective wives (plates 65-67), which carries two inscriptions asking for prayers for the souls of the commemorated and at the same time shows the effigies of the same individuals dressed in expensive fashionable clothes and accessories as the epitomes of late medieval conspicuous consumption. The inscriptions alone can consist of a mass of conflicting issues, incorporating the secular and the religious in a single sentence - Thomas and Alice Beverley's monument at All Saints Pavement showed their effigies (Alice's being decorated with a prominent set of beads), probably those of their children and four heraldic shields together with an inscription whose main purpose was to remind the reader that Thomas had been mayor of the city of York as well as merchant of the Staple of Calais, and only at the end does the text pray for God's mercy (plates 93, 98). Even a clerical memorial, such as the east window at Holy Trinity Goodramgate, which commemorates the rector John Walker, can embody these contradictions (plates 107-110). The window displays an unusually convoluted inscription which focuses on the rector's commission of the window and is also one of only three known windows in a York parish church to show the effigy of the commemorated in the same space as a representation of a religious figure (in this case nothing less than the Holy Trinity

itself),<sup>1</sup> and is crowned by a heraldic display in the tracery which includes not only Walker's own arms but also the arms of two of his patrons, one episcopal and one archiepiscopal. The ostentatious potential of chantries is largely lost to us now although the endowment of a chantry gave scope to the founders, and to those who added to the foundation in later years, to furnish the chantry with liturgical equipment which could be made as lavish as the commemorated could afford.<sup>2</sup> Upon reflection, this tension appears to suggest that, among those commemorated in the parish churches of late medieval York, piety and the secular life succeeded in co-existing comfortably, so that the uncertainties of the afterlife did not fill these individuals with such fear that they refrained from a display of pride in the very forms designed to help them improve their prospects after death. In fact, the secular aspect of these memorials appears to have been built into the very concept of commemoration from the earliest examples - well-dressed effigies, shields and merchant's marks are already present in both windows and monuments which dated to before 1350, although the more elaborate inscriptions did not appear until the late fifteenth century.

In the course of this work some topics have emerged which need further investigation. The discussion of the mechanics of commemoration and the discovery of a thriving market for figured monumental brasses would be complemented by further study on the production of memorials, particularly on workshop practices, numbers and types of artisans involved in the production of memorials, and their influence on the final product. The antiquarian opus itself deserves more study - for instance it contains valuable evidence regarding commemoration in York parish churches in the post-medieval period up to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, while the work of Dodsworth and Johnston can also be used to research patterns of late medieval commemoration over a wider geographical area outside York.

---

<sup>1</sup> The other two effigies are those of John Dautre and William Appilgarth at St. Michael Spurriergate, who are next to the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Margaret respectively (plates 208, 209).

<sup>2</sup> See R.N.Swanson, 'Thomas Holme and his Chantries', *York Historian* 5 (1984), pp.5-6 for an impressive list of the chalices, jewels, books, vestments and ornaments which the chantry boasted in 1428.



## Appendix

### A.1 Church-by-church list of antiquarian notes.

The evidence presented here starts with Glover and finishes with Brooke - Drake is not included because all his evidence overlaps with either Dodsworth or Dugdale. Because of the existence of different versions of Glover's visitation, all of which contain slightly different information, Glover's references are annotated with folio numbers from the manuscript versions, as well as with page numbers from the printed version. Since an unidentified version of Hutton's church notes was found in British Library, Lansdown<sup>2</sup>MS.919, all Hutton entries contain both the York Minster and British Library references. For Dugdale, all references are from the manuscript of Dugdale's Yorkshire Arms held at the College of Arms, London, as the other versions of Dugdale's visitation, held at the British Library, London, do not offer additional material.

The material is presented thus: Iconography, where available; Heraldry; Inscriptions and Heraldry; Inscriptions only. At St. Michael-le-Belfrey we shall find antiquarian evidence which combines Iconography, Heraldry and Inscriptions. All entries will specify location if known; if location unknown then it will be so stated. Inscriptions and windows whose location is stated are listed first, followed by those whose location within the church is uncertain.

Inscriptions are reproduced as in the manuscripts. Grammatical errors are not corrected, but are indicated. The antiquarian evidence provides us with the fullest record of inscriptions from York parish churches - there are no surviving inscriptions which are not noted in the antiquarian record. The only partial exception to this are a few cases in which the antiquarians abbreviate the standard ending of an inscription (i.e. *cujus animae propicietur deus Amen*) with 'etc'. In the cases of those inscriptions which have survived, the standard ending has been supplemented by checking the material evidence and Stephenson's transcription. In the case of Gent, abstracts of his text are given. Where more than one version of the same inscription exists, the most complete one has been selected, or a complete version has been created by combining elements from more than one transcription - the different sources are indicated in brackets where discrepancies are also pointed out. Where different writers report different dates/names for the same inscription, all dates/names are listed and, where possible, supplemented by other evidence to help identify the correct reading. Surviving inscriptions, windows, heraldry and churches are indicated by the symbol (\*). Surviving glass is also indicated by its present location, and its previous location if known - CVMA numbering is used to identify locations.

Square brackets indicate annotation by the antiquarian author in adjunct to the text. Round brackets indicate editorial additions to the text. A series of dots indicates missing words in the inscription.

Wherever possible, an effort has been made to indicate whether an ambiguous inscription refers to a funerary monument or a window. As a general rule, *Hic jacet* inscriptions can be assumed to indicate a funerary monument so indications are specifically given for *Orate pro* inscriptions and their variations. As it is noticeable that in surviving window inscriptions the date of death of the commemorated is not mentioned, it is also assumed that any *Orate pro* inscriptions which include the date of death refer to funerary monuments rather than window glass.

With regard to heraldry, descriptions of coats of arms are fully reproduced as in the manuscripts and listed under each writer's name, starting with the writer who provides the fullest heraldic description. Occasionally two or more antiquarian writers describe the same arms and in this case the heraldry is analyzed and cross-referenced. Where possible, an interpretation of the arms, taken from C&W or from cross-referencing with other antiquarian evidence, is introduced in brackets. There are no guarantees that all the arms described here are medieval.

A short bibliography is presented for each church - this is not exhaustive but is intended to give the best-known examples of secondary material on each church which can serve as a starting point for further reading.

Key to abbreviated words:

aia=anima; aiabus/aiabz=animabus; BVM=Blessed Virgin Mary; dns=dominus; E=east; N=north; p= pro; pp=proper; ppi/ppicietur=propicietur; quonda=quondam; S=south; ux=uxor; W=west

**(\*)All Saints North St.**

RCHM, *York 3*, 3-10; E.A.Gee, 'The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York', *Archaeologia* 102 (1969), 151-202; E.A. Gee, 'The Roofs of All Saints', North Street, York', *York Historian* 3 (1980), 3-6; P.J.Shaw, *An Old York Church: All Hallows in North Street*, (York 1908)

**1) ICONOGRAPHY**

Painted windows:

1st NW feeding the hungry, clothing the naked etc. (\*6 Corporal Acts of Mercy, nIV)

2nd plain glass

3rd St. Thomas Christ St. Timothy (\*nV, Christ and two St. Thomases)

4th St. John St. Anne teaching BVM St. Christofer and Holy Trinity. on each side effigies of 2 Nicholas Blackburns both lord mayors of city. also effigies of wives. (\*originally nII, now I)

5th coming to Judgment and revolution of things - sun falling from heaven, graves opening, towers and castles overturned. (\*Prick of Conscience, nIII)

little NE window - only coats of arms. (\*nVI)

window over altar - offering of Estern kings, salutation of BVM, birth of Christ, Christ on cross, Christ crowned with BVM, resurrection. (\*former I, now nII)

SE window - St. Catherine St. Mary Magdalen Crucifixion etc. (\*?possible misreading of two female effigies and Crucifixion, sII)

1st window S - St. Michael St. John the Divine (Evangelist) and underneath the family of the Bagitleys (*sic*) and of Robert Chapman. (\*sIII)

3rd window - angel, cardinal, bishop, pope, king, noble and religious procession proceded by angels (\*9 Orders of Angels, sV)

last towards S door - S. John Baptist, BVM, Christ, an appearance to a bishop from heaven and underneath Paul and Silas in prison (\*sVI, St. James, BVM and archbishop surviving)

outside over E window - Christ crucified. underneath St. John and BVM

(Gent p.163)

## 2) HERALDRY

Arms in the windows:

(1) ...*or a fess of five fusills sable* (Percy ancient for Baron Percy of Alnewick, cf. Burke p.792; east window - cf. Hutton p.25 and Dugdale f.171<sup>r</sup> below; also sedilia with Percy arms at All Saints Pavement)

(2) ... *Argent on a bend sable 3 owles Argent* (Henrisson/Hesyl arms, cf. Hutton (4) below)

(Keepe p.125)

In the east window: *Or 5 fusills in fesse sa* (Baron Percy of Alnewick: *azure five fusills conjoined in fess or*, cf. Papworth p.892 and Burke p.792)

(Hutton York Minster p.25; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>v</sup>)

*In Orientali fenestra Cancelli* (east window of chancel):

(a) *or five fusils in fesse sa* (cf. Hutton p.25 and Keepe (1) above; cf. sedilia with Percy arms at All Saints Pavement)

(Dugdale f.171<sup>r</sup>)

*In Boreali fenestra Alae Borealis* (north window of north aisle):

(a) *b a lion ermine and ermines - chapeau and crest above* (Blackburn)

(Dugdale f.171<sup>r</sup>; cf. Johnston below)

In a window of the north aisle of the church: (effigy of Reginald Bawtre on left and arms of Blackburne on right)

(Johnston p.186, plate 83; cf. Dugdale above)

In a south window of the south aisle of the church: 1st stantion (man with scroll:) *Ora...p...no*, (woman with scroll:) *...dign...effican...p(ro)u...* (below them shield with arms of Blackburn); 3d stantion (man and two women)

(Johnston p.186, plate 83)

Coats of Arms in the Church:

On a wooden knott over the chancell roof is depicted *Erm on a bend sab 3 goats heads couped A* (\*roof boss, arms of John Gilyot, rector)

In the north aisle window by the door is the picture of Blackthorn in armour kneeling & this escotcheon by him *Gu a lyon rampt checky ermine & sable crowned O. Crest a lyon passt checky erm & sab* (\*nIV Corporal Acts of Mercy, no Blackburn effigy, Bawtre effigy instead)

(Torre p.624, plate 91)

In the E end window of this N quire: *barry of seven (sic - six?) or and gu a bend azure* (also in a window at St. Martin Micklegate, cf. Keepe below)

In the west window of the south isle by the steeple: *argent a bend azure*



(Torre p.625, plate 92)

### 3) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS


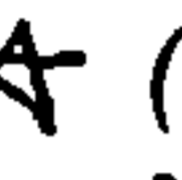
In a south window: two men & a woman praying under them this: *Orate pro aiabus dni Jacobi Raguley (Baguley) istius rectoris ... Robti Chapman ... uxoris eiusdem.* At the side of it *Or a fess bet 3 (lozenges) B*

(Hutton York Minster p.25; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>v</sup> originally gave heraldic blazon but this is now cut through)


In north windowes these:

(1) *Gu a  (?lion rampant) chequy ers crowned Or the crest a  (?lion rampant) chequy ... a chapeau ... Er Ers upon [Blackburne] a man praying behind his head his armes Ar a lyon passt gardt & a cheif s(able) under him ... reginaldi bawtrie ...*

(Hutton York Minster pp.25-26; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.15<sup>r</sup>)

(2) a man praying with a woman behind him at his side his armes *Gu  (?lion rampant) chequy Er Ers on his shoulder a  (mullet of five points) peircd Or under all this Orate pro aiabus Nicolai Blakburne junior et Margerie uxoris sue orate itaqz pro aiabus omnium sanctorum*

(Hutton York Minster p.26; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.15<sup>r</sup> gives inscription from 'orate...')

(3) a man in armor praying on his surcoat his armes a  (?lion rampant) chequy Er ers or the side of him also his armes under him this *Orate pro aiabus Nichi Blakeburne senioris quondam majoris civitatis eborum et Margerie uxoris sue istius fenestre luminare ...*

(Hutton York Minster p.26; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.15<sup>r</sup>)

(4) severall men praying, under them these broken inscriptions: ... *wiloby ... dni hesyl ... roger henrison et cecilie uxor eius ... abel hesyl et agnete et ...* in this last window *Ar on a bend sa 3 owles Ar*

(Hutton York Minster p.26; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.15<sup>r</sup>)

(In margin:) *Crest a lyon passt checqui er & ers crown or*

Blackborn

(Shield) *G. a lyon rampt*

po. rt.

window in S aisle)

*checqui er & ers crowned or (?\*Bawtre & Blackburn*

(Dodsworth 157 f.17<sup>r</sup>)

In a window on the north ... of the church: *G. a lyon rapt chequi er & ers crowned or, on a helme Ar a chapeau g doubled Ar on y. On a lyon passt Chequi er & ers crowned or mantled gu doubled ar* underneath this inscription: *Orate p aia Nicholai Blackborne cujus aia ppicietur deus* (Bawtre & Blackburn window in N aisle)

(Dodsworth 157 f.17<sup>r</sup>)

In the north window of the quyer: A man kneeling on his brest *gu a lyon rampt chequi er & ers crowned or* underneath this inscription: *Orate p aiabus Nichi Blackborne senioris quondam Maior instius (sic) civitatis Ebor et Margarete uxis sue et omniu fidelii defunctoru.* In the same window a man kneeling by him the coate aforesd differenced wth a mollett or & under itt this inscription: *Orate p aiabus Nicholai Blackborne Junioris et Margarete uxis sue itaque p aiabus omniu benefactoru istius fenestre luminare ... vitrio (\*I, former nII)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.17<sup>r</sup>)

In ye N quire side window are the pictures of Nic. Blackburn & his lady kneeling at prayer. He in armour wth spurrs on his heels wth a shield of his arms upon his breast. And another over his head ut supra. And an escrowle issuing out of his mouth containing *Det venie munus nobis Rex.* She wth her back towards him holding a prayer book wherein is written *Dna salva me a peccatis & Aperies et os meum.* Under them both is inscribed *Orate pro aiabz Nicholai Blakborne sen quondam maioris Civitatis Ebor et Margarete uxis eius*

(Torre p.624, plate 91)

In the next light of the same window are drawn the portratures of Nicholas Blackburn jun. & his wife kneeling together she holding a book open in her hands wherein is writ *dne furore tuo judica me neqz in ira tua.* And his shield of arms by him is this viz *gu a lyon rampt checky erm & sab wth a mullett on his breast*

(Torre p.625, plate 92)

#### 4) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

On the far stone under the other inscription (south aisle of the choir): *Orate quisquis (quilibet) spiritualiter (specialiter) precibus pro aiabus Thome Clerke quondam clerici civitatis Ebor et socius com et Margarete ux q obierunt xvi diebus Febr et Martij A<sup>o</sup> dni M CCCC LXXXIJ quorum aiabz ppiciet ds Amen (\*brass)*

(Johnston p.187, plate 84; Keepe p.123 has *Thomae Clerke quondam civi civitat Eboric Attornat comm;* Gent p.162; Hutton York Minster p.25; Hutton Lansdowne f.14<sup>v</sup>; Torre p.620, plate 87; full inscription in Stephenson p.5)

On another (stone) adjoining to the former (in the south aisle of the choir): *Orate spiritualiter pro animabus Willmi Stockton et Roberti Colynson quondam majores civitatis Ebor et Isabella uxoris eorundem quorum animabus propicietur deus Amen (\*brass)*

(Johnston p.187, plate 84; Keepe p.123; Gent p.162; Hutton York Minster p.24; Hutton Lansdowne f.14<sup>v</sup>; Torre p.620, plate 87; full inscription in Stephenson p.6)

(monument in S choir) Cut on the stone floor: *Hic jacet Johes de Wardalle ... uxor ei...* (\*floor slab reused for Stockton brass)

(Johnston p.187, plate 84; Hutton York Minster p.24; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>v</sup>; Torre p.620 adds: 'in the south quire', plate 87; fuller version in Stephenson p.6)

On a stone in the south isle of the church: *Orate pro aia Willmi Londisdall de Ebor tanner et p aiabz Elene et Alicie uxorum eius A dni M CCCC LXXX septimo* (\*freestone floor slab)

(Johnston p.187, plate 84; Hutton York Minster p.25; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>v</sup>; Torre p.623 sees this in the N aisle, plate 90)

(monument in N aisle) On another: *Orate pro aia Johis Coupeland civis et tannator Ebor* (\*freestone floor slab)

(Johnston p.187, plate 84; Hutton York Minster p.25; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>v</sup>; Torre p.623 adds: 'in the N aisle' and gives name as Siemupland, plate 90)

At the west end: *Johannes Bawtry* (\*freestone floor slab)

(Johnston p.187, plate 84; Torre p.624, plate 91)

At foot of last (stone in the nave) lyes a white stone whereon is inscribed: *Hic jacet Willielmus Graie quondam major civitatis Ebor et Katherina uxor ejus quorum aiabus pptur deus Amen*

(Torre p.624, plate 91)

In the south isle of the church: *Orate p aia Ricardi Killingholme Johanne et Margarete uxor eius* (\*freestone floor slab)

(Johnston p.187, plate 84; Hutton York Minster p.25; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>v</sup>; Torre p.623, plate 90)

In the middle isle of the church: *Hic jacet Willelmus de Dale quondam civis Eboraci et Ema uxor eius quorum etc*

(Johnston p.188, plate 85)

In the ... south window of the body of the church (\*sV, 9 orders of angels)

(Johnston p.188, plate 85)

In a window of the north isle (\*nIII, Prick of Conscience)

(Johnston p.194, plate 86)

In the chancel: *Hic jacent Thomas de Kyllingwke quondam civis Ebor et Juliana uxor eiusdem quorum animabus propicietur deus amen* (\*freestone floor slab)

(Gent p.162; Hutton York Minster p.24 and Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>v</sup> both give wife's name as Johanna; Torre p.622, plate 89)

In a window (location unknown): *Orate p aiabz Richardi Killingholme et Johanne et Margaretae uxorbz eius*

(Dodsworth 157 f.17<sup>r</sup>)

(monument in N choir) *Hic jacet Johannes Rothan* (\*freestone floor slab, reads Rothum 1390)

(Keepe p.125; Hutton York Minster p.25 and Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>v</sup> both give name as Crothurne; Torre p.622 gives name as Rotburn and adds: 'in the N quire', plate 89)

### All Saints Pavement

(\*nave and nave aisles)

(RCHM, *York* 5, 1-5)

#### 1) HERALDRY

Arms in the windows:

(1) York civ. *Argent on a cross Gules five lyoncells passant guardant or*

(2) Canterbury See. *Azure a stafe in pale or thereon a cross pattee Argent surmounted by a pall of the last charged with 4 crosses pattee fitchy sable*

(3) Merchants of ye staple. *Barry wavy of 6 Argent & Sable on a Reife (chief?) Gules a lyon of England*

(Keepe p.122)

*In Australibus fenestris Navis Ecclesiae* (south windows of nave):

(a) *arg on a chief g a f.d.l. or between two spearheads A*

(b) *A on a cross g five lions or* (City of York - cf. Keepe (1) above)

(c) *Barry wavy of six* (no tinctures), *on a chief g a leopard (?)* (Merchants of the Staple? cf. Keepe (3) above)

(Dugdale f.171<sup>r</sup>)

Sculptum super duobus Sedilibus (carved over two sedilia:  shaped shields):

(a) *Qu 1 & 4 a lion ..., 2 & 3 three lucies hauriant* (Percy earl of Northumberland - C&W p.133, Burke p.792)

(b) *Qu 1 as (a) above, 2 ...five fusills in fesse, 3 barry of six ... a bend ..., 4 ...(?)three leopards debriused by a bendlet, 5 ...(?)a pheon (or ?three piles)*

(a) and (b) engrailed top and bottom

(Dugdale f.171<sup>r</sup>)

*In Orientali fenestra Cancelli* (east window of chancel):

(a) *g a saltire arg* (Nevill)

(b) *g a chief indented or*

(c) *arg on a cross g five lions or* (City of York - cf. Keepe (3) above)

(Dugdale f.171<sup>r</sup>)

Arms in the same (church):

In the window at the steeple end: *impaled 1 gu on a bend A 3 birds sab 2 (blank)*

In the N quire is cutt on the head of a stall Percy with his quarterings: *quarterly of 5: 1 quarterly 1 & 4 a lion, 2 & 3 three lucies, 2 five fusils in fesse, 3 barry of six a bend, 4 (unclear) debruised by a bend, 5 a ?pheaon* (cf. Dugdale above)


On two wooden knotts under the roof of the nave:

*A a chev sab inter 3 bulls heads cabossed gu*

*A a chev inter 2 mulletts pierced in chief & san annulet in base sab*

(Torre p.226, plate 95)

## 2) INSCRIPTIONS AND HERALDRY

Near the belfry: *Hic jacet Johannes de Acaster quondam major Eboraci qui obiit A dni M CCC LXXIX in die Sancti Bricij et Isolda ux quae obiit ... die ... A dni M CCC ... quorum etc* (In margin: *Isolda ux eius fundavit cantari' ista ecclesia 1386*). Arma: *A ^ (chevron) ent 3*  (acorns)  
...

(Dodsworth 161 f.31<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.217 also sketches arms: *on a chevron 3 acorns*, plate 96; Isolda's chantry was licensed 1383; Torre p.225 adds arms: *on a chevron 3 cups covered*, plate 102)

(monument in chancel) *Hic jacet Johannes Feriby bina vice major hujus civitatis Ebor qui in officio majoris decessit xv<sup>o</sup> die mensis maij A dni millimo quadringentesimo LXXXX<sup>o</sup> primo et Milicent uxoris eius qua obiit octavo die mensis Novembris A dni 1470 Amen*. Arma: *On a bend 3*  
...

(Dodsworth 161 f.31<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.226, plate 95; Keepe p.120 has dates 15 March 1491 and 8 November 1480; Torre p.222 adds: 'in the chancell or middle quire' and gives dates 25 March 1491 and 8 Oct 1470, plate 99. John Feriby's will was made 21 March 1490 and proved 6 June 1491)

## 3) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY



In the quire: *Hic jacent Thomas Beverley quondam maior istius civitatis Ebor ac mercator Staple Villae Cales qui obiit undecimo die mensis Augusti A dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC LXXX et dna Alicia uxor eius quae quidem Alicia obiit ... die ... quoru aiabz ppitietur deus Amen*

(Dodsworth 161 f.31<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.215, plate 93; Keepe p.120; Torre p.221, plate 98)

On a plate of brass ... at the north door: *Hic jacet Willms Fenwick civis Ebor et Margareta ux eius qui obierunt diebus xxv et xxvj mensis Septembris A dni M CCCC XXI<sup>o</sup>*

(Dodsworth 161 f.33<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.217, plate 94; Torre p.224 adds 'by the N door N aisle', omits surname and gives date as 26 December 1421, plate 101)

(monument) In the south isle of the church: *Orate p aiabus Willmi Todd quondam vic(ecomes) hujus civitatis Agnetis ux sua (sic - suae) qui quidem Willmus obiit ... die ... A dni M CCCC ... et dna Agneta obiit ultimo die Augusti A dni M CCCC LXXIX quorum aiabz etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.33<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.228, plate 97; Torre p.223 sketches brass but gives only first three words of inscription, plate 100. Torre shows two children's effigies while Johnston shows three)

(monument in chancel)

*Quod iacet hic stratum sub saxo corpus humatum*

*Vertitur in cineres quod fuit ante cinis*

*Hinc recolas qui laude vales et corpore flores*

*Et quod via sapiens vilis et egra lues*

*Aurum quid mortis valeat vinclis resolutis*

*Perpendat quivis vir puer et iuvenus*

*Fame percelebris Gyliott fuit iste Johannes*

*Bis maioratus gessit honoris onus*

*Hic populum studuit placida perfundere pace*

*Urbis qua murus civibus alter erat*

*Venerabilis vir iste vicesimo quinto die mensis Septembris decessit A<sup>o</sup> dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC LXXXiiij cuius animae propitietur deus Amen. Hic dormit cara secum sua sponsa Johanna et proles quas protulit ecce sibi nomina sunt haec Johanna Alis Agnes Katherina Johannes*

(The inhumed corpse which lies here strewn under a rock is turned to ashes, which was itself previously ashes. Henceforth contemplate this, you who are flourishing in praise and flowering in body, what was once a wise man is now base unfortunate corruption. Let anyone judge carefully, whether he is man, boy or youth, what is the use of gold to a dead man when the bonds of death are released? This was John Gyliot illustrious in fame. Twice he bore the burden of honour of the mayoralty. He applied himself to bestow the gifts of tranquil peace upon the people of the city in which he was another wall (i.e. defense) to the citizens. This venerable man died on the 25th day of the month of September in the year of our lord 1484, on whose soul may God have mercy Amen.

Here sleeps with him his beloved bride Joan and the offspring which she bore. These are their names: Joan, Alice, Agnes, Katherine and John)

(Dodsworth 157 f.25<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.227, plate 96; Keepe p.119; Torre p.223 adds 'in the chancell or middle quire', plate 100)

(monument in chancel) *Orate p aia Johis Gyliot grammaticae magister et aiabus (sic - aia) magistri Willelmi parsonae in ecclesia collegiat Sci Johi Beverlac LVIIJ annos hic jacentis qui obiit xix<sup>o</sup> die mensis Julij A dni M CCCC LXXX IIIJ<sup>o</sup> cuius aie etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.31<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.217, plate 94; Torre p.222 adds 'in the chancell or middle quire', omits surname and gives date 19 July 1483, plate 99. Gyliot's will was made 20 July 1484 and proved 15 Sep 1484)

(monument in chancel) *Hic jacet Robertus Crathorne armiger qui obiit xv die mensis martij A<sup>o</sup> dni M CCCC LXIIIJ cujus aia ppicietur deus Amen (\*brass)*

(Johnston p.217, plate 94; Keepe p.120; Torre p.221 adds 'in the chancell or middle quire', plate 98; full inscription in Stephenson p.10)

(monument in chancel) *Hic jacet Robertus de Ampleford quondam civis Ebor et Magdalena (sic - Margareta) ux eius quorum aie in pace requiescant (In margin: Robt Ampleford founded a chantry in this church 24 January 1378)*

(Dodsworth 161 f.32<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.217, plate 94; Torre p.222 adds: 'In the chancell or middle quire', plate 99)

(monument in nave) *Hic jacent Johannes Thornton nuper draper et Katherine uxore ejus juxta sepulcrum Willmi Pountfrette socij eorum tumulati (in margin: W... Pountfret ... in ista ecclesia 1485 - sic 1385, antiquarian transcription error, cf. wills in Appendix A.2)*

(Dodsworth 161 f.31<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.226, plate 95; Keepe p.121; Torre p.224 adds: 'in the nave', plate 101)

(monument in the nave) *Orate pro anima Thome Gare quondam majoris istius civitatis et Katherine uxoris sue obiit vero predictus Thomas ... die ... A dni M CCCC XXX quibus etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.31<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.226, plate 95; Keepe p.121; Torre p.224 gives date as 1445 and adds: 'in the nave', plate 101)

(monument in nave) *Orate p aiabz Thome Brounfleet quondam vicecomitis comitatus Eboraci et Alicia uxoris suae qui quidem Thomas obiit vij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Octob A dni M CCCC LVIIJ<sup>o</sup> quorum etc.*

(Dodsworth 161 f.32<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.226, plate 95; Keepe p.121 has date 8 Oct 1458; Torre p.224 adds: 'in the nave' and sketches a merchant's mark, plate 101)

(monument by the steeple) *Hic jacet Robertus Bridesale et Matilda uxore eius quilibet orans pro eis habebit D C*

(Dodsworth 161 f.32<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.227, plate 96; Torre p.225 adds: 'By the steeple' and gives inscription as *Hic jacent Robertus Bridecale et Matilde uxor ejus quilibet oremus pro aiabus. Pater et ave*, plate 102)

(monument by the steeple) *Orate p aia Ricardi Welles quondam chandeler Ebor et Avicie ux sue ac liberorum eorum*

(Dodsworth 161 f.32<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.227, plate 96; Torre p.225 adds: 'By the steeple' and gives wife's name as Marie, plate 102)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p animabus Thome Santon quondam majoris huius civitatis et Beatricis ac Johanne uxor(um) ejus quibus propicietur deus amen*

(Dodsworth 161 f.31<sup>r</sup>)

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Johes Crathorne armiger qui obiit xi<sup>o</sup> die mensis martij A dni M CCCC LXIII<sup>o</sup> cuius etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.31<sup>r</sup>)

(unspecified location) *Orate p aia Agneti de Brounflete*

(Dodsworth 161 f. 32<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.227, plate 96)

### (\*Holy Trinity Goodramgate

RCHM, *York 5*, 5-9; J.A.Knowles, 'The East Window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York', *YAJ* 28 1924, 1-24; P.E.S.Routh, 'A Gift and Its Giver: John Walker and the East Window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York', *YAJ* 58 1986, 109-21

### 1) ICONOGRAPHY

Window over altar contains St. George, St. John Baptist, wounded Christ, St. John the Divine (Evangelist), St. Christopher, BVM and Joseph, Joachim St. Anne and BVM, BVM as patroness to her votaries (*sic* - St. Ursula). Three times below BVM painted with divers Appellations as Sancta Maria, Regina Coeli etc. 2 other effigies of St. Paulinus and St. William (\*windows I, nII, sII)

In N windows are arms of Mowbrays, Percys, Rosses, Veres and English. (\*Provence and England in sIII; Ros and De Vere in sVI; Percy ancient and Mowbray in sVII)

(Gent p.189)

Full sketch of E window. L to R topmost row: St. George, St. John Baptist, Corpus Christi, St. John Evangelist, St. Christopher. L to R next row: Mary Cleophas & Alpheus & family, Anne & Joachim & family, Coronation of BVM, Mary Salome & Zebedee & family, St. Ursula. L to R next row: 5 figures of BVM as *Domina Mundi, Regina Celi, Mater Christi, Mater Ecclesie, Imperatrix Inferni*. Bottom row: St. Paulinus

(\*I, nII, sII)

(Johnston p.256, plate 109)

E window bottom row L to R: 3 panels each with sitting bishop saint and kneeling effigy(ies). (1) (St. Paulinus) *aiabus Jo*, kneeling man and woman; (2) (St. Aidan?) *Willelmi Thorppe et Isabella, Saed...ia*, kneeling man and woman; (3) (St. William) *dni Willi*, kneeling bishop. Other 2 panels not sketched but described thus: 4th station A Bp like the 2d and a scroll *Scē Willi dñs* the man on his right hand and the woman on his left, the mans garmt b and his hat of his shoulder g the womans garmt b. In the 5th station A Bp like the 1st only cross on left looking towards the middle and the man in b and hat g and the woman habit like the 1st and blew gown with a girdle A

(Johnston p.336, plate 110)

## 2) HERALDRY

Armes in the windows:

(1) *Argent a cheveron sable betweene 3 mullets or* (Holme?: *Ar a chev az betw three chaplets gu* according to Burke p.501 or Walker arms, cf. Torre sketch plate 114 and plates 106, 108)

(2) Canterbury See. *Impaleing quarterly 1 & 4 Arg a fess Gules &c*

(3) Kemp. *Gules a Garbe within a bordure ingr or (\*I)*

(4) England. *Gules 3 Lyons pass gard barrways or (\*sIII, arms of Edward I)*

(5) Ross. *Gules 3 waterbudgets Argent (\*sVI)*

(6) Vere. *Quarterly G & or in ye first qu a mullet of 6 points peirced Arg (\*sVI)*

(7) Mowbray. *Gules a Lyon ramp Arg (\*sVII)*

(8) Percy. *Or a Lyon ramp B (\*sVII)*

(9) *Paly of 6 or & Gules*

(10) *Gules a cross Patence or (Latimer)*

(11) *A cheveron betwene 3 chaplets* is out in stone against one of the south pillars (Holme - \*shield on S aisle archway to chapel of St. James, i.e. Holme/Howme chantry chapel)

(Keepe p.165)

*In fenestris dictae Ecclesiae:*

(a) *Paly of six or and g* (cf. Keepe (10) above)

(b) *g a lion A (\*sVII)* (cf. Keepe (7) above; Mowbray - C&W p.129)

(c) *Or a lion b (\*sVII)* (cf. Keepe (8) above; Percy - C&W p.133)

(d) *G three leopards or* (Edward I's arms of England - cf. Keepe (11) above)

(e) *three water bougets arg* (Ross - cf. Keepe (5) above)

(Dugdale f.169<sup>r</sup>)

*Adhuc in fenestris dictae ecclesiae:*

(a) *Qu g and or, in 1st quarter a mullet A (de Vere - cf. Keepe (6) above)*

(b) *A a chevron g between three mullets ?sa (Holme arms or Walker arms cf. Keepe (1) above and Torre sketch plate 114 and plates 106, 108)*

(c) *B an archiepiscopal cross surcharged with a pall A charged with three cross crosslets fitchy sa impaling qu 1 & 4 [qu 1 & 4 three lozenges, 2 & 3 ?an eagle displayed] 2 & 3 g a saltire ?sa a label of three points (?) (See of York Ancient impaling Neville for George Neville Archbishop of York)*

(d) *g a garb or, a bordure engrailed or (Kemp - cf. Keepe (3) above)*

(Dugdale f.169<sup>v</sup>)

In the S window of the W end by the steeple is this coat (*gules a cross patonce or - Latimer*)

And in the window on ye N side the steeple are these 3 escocheons viz (\*sVII) (left: *bendy of 6 or and gules*; middle: *gules a lion rampant argent - Mowbray*; right: *or a lion rampant azure - Percy*)

(Torre p.30, plate 113)

In the N isle 3 windows are these 3 escocheons viz (\*sIII, sVI, sVII) (England: *gules 3 leopards or*; Ros: *gules 3 water bougets argent*; Vere Earl of Oxford: *quarterly gules and or in the first quarter a mullet argent*)

In our ladies chapell or quire viz on the outside thereof is cutt in stone these two escocheons viz (on left a merchant's mark, possibly of Robert Howme; on right *a chevron between 3 chaplets* for Holme/Howme (\*merchant's mark and arms; cf. Keepe p.165 above and plates 106, 114)

And on the wall side thereof are depicted upon wood these twelve escocheons in a row viz (Baynes, Ryther, Ayscough, Mallory, Burton, Fairfax, Slingsby, Warrington, ?, Challoner, Lumley, Luce)

(Torre p.31, plate 114)

### 3) INSCRIPTIONS AND HERALDRY

At top of the E window are these 3 coats viz (*argent a chevron sable between 3 mullets of five points or?* - for John Walker?; *an archiepiscopal cross impaling 1 & 4* (unclear) - See of York Ancient impaling Neville for George Neville: *gules a garb or a bordure engrailed or* - Thomas Kemp, plate 108). And the 5 lights are portrayed with generall images of our lord & lady & other saints & also writ these 5 verses: *1/ Walcar rectoris anime miserere Johannis 2/ hic dns hic istam fieri fecit atque fenestram 3/ hoc in cancello deitatis absque duello 4/ Anno milleno C quater & septuageno 5/ ... tamen adjuncto, rex in honore tuo (\*I)*

On the roof are these two escocheons viz (on left *gules a garb or a bordure engrailed or* - Kemp; on right *gules on a chevron argent 2 lyons passt gules* - unknown)

(Torre p.29, plate 112)

#### 4) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

On a gravestone in the south isle of the quire: *Orate p animabus Thomae Danby quonda maioris civitatis Ebor qui obiit tertio die maij A dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> VIIJ<sup>o</sup> et Matilde uxoris eius quae obiit iij die Januarij Ao dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> XIIJ<sup>o</sup> quoru animabus ppi deus amen (\*brass)*

(Dodsworth 161 f.40<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.336, plate 110; Keepe p.164 gives dates 3 May 1458 and 4 Jan 1463; Torre p.30 gives dates 10 May 1458 and 4 Jan 1464, plate 113; Gent p.188 gives dates 3 May 1463 and 23 Jan 1463. Stephenson p.12 gives Thomas's date as 3 May 1458 and Matilda's as 4 Jan 1463 from the surviving brass. According to the probates of their respective wills, Thomas died by 20 May 1458 and Matilda died by 31 Dec 1463)

In the qwyer window in centrall stanchons men and their wiefs kneeling. first stanchon broken in y<sup>e</sup> second:

*Orate p aiabus Willmi Thorppe et Isabella uxor sua et omnium liber... suorum necnon omnium benefactorum.*

*Orate p aia dns Willmus de Egremond civis Ebor.*

*Orate p aiabus Johis Biller et ... uxoris sue ac omnium liberorum suorum necnon omnium benefactorum*

(Dodsworth 161 f.40<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.336, plate 110)

In the east window (\*I):

*... Walcar rectoris (animae miserere) Johannis qui (deus) hic istam fieri fecit (atque) fenestram hoc cum cancello (deitatis) absque (duello) Anno millimo C quatuor et septuagesimo I (... tamen adjuncto rex in honore tuo)*

(May God have mercy on the soul of John Walker rector who had this window made and with this enclosure of the deity after the battle in the year 1471 ... nevertheless connected o king in your honour)

(Johnston p.337)

By the font lies a white stone: *Hic jacet johannes youle quondam civis et mercer ebor cuius anime propicietur deus amen* (\*coffin lid moved to Holy Trinity from St. Leonard's hospital by 1691, cf. chapter 1 section 1.3.1)

(Torre p.30, plate 113)

(monument in the nave) On ... side of last another white stone: *Orate pro aia Willi Pollerneham*

(Torre p.30, plate 113)

## Holy Trinity King's Court

(rebuilt 1861, demolished 1937)

### 1) ICONOGRAPHY

Painted windows:

N of altar - marriage of Joseph to Virgin, salutation of angel, meeting of Elizabeth and BVM, offering of kings, old Simeon who sang his *Nunc Dimittis*, BVM brought to the Temple, emblem of divine shepherd and his flock.

Window over altar - Christ in Judgment etc. Underneath is descent of holy ghost upon Apostles, Christ's ascent to heaven, raising of Lazarus from the dead, angel appearing at Christ's sepulchre, Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen in garden, Christ carrying cross to be crucified, the cruel Jews erecting it, he crucified thereon, laid in his sepulchre, rising and triumphing over death, in last pane of all he standing before Pontius Pilate.

Here the Reader may perceive I have taken 'em as they really are; tho' I think it a great Pity they should be so very much displac'd in the Parts of True and Scriptural History.

(Gent p.188)

### 2) HERALDRY

(Arms in unspecified location):

(1) *Gules, a chevron ermine between 3 lions rampant or (argent)*. (stonework, cf. Johnston below)

(2) *Argent, a chevron gules between 3 fleurs-de-lis sable*. (stonework, cf. Johnston below; ?Bellasis, cf. Torre p.516 under St. Cuthbert)

(3) *Argent, on a bend cottised azure 3 griffins passant or*.

(4) *Or, a lion rampant azure debruised by a bendlet gobony argent and gules*. (Percy of Holderness, county York, cf. C&W p.133 and Burke p.793)

(5) *Argent, a saltier gules*. (Nevill)

(Glover p.431; Glover CA f.235<sup>v</sup> shows *lions or* in shield (1); Glover Harley 1394 f.154<sup>v</sup> shows *lions argent* in shield (1) and also shows two pairs of linked shields namely (1) and (2) as one pair and (3) and (4) as another, plate 230; Glover Harley 1420 f.222<sup>v</sup> shows *fleurs de lys or* in shield (1) rather than lions and also shows shields in a different order, namely (1), (2), (4), (5), and (3), it also gives a field *azure* for shield (4); Glover Add.18011 f. 258<sup>v</sup> gives shields in order (1), (2), (4), (5), and (3) and shows *lions or* in shield (1); Glover refers to this church as 'Christ Church', which was its other name)

Cut in stone over the top of an arch behind the north isle in a chapelle further northward:

*a chevron between three lions rampant* (cf. Glover above)

*a chevron between three fleurs de lys* (cf. Glover above; ?Bellasis, cf. Torre p.516 under St. Cuthbert)

(Johnston p.342, plate 115)

### 3) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

(in a window) *Per chevron argent and gules a crescent countercharged.* John Chapman who died the 19 of Marche A<sup>o</sup> Dni 1530 of the age of 63 buried in the Minster (arms of Chapman, London and Yorkshire, cf. Burke p.185)

(Glover Harley 1394 f.154<sup>v</sup>, plate 230)

### 4) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

In a window: *Orate p aiabus Johis Kirkeby et Johe uxoris sue et pro aiabus liberorum eorum*

(Dodsworth 161 f.34<sup>r</sup>)

In another window: *Orate p aiabus Alani Hyll Willmi Bolton et Agnetis*

(Dodsworth 161 f.34<sup>r</sup>)

On a plate of brass near the west ... (end): *Hic jacent Johes Towthorpe quodam vicecomes huius civitatis et Margareta uxor eius qui quidem Joh obiit xiiij die mensis Nov A<sup>o</sup> dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC LXXXI<sup>o</sup> et Willm Towthorp et Isabella uxor sua quorum etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.41<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.342, plate 115)

A plated gravestone/On a plate of brass ... (on) to a marble in the north isle: *Hic jacet Thomas Kirke mercer nuper maior civitatis Ebor qui obiit ix<sup>o</sup> die mensis April Anno dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> XLIJ<sup>o</sup> et Alicie uxor eius que obiit xij die mensis ... A<sup>o</sup> dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> XLV<sup>o</sup> quorum aiabz ppiciet ds Amen*

(Dodsworth 161 f.41<sup>v</sup> is the only one to report fragmentary date for Alice; Johnston p.342, plate 115; Keepe p.126; Gent p.187 gives Thomas's date 20 Apr 1442; full inscription with blanks for Alice in Stephenson p.12, yet he suggests she died sometime between 22 Jan 1445 and 4 Feb 1445 which are the dates of her will and probate respectively)

A plated gravestone in the chancel/On a plate of brass ... in the quire: *Orate p aia magistri Thome Jameson quondam majoris istius civitatis Ebor qui obiit xx<sup>o</sup> die mensis Aprilis A dni M CCCC XXXVIJ etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.41<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.342 gives date 1507 and adds a merchant's marks with letters 'T' and 'J', plate 115; Keepe p.126 gives date 15 Apr 1507; Torre p.133 gives name as Janison and date as 20 April 1527, plate 116)

By the S door lyes a stone inscribed: *Orate pro aia Willi Garton qui obiit xxv<sup>o</sup> die mens Augusti Ano dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC lx*

(Torre p.133, plate 116)



Under the steeple lyes a little white stone whereon is cutt: *Orate pro aia Henrici ... qui obijt ... die mensis ... A dni 1503 cujus aie pptur deus*

(Torre p.133, plate 116)

On N side of last lyes a blue stone whereon has been an inscription plate containing: *Hic jacent Will ... K ... et Margarita uxor ejus qui quidem Will obijt xx die mensis Decembris A<sup>o</sup> dni millimo ccccxx quorum aiabus pptur deus*

(Torre p.133, plate 116)

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Johes Bolton (Bolron?) carpentarius*

(Dodsworth 157 f.13<sup>v</sup>)

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Robertus Gaunt civis et mercator Ebor et Agnes uxor eius et Margareta filia eorundem qui Robertus obijt xij<sup>o</sup> die mensis martij A dni M CCCC<sup>o</sup> VIJ<sup>o</sup> quorum aiabz etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.41<sup>r</sup>. Gaunt was sheriff in 1408-9)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p aiabz Willmi Ormeshede quondam majoris istius civitatis Ebor qui obijt xvj<sup>o</sup> die mensis Septembris A dni M CCCC XXXVIJ<sup>o</sup> et p aiabus Elene Johanne et Agnetis uxoribus eius pro quibus omnibus dicatur Pater Noster cum Ave Maria ut eis propicietur deus in secula infinita Amen*

(Dodsworth 161 f.41<sup>v</sup>)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p aia Johis Cowpar carnificis*

(Dodsworth 161 f.41<sup>v</sup>)

### **Holy Trinity Micklegate**

(\*nave and part of crossing)

(RCHM, *York* 3, 10-16; J.Solloway, *The Alien Benedictines of York, being a Complete History of Holy Trinity Priory, York*, (Leeds 1910))

#### **1) HERALDRY**

Armes in the window:

Percy. *Or a lyon rampant Azure*

(Keepe p.166)

*In Boreali fenestra hujus Ecclesiae* (north window):

*Or a lion g* (Charleton, Delapole, Felbrigge, Holland or Leigh - C&W pp.134-6)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

Arms in the church window on N side: Percy. *Or a lion rampant azure*

(Torre p.692, plate 117)

In stone on the out side the door at the west end:

(2 untinctured shields)

(1) *a mullet of five points pierced*

(2) *on a chevron ?three mullets of five points*

(Torre p.692, plate 117)

## 2) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

On a stone in the middle isle: *Orate pro Johanni Ralmord et uxori eius*

(Johnston p.190)

Without the rayles near the S wall lyes on the ground a white stone whereon is inscribed: *Orate pro aia dni Roberti Irry marll gilde corporis xti A<sup>o</sup> dni M<sup>o</sup> 1503 cujus aie pptur deus Amen*

(Torre p.692, plate 117)

Towards ye front (of the nave) lyes a white stone insculpted on the head: *Orate pro aiabus Willi ... armigeri ... uxoris ejus*

(Torre p.692, plate 117)

By the passage to the nave lyes a little white stone inscribed on the verge: *Jacet dnus Willelmus de ... qui obijt ... m<sup>o</sup> cccclxxxii<sup>o</sup>*

(Torre p.692, plate 117)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p aia dni Robti Mern [Merwen] capellani gilde corpis christi a<sup>o</sup> dni 1403 (sic - CC Guild from 1408) cuius aie ppicietur deus Amen*

(Dodsworth 161 f.43<sup>v</sup>)

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Walterus Flos* (\*part of coffin lid)

(Dodsworth 157 f.15<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.190)

## St. Crux

(demolished 1887)

(\*parish room on site of former church)

(RCHM, *York 5*, 11-12)

### 1) HERALDRY

(monument in south choir) At foot of last lyes a blue stone escocheoned at corners having had an inscription plate at the head. The arms *a fess between three crescents*

(Torre p.167, plate 120)

### 2) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

On a gravestone in the quire: *Orate p aia Elena nuper ux Johis Waghen mercatoris qua obijt decimo quinto die Aprilis A dni M CCCC XXI cuius aie pptur deus amen*

(Dodsworth 161 f.29<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.230 adds 2 shields: *argent on cross gules five ?lions or* for City of York and *argent on a bend gules three ?lions or*, plate 118; Torre p.171 gives date 25 Apr 1421 and shows merchant's mark, plate 122; Gent p.164 gives date 25 Apr 1421)

On another (gravestone in the choir): *Hic jacent Johes Shaw olim major civitatis Ebor & Agnes uxor eius qui Johes obijt duodecimo die Feb A dni Millesimo Quingentesimo tricesimo septimo*

(Dodsworth 161 f.29<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.230, plate 118; Keepe p.137 adds: *Armes, York. civ. viz. on a cross 5 lyoncells pass gardant* and gives date 12 Feb 1538; Torre p.171 shows arms to be York City on a cross five lions and merchant's mark, plate 122; Stephenson pp.37-38. John Shaw was mayor in 1538 and died in office, however because he died before Easter the year could have been 1537)

On another (gravestone in the choir): *Orate pro aiabus Henrici Wyman quondam majoris civitatis Ebor et Agneti uxori eius filia Johi Barden qui Henricus obijt v<sup>o</sup> die Augusti A dni M CCCC XI<sup>o</sup> Agnes obijt xxij<sup>o</sup> die Septembris A dni M CCCC XIII quor aiabz ppiciet deus (\*brass)*

(Johnston p.230, plate 118; Keepe p.137 adds: *Arms viz Wyman on a cheife a flower de luce betweene 2 losengies* and gives Henry's date 5 Aug 1419 and Agnes' 22 Nov 1413; Torre p.171 gives date 5 Aug 1411 and 22 Sep 1503 (sic) and describes arms as *argent on a chief gules a f de lyz inter 2 lozenges of 1st*, plate 122; Gent p.164 gives dates 11 Aug 1414 and 22 Sep 1413; full inscription in Stephenson p.34 who gives dates 5 Aug 1411 and 22 Sep 1413. Arms of Wyman: *argent on a chief gules a fleur de lys or between two lozenges of the field*, cf. Burke p.1143)

### 3) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

On a gravestone at the low (i.e. west) end of the church: *Hic iacet dominus Johes Boulington qui obijt xij (?xv) die mensis Martij A dni millo quadringentesimo octogesimo cuius aia etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.30<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.231, plate 119)

Circumscribed about another stone: *Orate pro aia dni Johi Grinedale quondam presbiter parochiali istius ecclesia et ... dns Johes obiit xvij die mensis Januarij A dni M CCCC LXXXVIIJ quorum etc*

(Johnston p.231, plate 119)

On a stone in the body of the church: *Orate p aia Johis Lightlampe merc quonda vicecomitis istius civitatis qui obiit nonodecimo die mensis novembr anno dni millimo CCCC<sup>mo</sup> octagesimo quinto cuius aiae ppitietur deus amen*

(Dodsworth 161 f.29<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.231, plate 119; Torre p.174 gives date as 11 Nov 1485, plate 125)

In the nave: *Her lyes Thomas Curtas and Alyson his wyffe and Alyson Upsall thyr daghter on whos soul Jesu have mercy*

(Torre p.173, plate 124)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p aiabus ... Johis Brounfield presbiterij parochialis istius ecclia et ... dns Johis obiit xvij die mensis Junij a<sup>o</sup> dni M CCCC LXXXVJ<sup>o</sup> quorum aiabz pptur deus amen*

(Dodsworth 161 f.29<sup>v</sup>)

(monument in S choir) *Hic iacet Willmus Lambe quondam major istius civitatis qui obiit xxix die mensis Junij M CCCC LXXXIIIJ<sup>o</sup> quorum aiabz ppiciet deus Amen*

(\*brass)

(Dodsworth 161 f.30<sup>r</sup>; Keepe p.137 adds: *et Katherina uxor eius quae (sic) obiit xxvi die mensis Augusti*; Gent p.164 adds Katherine died 6 May; Torre p.169 adds: 'in the south quire', plate 121; full inscription in Stephenson p.37, according to which Katherine's date is 26 June)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate pro anima clementiss viri Johannis Woghen qui obiit xxv die Aprilis An Dom M CCCC XXI cujus animae prpitietur Deus Amen*

(Keepe p.137. According to CC obituary, Woghen died in 1431)

**(\*)St. Cuthbert**

(RCHM, York 5, 12-15)

1) HERALDRY

Arms in the windows:

(1) Hen V France semy & England quarterly (\*sII)

(2) Y Plantagenet D Bedford France semy & Engl quarterly

(3) *A file of 5 labells per pale erm & 3 one Ros ye 3 last charged with as many flowers de lis or* (this refers to the differences of the three shields of France & England quarterly, i.e. numbers 1, 2 and 4; this is not a shield)

(4) *Humph D Glove France semy & England quarterly within a bordure Argent*

(5) *Nevil Gules a saltire Argent (\*nIII or sIV)*

(6) *Percy or a lyon rampant Asure quartering Lucy Gules 5 lucies Rauviant (sic - hauriant) Argent*

(7) *Merchants of ye staple Argent 3 barrs wavy sable on a cheife gules a lyon passant gardant or (\*sIV)*

(8) *... Argent a cross Patonce or*

(9) *... Or on a bend sable 3 mulletts Argent*

(10) *York civ Argent S. Georges cross charged with 5 lyoncells of England (\*nIII)*

(11) *S. George viz Argent a cross Gules (\*sII or sIV)*

(12) *J Dreux com Ric cheque or & B a bordure Gules charged with 8 lyoncells pass gardant of ye first over all a canton Ermine* (cf. Dugdale and Torre below)

(Keepe p.129)

*In Borealibus fenestris Alae Aquilonaris* (north window of north aisle):

(a) *b a cross fleury or* (cf. Keepe (8) above)

(b) *or on a bend sa three mullets A* (cf. Keepe (9) above)

(c) *arg on a cross g five lions or* (City of York - cf. Keepe (10) above)

(d) *arg a cross g (\*sII or sIV, St. George - cf. Keepe (11) above)*

(e) *Chequy o & b a bordure g semée of leopards or, a canton ermine* (J. Dreux Earl of Richmond according to Keepe (12) above, or Warenne according to Torre)

(Dugdale f.169<sup>v</sup>)

*In Australibus fenestris dictae Ecclesiae* (south windows):

(a) *Qu 1 & 4 b three f.d.l.'s (?), 2 & 3 (?) three leopards (?) a label of five points (?) (\*sIII, France modern and England quarterly for Henry IV, with label of five points for eldest son, i.e. arms of Henry V - cf. Keepe (1) above)*

(b) *Qu 1 & 4 b three f.d.l.'s or, 2 & 3 g three leopards or (\*sIII, France modern and England quarterly for John Duke of Bedford, cf. Keepe (2) above)*

(c) *Qu 1 & 4 b three f.d.l.'s or, 2 & 3 g three leopards or, a bordure arg (\*sIII, France and England quarterly for Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, cf. Keepe (4) above)*

(d) *g a saltire A* (Neville - cf. Keepe (5) above)(\*sIV)

(e) *Qu 1 & 4 or a lion b, 2 & 3 g three lucies hauriant A* (Percy - C&W p.133)

(f) *A three bars wavy gu, on a chief g a leopard or* (Merchants of the Staple - cf. Keepe (7) above)

(Dugdale f.170<sup>r</sup>)

*In Occidentali fenestra Alae Borealis* (west window of north aisle):

(a) *Arg on a chief ?sa two f.d.l.'s ?ermine*

(Dugdale f.170<sup>r</sup>)

Coats of arms in the Church:

In the W window by the steeple: *sab 3 f de lyz erm* (cf. Dugdale above)

In the N side windows:

(1(st from) W(est) York City: *argent on a cross gules 5 lions or*;

2(nd from) W(est) Warren (*sic*): *chequy a bordure a canton ermine* (*sic* - John Dréux duke of Brittany & earl of Richmon, cf. Johnston and Dugdale above);

3(rd from) W(est) St. George: *argent a cross gules*;

4(th from) W(est) Fitzgerald (or Neville of Hornby): *argent a cross saltire gules* (\*City of York in nIII, St. George in both sII and sIV; Fitzgerald or Neville of Hornby arms: *argent a saltire gules*, cf. Burke p.354)

In one of the windows on the S side by the door (left to right) Neville: *gules a saltire argent*; Percy & Lucy: *quarterly 1 & 4 or a lion b 2 & 3 gules 3 lucies argent*; Merchants of the Staple (not identified by Torre): *argent three bars wavy sable on a chief gules a ?leopard or* (\*Neville in sIV)

In the next window on the S side by the door: (4 shields, left to right, first 3 *quarterly 1 & 4 three fleurs de lys 2 & 3 ?three lions*, arms of France modern quartering England for Henry IV) *1st France & England with a fyle of 5 points parted per pale erm & B* (for Henry V cf. Keepe and Dugdale above); (2nd shield no difference; 3rd shield *a bordure argent* for Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, cf. Keepe and Dugdale above; 4th shield described as) *Bellasis argent a chevron gules charged with 3 bizantes between three fleurs de lys b* (\*sIII)

(Torre p.516, plate 126)

## 2) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

In the north window: A man kneeling in armor on his brest *G a lyon rampt chequi er & ers crowned or a [label of 3 points] or* about his necke (Blackburn arms, cf. All Saints North St.) his wief 3 sons & on(e) da(ughter) & under all: *Orate p aiabus Johannis Blackborne et Johane uxor eius qui fecerunt istam fenestram*

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>r</sup>)

In a window adjoining (the gravestone in the chancel, see below): A man kneeling in a red gowne 5  
sonnes behind him by line *er. 3 bows & on a canton a fr(et)* behind him his wief & five da(ughters):  
*Pray the holy trynity for Wm Bowes et Isabella Bothe he mad the window*

(Dodsworth 157 f.10<sup>v</sup>)

North window: A man kneeling besides him 3 beares rampt or & lesour it Bu behind his wiefe dn by  
her B 3 [water bougets] or (Ross arms - cf. Holy Trinity Goodramgate, Keepe (5) ) under all:  
*Orate p aiabus Willm Gyselay et Alicie ux eius et Johes*

(Dodsworth 157 f.10<sup>v</sup>)

### 3) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

Epitaph/A plated gravestone in the chancell: *Orate p aiabus Willm Bowes quonda maior civitatis  
Ebor qui obiit ... die mensis ... A<sup>o</sup> dn M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> ... et Isabelle uxor eius que obiit xxi<sup>o</sup> die Julij  
Anno dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> xxv<sup>o</sup> (sic - 1435) quoru aibz ppicietur deus Amen*

(\*brass)

(Dodsworth 157 f.10<sup>v</sup>; Keepe p.128 gives Isabel's date 21 July 1435; Torre p.516 gives Isabel's  
date as 25 July 1435, plate 126; Gent p.166; full inscription with blanks for William in Stephenson  
p.46, who gives Isabel's date as 21 July 1435)

North window: *Orate p aiabus Robti Kirkby marcatoris civitate Ebor ac mercator stapul ... ac  
Katherine uxor eius qui fecerunt istam fenestram*

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>r</sup>)

### St. Denys

(\*much rebuilt, nave demolished 1798)

(RCHM, York 5, 15-19)

### 1) ICONOGRAPHY

Painted windows:

little one over N door - Assumption of BVM (\*sIII 2b and 3b)

2nd - beheading of St. John the Baptist and full size St. John (\*nV)

3rd - St. Michael and Virgin. underneath effigies of mayor, wife and son (\*nIV)

over vestry - Christ risen, St. John, magistrate praying *Domine miserere mei* (\*nIII)

NE window - genealogy of Christ(\*nII, Tree of Jesse)

over altar - bishop, BVM, Christ crucified, St. John, St. Dennis, Arms of Scroopes (\*I)

SE window - Christ, St. George, kings etc.

1st S window - St. Catherine, BVM beautifully painted, angel, saint etc. (\*sIII)

2nd - Apostles etc. (\*fragment of Creed in V&A Museum)

last near door - Salutation, Crucifixion, St. Philip

(Gent pp.167-8)

## 2) HERALDRY

*In Orientali fenestra Cancelli* (east window of chancel):

(a) *b a bend or, a label of three points arg* (Scrope of Masham - C&W p.323)(\*E window I, cf. Torre below)

(b) *B a bend or, a label of three points arg* (Scrope of Masham - C&W p.323)(\*E window I, cf. Torre below)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

*In Orientali fenestra Alae Australi* (east window south aisle):

*Arg a bend engrailed g between three estoiles of five points g* (SE window, f. Johnston below)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

*In Boreali fenestra Cancelli* (south window of chancel):

*Qu 1 & 4 b semée of f.d.l.'s or, 2 & 3 g three leopards or* (France ancient quartering England - arms of Edward III)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

*In Occidentali fenestra Alae Borealis* (west window north aisle):

*Qu 1 & 4 chequy azure and argent on a chief (?)g (a something) or, 2 & 3 seven mascles (3, 3, & 1) argent, a label of three points azure* (NW window: Unknown quartering ?St. William, cf. Torre p.476 for different reading)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

*In Occidentali fenestra Eccliae* (west window):

*Chequy arg(?) & b ... a fesse g* (only (a) has tinctures) (Clifford, W window, cf. Torre p.476 below)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

*Sculpta in exteriori parte ejusdem Ecclesiae super Sacrarium* (sculpted over exterior part over sacristy):



(a) *a saltire, impaling qu 1 & 4 three f.d.l.'s, 2 & 3 three leopards, a bordure* (arms of Neville impaling Holland dukes of Kent, outer stonework, cf. Keepe p.139 below)

(b) *Qu 1 & 4 a lion rampant, 2 & 3 three lucies hauriant* (Percy & Lucy - C&W p.133, outer stonework, cf. Keepe p.139 below)

(c) *a lion rampant*

(d) *a saltire*

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

In the east window of the south isle: *argent a chevron engrailed between three mullets of five points sable* (also kneeling figure with scroll inscribed: *inri filii dei miserere mei*) (cf. Dugdale above)

(Johnston p.208, plate 135)

On divers parts of the stonework on the outside of this church are these arms following carved which seeme as antient as Hen 6 time viz:

*A saltire Nevil Impaleing France & Engl Quarterly within a border Holland* (arms of Holland dukes of Kent: England ancient *with a bordure argent*; arms of Holland dukes of Exeter: England ancient *with a bordure or semée de liz azure* of France, cf. Burke p.499)

*On a saltire two Annulets braied Nevill*

*A lyon ramp Percy quartering 3 lucies or pyke fish hauriant Lucy* under which there hath bene an Inscription which is not at present legible onely the year of our Lord remains firme viz M CCCC XXXIX

(Keepe p.139)

Coats of arms in this church:

In the W or steeple window (Clifford - *checky O & B a fess gu*)

In the E end window over the Communion-Table are two Coats both of this Charge viz (*B a bend O a label of 3 point A* - Scrope of Masham, one for John 4th Lord Scrope and one for William Scrope master of St. Leonard's Hospital) (\*I)

In the W window of the N Quire: *1st and last checky O & B, on a chief gu a plume of feathers O, 2d & 3d gu 5 lozenges in cross A & labell of 3 points B* (cf. Dugdale above)

On the outside of the wall on back of the N Quire is this Coat in Stone Impaled viz: *1st a saltire, 2d Quarterly France & England with a border* (Neville quartering England - cf. Keepe above)

(Torre p.476, plate 139)

### 3) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

*In orientali fenestra cancelli:*

(detailed drawing of commemorative figures in east window of chancel, name inscriptions above figures, main inscription below each of 5 parts)

In 1<sup>a</sup> parte: *Georgius Percy, R...dus Percy, Dns Radulfus Percy*

In 2<sup>a</sup> parte: *Dna Anna Percy, Dna Margareta Percy, Georgius Percy le dns Egremond*

In 3<sup>a</sup> parte: *Joha, Domine miserere mei*

In 4<sup>a</sup> parte: (figure of bishop, on book: *Gaudete in domine*) *Spe rar, Henry Percy de Poinings, Dna Elianors de Poinings*

In 5<sup>a</sup> parte: *Filii dni de Poinings, Elianora filia dni de Poinings, Margret filia dni de Poinings*

(main inscription:) *Orate pro bono statu dni Henrici Percy Comititis de Northumberland et Johanna uxoris suae ac filior filiar qz suor*

(Dugdale f.127<sup>r</sup>) (Plate 128 a)

A window in the parish church of St. Dyonis-Walmgate York taken from thence about the year 1590 but now almost defaced. (Detailed drawing of kneeling figures with inscription scrolls)

(Top row, left to right):

(1) *Georgius Percy*

(2) *R...dus* (could be *Ricardus* or *Radulfus*) *Percy*

(3) *Dns Rodulfus Percy*

(4) *Dna Anna Percy*

(5) *Dna Margretta Percy*

(6) *Georgius Percy dns Egremond*

(Middle row, left to right):

(1) *Joha*

(2) *Domine Miserere Nobis*

(Bottom row, left to right):

(1) *Spe raz* (figure of a bishop, possibly Thomas Percy or William Percy)

(2) *Hen Percy de Poinings*

(3) *Dna Elianora de Poinings*

(4) *filius de Poinings*

(5) *Elianor filia dni de Percy*

(6) *Margret filia dni de Ponings*

(Main inscription underlying three rows):

*Orate pro bono statu dni Henrici Percy Comitis de Northumberland et Johanne uxoris suae ac filior filiar qz suor* (all figures wear Percy & Lucy arms on their cloaks except for figure of bishop who has a Percy & Lucy shield with *a bordure argent* in front of him, total 14 shields)

(Drake p.307, plate 128)

In a north window of the north isle of the quire (\*nIV): *Orate p aia Robti Ltun* (Skelton?) *Johe Uxoris Johi filii sui*

(Johnston p.208, plate 135; Torre p.476, plate 139)

A stone in this north quire which hath almost all been covered with brass having ... the portraiture of a man and a woman under it but now torn of which they say was for an Erle Percy

(Johnston p.208, plate 135; Torre p.474 adds: 'in the north quire ... lyes a blue marble under wch tis sayd lyes interred the body of Henry E Nland probably the same who was slayn at Towton-field on the Lancastrian side in 39 H 6', plate 137)

In a little north window over the north door ... *ketyll et p omnis fidelium defunctorum ... dni requiescat in perpetua pace amen*

(Johnston p.208, plate 135)

In the S quire lyes a white stone marked wth a pair of taylior-sheers & insculpted about its verge: *hic jacent ... & Johanna uxor sua qui obijt octavo die mensis ... Ao dni mo ccccl... quorum aiabus pptur deus amen*

(Torre p.473, plate 136)

In the N isle lyes a stone on the verge whereof is cutt *Hic jacet corpus Ricardi Fugget de civitate Ebor fysh... qui obijt XV die ... ano dni Mo CCCCXV cujus aie pptur deus Amen*

(Torre p.474, plate 137)

(monument behind S door) *Hic jacet Robertus Warde quondam civis et Mercator Eboric qui obijt xxv die Mensis Januarij Ann Dom ... cujus animae propitietur Deus Amen* (\*floor slab)

(Keepe p.138; Torre p.475 adds: 'behind the S door', gives date 1405 and sketches two merchant's marks; Gent p.167 gives date 13 Jan 1405, plate 138)

### **St. George within Fishergate Bar**

(demolished 18C)

On the out side of the church find over the south door: (monument with recumbent female effigy with marginal Lombardic inscription: *Dame ... e ... pur deu amen ...*)

(Johnston p.214, plate 140)

On walls near stopped-up gate: effigy 1487

(Gent p.168)

### St. Helen Stonegate

(\*partly demolished 1551, rebuilt 1553-4)

(RCHM, *York 5*, 20-22; J.A.Knowles, 'The Church of the Glass Painters - St. Helen's Church, York', *BSMGPJ 7* (1939), 156-159)

### 1) ICONOGRAPHY

One of N windows: St. William of York (\*wI)

W window: St. Helen (\*wI)

(Gent p.169)

### 2) HERALDRY

Armes in the windows:

(1) Fitz-hugh *Azure 3 sheveronelles brased in base & cheife or* (\*sII, NE window cf. Torre below)

(2) Beauchamp *Gules a fess between 6 cross crosslets or* (\*sII; NE window cf. Torre below)

(3) Percy & Lucy *Quarterly 1 & 4 or a lyon ramp B 2d & 3d G 3 lucies hauriant Argent* (\*sII, NE window cf. Torre below)

(4) ... *Gules 3 garbs or Impaleing Montacute qu 1 & 4 Arg a fess of 3 lozenges G & border Sab 2 & 3 or an Eagle displayed*

(5) Goldsmiths Comp *Quarterly Gules & B in the first & forth a leop head or in the 2' & 3' a cup covered between 2 bulles of the last* (\*sII, E window cf. Torre below)

(6) Glasiers company &c (\*sVII, 17C)

(Keepe p.142)

*In Orientali fenestra Alae Borealis* (east window of north aisle):

(a) *b three chevronels intertwined or* (\*sII, Fitzhugh - cf. Keepe above and Torre below)

(b) *g a fesse or between six cross crosslets or* (\*sII, Beauchamp - cf. Keepe above and Torre below)

(c) *Qu 1 & 4 or a lion azure, 2 & 3 gules three lucies hauriant* (\*sII, Percy & Lucy - cf. Keepe above and Torre below) (Percy - C&W p.133)

(d) (?) *g three garbs or, a bordure engrailed or, impaling qu 1 & 4 (?) three fusils conjoined in fesse g, 2 & 3 or an eagle displayed vert* (unknown & Montacute, cf. Keepe (4) above)

(Dugdale f.171<sup>v</sup>)

In the north quire. A new raised monument being a spotted white marble whereon was impaled: *1 per chevron crenelle O & B 3 martlets countercharged, 2 A a chev gu inter 3 hearts*

(Torre p.307, plate 142)

Coats of arms in the windows.

In the E end window of the N choir: *azure three chevrons intertwined or (\*sII, Fitzhugh, cf. Keepe and Dugdale above); Beauchamp gules a fess or between six cross crosslets or (cf. Keepe and Dugdale above); Percy & Lucy quarterly 1 & 4 a lion rampant, 2 & 3 three lucies hauriant*

In the E window of the chancell *quarterly 1st & last gules a leopard's face or 2 & 3 azure a goblet covered or (Goldsmiths, cf. Keepe above)*

In one of the windows of the south aisle: *Skirlaw argent a cross of 6 bastons (sic - osiers) sable; argent 2 grazing irons in saltire inter 4 nayles sable & a chief gules (Glaziers, cf. Keepe above)*

(Torre p.308, plate 143)

### 3) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

(monument) In the south aisle of the church: *Orate p aia magistri Philippi Snaugwell A dni M CC...*

(Johnston p.337)

S door inscription: *Mary wife of Robert Gylle pewterer vicesheriff 1479*

(Gent p.169)

### St. John Ousebridge

(\* , E wall rebuilt further W in 1850)

(RCHM, *York 3*, 16-20; E.Milner-White, 'Ancient Glass from St. John's Micklegate', *Friends of York Minster 17th Annual Report (1945)*, 14-21)

### 1) ICONOGRAPHY

North painted window - Crucifixion, Joseph conveying body to sepulchre, angels etc. (\*YM nXIX and nXX)

Underneath effigies of Sir Richard Yorke, John Randman, Richard Collet (Toller) and wives(\*YM nXIX-nXXII)

South of altar - St. George, BVM etc., St. Christopher etc., Richard Orinshead, St. John with Lamb, St. John the Baptist beheaded in prison (\*sII)

(Gent p.170)

## 2) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

(Unspecified location):

*Orate pro anima Ricardi Yorke, Militis, bis Majoris Civitatis Ebor, ac nuper Maioris Stapuleii Caliciae, et pro animabus Johanna ac Johanna, uxoris suis, ac etiam pro omnibus liberis et benefactoribus suis qui obiit ... die mensis Aprilis, A<sup>o</sup> Dni MCCCCXCVIII, vi sonnes and iv daughters. (\*YM nXIX and nXX)*

(1) *Argent, 3 bugle-horns stringed sable.* (NE window, cf. Keepe p.145, Dugdale ff. 7<sup>r</sup> and 173<sup>r</sup> and Torre p.641 below; \*YM nXX; arms of Foster: *Argent a chevron between three buglehorns vert stringed or*, cf. Burke p.370)

(2) *A blank shield impaling argent a griffin segreant sable, charged with a mullet or.* (NE window, cf. Stapleton impaling Gascoigne according to Keepe, Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXX)

(3) *Azure, a saltire argent.* Yorke. (NE window, Sir Richard Yorke, cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXX)

(4) *Same, impaling gules, 3 greyhounds courant in pale argent, collared or.* Maleverer. (NE window, Yorke impaling Mauleverer, cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXIX; Mauleverer arms: *gules three greyhounds courant in pale argent collared or*, cf. Burke p.670)

(5) *Same, impaling azure 3 cinquefoils between 8 cross crosslets argent.* (NE window, Yorke impaling Darcy, cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXIX)

(6) *Same, with a mullet sable for difference, impaling gules, on a chevron engrailed, between 3 unicorns passant argent as many mullets sable.* (NE window, Yorke impaling ?Askwith, cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXIX)

(Glover p.461)

Armes in the windows.

There is a faire painted glass window at the uperend of this church wherein are lively portrated A Knight upon his knees in Armour with a surcote of Arms over viz Asure a saltire Argent, seven sonns & four daughters likewise in the same posture kneeling And many coats of Arms over them in the same window at the bottom whereof we are given to understand by a peic of a book or inscription that this window was so adorned at the cost and charges of Sr. Richard Yorke knight twice Lord Major of this city vis 1468 [9.E.4] & MCCCCLXXX(III?) [23.E.4] And there is an antient table Monument or Tomb of Grey marble not far from hence which is reported by old men to have bene the tomb of the said Sr. Richard but by reason the Inscription Arms & portature whith which it hath formerly bene covered are now totally lost I cannot averr it or guess to whom it may otherwise appertaine

The armes in the window aforesaid are:

(1) Merchants of the staple viz *Argent 3 barrs wavy sab on a cheif gules a lyon of England* (NE window, cf. Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXX)

(2) ... *Argent 3 Buglehorns stringed sable* (NE window, cf. Glover above, Dugdale and Torre below)

(3) ... *Arg a Gryphon sergreant sable theton a mullet diff or Impaleing Gascoyne vis Argent on a pale sable a Pik head erect or* (NE window, Stapleton? impaling Gascoigne, cf. Glover above, Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXX; Stapleton arms: *argent a lion rampant sable*, cf. Burke p.964)

(4) *York Asure a saltire Argent* (NE window, Sir Richard Yorke, cf. Glover above, Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXX)

(5) *York as before Impaleing Gules 3 Greyhounds curant in pale barrways Argent* (NE window, Yorke impaling Maleverer, cf. Glover above, Dugdale and Torre below)

(6) *York in a bow Impal Darcy vis B crosilly & 3 cinqfoyles Argent* (NE window, cf. Glover above, Dugdale and Torre below; Darcy arms: *azure semee of cross crosslets and three cinquefoils argent*, cf. Burke p.262)

(7) *York as before Imp Gules on a chev ingraild betweene 3 calves passant Argent 3 mullets sable* (NE window, Yorke impaling ?Askwith cf. Glover above, Dugdale and Torre below)

(8) *York civit viz Arg on a cross Gules 5 lyoncells pass gardant or* (NE window, cf. Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXIX)

(Keepe p.145)

(Arms in unspecified location):

(1) *Argent three bugles sable* (NE window, cf. Glover p.461 above and Keepe p.145, Dugdale f. 173<sup>f</sup> and Torre p.641 below; \*YM nXX; arms of Foster: *Argent a chevron between three buglehorns vert stringed or*, cf. Burke p.370)

(2) *Argent a griffin segreant sable impaling blank* (NE window, Stapleton? impaling Gascoigne, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXX; Stapleton arms: *argent a lion rampant sable*, cf. Burke p.964)

(3) *Azure a saltire argent* (NE window, Sir Richard Yorke, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Dugdale and Torre below, \*YM nXX)

(4) *Azure a saltire argent impaling gules three greyhounds courant argent* (NE window, Yorke impaling Maleverer, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Dugdale and Torre below)

(5) *Azure a saltire argent impaling three cinquefoils between eight cross crosslets argent* (NE window, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Dugdale and Torre below; Darcy arms: *azure semee of cross crosslets and three cinquefoils argent*, cf. Burke p.262)

(Dugdale f.7<sup>f</sup>)

*In orientali fenestra alae australis* (west window of south aisle):

(a) *A three bars wavy sa, on a chief g a leopard or* (NE window, Merchants of the Staple, cf. Keepe above and Torre below)

(b) *Arg three bugles sa* (NE window, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Torre below)

(c) *A a dragon (?)sa, impaling A on a pale sa a fish's head erased or* (NE window, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Torre below, \*YM nXX)

(d) *b a saltire A* (NE window, Sir Richard Yorke, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Torre below, \*YM nXX)

(e) *b a saltire A impaling g three hounds courant A* (NE window, Yorke impaling Maleverer, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Torre below, \*YM nXIX)

(f) *b a saltire A impaling b semée of cross crosslets A three cinquefoils A* (NE window, Yorke impaling Darcy, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Torre below, \*YM nXIX)

(g) *b a saltire A impaling v on a chevron engrailed A between three lambs, three mullets sa* (NE window, Yorke impaling ?Askwith, cf. Glover and Keepe above, Torre below)

(h) *arg on a cross g five leopards or* (NE window, City of York, cf. Keepe above, Torre below, \*YM nXIX)

(Dugdale f.173<sup>r</sup>)

Coats of arms in the church:

In the N quire on knotts under the wooden roof thereof is depicted:

(1) *York impaled (blank) 1st B a saltire A York, 2d 3 grey hounds in pale cursant A* (Yorke impaling Maleverer);

(2) *York azure a saltire argent* (Sir Richard Yorke);

(3) *Merchants of ye Staple argent 3 bars wavy azure on a chief gules a lion or*

(Torre p.641, plate 160)

In the E end window thereof (i.e. of the North Quire) are at top these 8 escocheons in a row supported by as many angells viz:

(8 sketches. Top row left to right:

(1) *argent 3 bars wavy sable on a chief a lion or* for Merchants of the Staple; cf. Keepe and Dugdale above

(2) *argent 3 horns sable* for ?Foster; cf. Glover, Keepe and Dugdale above

(3) *argent a griffin? sable impaling argent on a pale sable a pike head? or* for ?Stapleton impaling Gascoigne; cf. Keepe and Dugdale above

(4) *azure a saltire argent* for Richard Yorke; cf. Glover, Keepe and Dugdale above.

Bottom row left to right:

(5) *azure a saltire argent impaling gules 3 greyhounds argent* for Yorke impaling Mauleverer, cf. Glover, Keepe and Dugdale above

(6) *azure a saltire argent impaling azure semée of cross crosslets argent 3 cinquefoils argent* for Yorke impaling Darcy; cf. Glover, Keepe and Dugdale above

(7) *azure a saltire argent impaling gules on a chevron inter 3 asses passant argent as many mulletts sable* for Yorke impaling ?Askwith; cf. Glover, Keepe and Dugdale above



(8) *argent on a cross gules 5 lions or* for City of York; cf. Keepe and Dugdale above)

At Bottom of the same window viz: in the first and 2d lights thereof are: 1st light: the pictures of 7 almes people kneeling in a row; 2d light: the picture of Sir Richard York kneeling with his coat of arms by him viz *azure a saltire argent*. And under them is written: *Orate pro aia Richardi York civitatis Ebor bis major ac etiam pro omnibus benefactoribus suis* (\*YM nXX)

Under them is also written: 1st light: *Richardus Baikenhale (sic - Brikenale) & Katherina uxor eius*; 2d light: *Johes Randman & Johanna uxor eius*. In 3d light is written: *Richardus Collet (sic - Toller) & Isabella uxor eius*. In 4th light: *Wilelmus Graftone & Agnes uxor eius* (\*YM nXIX and nXX)

(Torre p.641, plate 160)

### 3) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

In the north choir east window: *Orate p aia ... Ricardi Yorke militis bis maioris civitatis Ebor ac ... maioris stapule calicie et p duabus Johe ac Johe uxoribus suis ac eciam p aiabz liberorum et benefactorum suis qui (obijt)... die mensis Aprilis A dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> LXXX<sup>o</sup> VII<sup>o</sup>*. Under all 4 men and their wives kneeling with 4 ... beside ... written over their heads: *Ricardus Brikenale et Katherina uxor eius; Johannes Randeman et Johanna uxor eius; Ricardus Boller (Toller) et Isabella Uxor eius; Emanuelis (Willelmus?) de Grafton et Agnes uxor eius* (\*YM nXIX and nXX)

(Dodsworth 161 f.36<sup>r</sup>; Dugdale f.173<sup>v</sup> gives fragmented Yorke inscription and sketch of Richard Yorke kneeling and describes the inscription and figure as being in '*orientali fenestra alae australi (sic)*', also gives date as 1390s (*sic*); Johnston p.199 gives very fragmented version of Yorke inscription, plate 155)

In the north window of the same quier: *Orate p aiabz ...(Willemus) Stockton mercer et Alicia uxor eius. Orate p aiabz ..(Rogerus) Sylby spycer et Elizabetha uxoris suae*

(Dodsworth 161 f.36<sup>r</sup>)

Sir Richard York d.1499 interred there (\*altar tomb, no inscription)

(Gent p.170; Torre p.640 notes the tomb with blank shields 'between the chancell & N quire', plate 159)

### St. Lawrence without Walmgate

(\*W tower, church demolished 1881)

RCHM, *York* 4, 24-25

### 1) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

On a stone within the body of the church: *Hic jacet dominus Richardus Byrkyn cujus aie pptur deus Amen*

(Johnston p.212; Keepe p.146)

### **St. Leonard's Hospital**

(Destroyed 1539)

(D.M.Palliser, *Tudor York*, (Oxford 1979), 222)

#### 1) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

*Hic jacet johannes youle quondam civis et mercer ebor cuius anime propicietur deus amen*  
(\*coffin lid moved to Holy Trinity Goodramgate by 1691, see chapter 1 section 1.3.1)

(Torre p.30, plate 113)

### **St. Margaret**

(\*partially rebuilt 1851-2)

(RCHM, *York 5*, 22-25)

#### 1) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

*In orientali fenestra cancelli:* (sketch of kneeling knight)

(Dugdale f.127<sup>v</sup>)

On a gravestone in the quire: *Orate p aia Agnetis Manars que obiit septimo die January A dni Millesimo quingentesimo ... cuius etc* (\*worn black-letter inscription)

(Dodsworth 161 f.43<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.211; Torre p.448, plate 162. Her will 1 Oct 1494, proved 11 Feb 1499)

On another (gravestone): *Hic jacet Ricardus Clerk quondam tannar Ebor qui obiit xxiiij<sup>o</sup> die mensis octobris A dni M C... IIIJ cuius etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.43<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.211)

In the east window: *Orate p aia Ricardi Erghes rectoris istius ecclie*

(Dodsworth 161 f.43<sup>v</sup>)

Above the altar steps lyes another old white stone whereon is engraven: *Hic jacet Ricardus ... (?Clerk) civitatis Ebor qui obiit ix die mensis ... ano dni m cccc ... cujus aie pptur deus Amen*

(Torre p.448, plate 162)

## **St. Martin Coney St.**

(\*badly damaged 1942, partly rebuilt 1961-8)

(RCHM, *York* 5, 25-29; J.A.Knowles, 'The West Window, St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York', *YAJ* 38 (1955), 148-184; G.Rowe, 'On Stained Glass in the West Window of St. Martin's Church Coney Street York', *AASRP* 12 (1873), 95-100)

### **1) ICONOGRAPHY**

Painted glass:

Great W window - St. Martin and his history. Cutting off part of his cloak to give to a naked poor man, raising of a sick person, conversing with a pope, he in armour as soldier, elevating host as bishop, expelling wicked spirit, protect hare from dogs. Underneath is a priest at an altar. (\*nII, former wI)

Next window facing N aisle - St. Christopher, and broken statue of Christ where blood seems to proceed from his feet. (\*sIV, Corpus Christi only)

High windows N - St. John of Beverley, St. William, Cardinal, 4 Evangelists, St. Dennis, St. Catherine, St. Christopher, St. George, BVM etc in full proportion.

Little NE window - Christ in Agony, Assumption of BVM, St. George, Percy arms (\*sV, St. George only)

Great E window - taken down in 1722 and removed to Minster, history of Athanasius and his creed. (?\* possibly Apostles' Creed windows YM NIV and NV)

SE window - prisoner before king, departure of bishop, entertained by another prince who relieves the poor.

All S windows seem imperfect except one part - holy family (\*sIV, Holy Family)

(Gent p.173)

### **2) HERALDRY**

(Arms in unspecified location):

(1) *Argent, on a chevron gules a lion's head erased of the first, crowned or, impaling argent a chevron between 3 pomegranates sable.* 'A knight and his wife (kneeling)' (cf. Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> below)

(2) *Argent, 3 funnels sable* (E window of S aisle, cf. Hutton p.23 below and Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> below).

(3) *2 bars between 6 cinquefoils, 3, 2, and 1, sable.* (in a S window, cf. Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> and 168<sup>v</sup> below)

(4) *A buck's head cabossed ... within a border engrailed ... an annulet for difference.* (in a S window, cf. Keepe no.11 p.151 below, also Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> below)

(5) *Argent, on a bend sable 3 hawks' heads bell or.* (in a S window, cf. Dugdale ff.7<sup>r</sup> and 168<sup>v</sup> below)

(Glover p.431; Glover CA f.253<sup>v</sup> omits 'a knight and his wife kneeling'; Glover Harley 1394 f.154<sup>v</sup> shows a pair of linked shields, namely shields (4) and (5), plate 230; Glover Harley 1420 f.222<sup>v</sup> also omits 'a knight and his wife kneeling'; Glover Harley Add.18011 f.258<sup>v</sup> also omits 'a knight and his wife kneeling')

Arms in the windows:

(Margin: North)

- (1) England. viz *G 3 Lyons pass gardant in pale barr ways or* (arms of England of Edward I, cf. Johnston p.345 no.1 and Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> h below. Johnston and Dugdale see this in a S clerestory window)
- (2) York. See. viz *G 2 kees in saltire Arg & regall crowne in cheife or* (cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup>, Johnston p.344 middle row no.5 and Torre below)
- (3) York. civ. *Arg a cross of S. George charged with 5 lyoncells of England* (cf. Johnston p.344 bottom row no.5, Dugdale f.169<sup>r</sup> and Torre below)
- (4) London. civ. *Argent a cross Gules in ye dexter canton a sword erect of ye last.* (cf. Dugdale f.169<sup>r</sup>, Johnston p.344 and Torre below)
- (5) Clare. *or 3 cheverons Gules* (cf. Johnston p.345 no.5 and Torre below. Johnston and Torre see this in a S clerestory window)
- (6) Montthermer. *Or an Eagle displayed vert* (cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup>, Johnston p.344 and Torre below)
- (7) ... *or 7 Mascalls conjoyned Gules 3.3.1* (arms of St. William, cf. St. Michael-le-Belfrey, Keepe (4) below; cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup>, Johnston p.344 and Torre below)
- (8) ... *Azure on a bend betweene 6 Leopards heads or 3 water budgets sable* (cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup>, Johnston p.344 and Torre below. According to Glover p.431 these are the arms of Hunte, see under St. Mary Castlegate)
- (9) ... *Gules 3 mullets Argent* (cf. Johnston p.345 no.4 below)

(Margin: South)

- (10) Scroop. *Azure a bend or and file of 3 Argent* (Scrope of Masham, cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> and Torre below)
- (11) ... *Or a Bucks head within a border ingr a martlet difference* (cf. Glover no.4 p.431 above)
- (12) ... *Argent on a bend sable 3 Beazants* (cf. Torre below)

(Keepe p.151)

- (1) *Argent a chevron impaling a chevron sable between three pomegranates* (cf. Glover p.431 above)
- (2) *Argent three funnels sable*
- (3) *Two bars between 6 cinquefoils 3, 2 and 1* (cf. Glover p.431 above and Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> below)

(4) *A stag's head within a border engrailed an annulet for difference* (cf. in a S window, cf. Keepe no.11 p.151 below and Glover p.431 above)

(5) *Argent on a bend sable three handbells or* (cf. Glover p.431 above and Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> below)

(Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup>)

*In supremis fenestris ex Australi parte Navis dictae Ecclesiae* (south clerestory windows):

(a) *g three leopards or* (Edward I's arms of England - cf. Keepe (1) above and Johnston p. 345 below; also Holy Trinity Goodramgate, Keepe (4) and Dugdale (d))

(b) *Qu 1 & 4 b semée of f.d.l.'s or, 2 & 3 g three leopards or* (France ancient quartering England - arms of Edward III, cf. Johnston p.345 no.2 below)

(c) *as (b) with a bordure A* (Thomas of Gloucester youngest son of Henry III; cf. Johnston p.345 no.3 below)

(d) *Barry of eight ?or & g on a canton g three mullets (?)*

(e) *g three mullets arg* (cf. Keepe p.151 above and Johnston p.345 no.4 below)

(f) *or three chevrons g* (Clare - cf. Keepe p.151 above, Johnston p.354 no.5 and Torre below)

(g) *Qu 1 & 4 g a lyon ? or, 2 & 3 chequy o & B (?) a bordure engrailed A*

(h) *three leopards ... a bordure ...* [no tinctures] (arms of England ancient for Edward I or if border argent arms of Edmond youngest son of Edward I and of Holland earls of Kent)

(j) *or a chevron g between three* (sketched lightly) *g* (cf. Johnston p.345 no.7 below)


(k) *a saltire engrailed between four birds* (no tinctures)

(Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup>)

*In Australibus fenestris Alae Australis* (south windows of south aisle):

(a) *... between two barrulets ... six cinquefoils* (no tinctures) (cf. Glover no.3 p.431 above)

(b) *Arg on a bend sa three hand-bells or* (cf. Glover no.5 p.431 and Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> above)

(c) *g a chevron engrailed arg between three*  *(lozenges) or*

(d) *b a bend or, a label of three points A* (Scrope of Masham, cf. Keepe p.151 above and Torre below)

(Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup>)

*In Orientalis fenestra Alae Borealis* (east window of north aisle):

(a) *Qu 1 & 4 or a lion b, 2 & 3 three lucies hauriant A*. Crest and mantling over (Percy - C&W p.133; cf.Hutton p.23 below)

(Dugdale f. 168<sup>v</sup>)

In the east window of the north isle: *Percy and Lucy with old mantling (C)rest on a chapeau Gu lined Erm a Lyon passt gardt B*

(Hutton York Minster p.23; Hutton Lansdown f. 13<sup>v</sup>; cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above)

*In supremis fenestris ex Boreali parte navis Ecclesiae* (north clerestory windows):

(a) *b a slipped trefoil or and a pair of wings in pale or, on a chief A the letters 'A C E' sa* (cf. Johnston p.344 top row no.3 below)

(b) *b between a cross or four lions or. Over the shield a crest-coronet* (cf. Johnston p.344 top row no.4 below)

(c) *b three crowns or. Over the shield a crest-coronet* (cf. Johnston p.344 top row no.5 below)

(d) *b a cross flory or between five birds or. Over the shield a crest-coronet* (Edward the Confessor, cf. Johnston p.344 middle row no.1 below)

(e) *b three crowns or. Over the shield a crest-coronet* (cf. Johnston p.344 middle row no.2 below)

(f) *an eagle* (Montthermer - cf. Keepe (6) above and Johnston p.344 middle row no.3 below)

(g) *or seven mascles (3, 3 & 1) g* (arms of St. William - cf. Keepe (7) above, Johnston p.344 middle row no.4 and Torre below; also St. Michael-le-Belfrey, Keepe (4) below)

(h) *a pair of crossed-keys, in centre chief a ?bishop's mitre (or papal tiara) or [no tinctures]* (See of York - cf. Keepe p.151 above, Johnston p.344 middle row no.5 and Torre below)

(j) *Qu 1 & 4 semée of f.d.l.'s, 2 & 3 three leopards ..., a label of three points semée of f.d.l. [or ermine] [no tinctures]* (Edward III's arms of France ancient quartering England, cf. Keepe p.151 above and Johnston p.345 below)

(k) *Ermine a chevron [no tinctures], impaling b six lions' masks or on a bend or three water bougets ?sa* (cf. Johnston p.344 bottom row no.1 and Torre below. Unknown impaling Hunte, cf. Glover p.431 under St. Mary Castlegate)

(Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup>)

*In supremis borealibus fenestris Navis Ecclesiae* (north clerestory windows):


(a) *b six lions' heads (?) on a bend (?) three water bougets ?sa* (cf. Keepe p.151 above, Johnston p.344 bottom row no.2 and Torre below. Arms of Hunte, cf. Glover p.431 under St. Mary Castlegate)

(b) *Arg a cross g, in 1st quarter a sword erect g* (City of London, cf. Keepe no.4 p.151 above, Johnston p.344 bottom row no.3 and Torre below)

(c) *Arg on a cross g five lions or* (City of York - cf. Keepe p.151 above, Johnston p.344 bottom row no.4 and Torre below)

(d) (very sketchy, looks like *quarterly impaling 3 bars*)

(Dugdale f.169<sup>r</sup>)

In the east window of the south isle: *Ar 3*  (*funnels*) *Sa* (cf. Glover p.431 and Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> above)  
(Hutton York Minster p.23; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>r</sup>)

In a south window: *Gu a chevron wavee Ar bet 3 bezants*

(Hutton York Minster p.23; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>r</sup>)

In the north windows lying in the east... (sketch of 14 shields, L to R

top row

1. *quarterly 1 (blank), 2 paly of 6 argent & azure, 3 (blank), 4 (blank)*

2. *quarterly 1 (&4) semèe of fleurs-de-lys, 2 (&3) 3 (lyons passant guardant)* (France ancient quartering England: Edward III's arms, cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above)

3. *azure a slipped quatrefoil and a pair of wings or on a chief argent the letters 'A', 'C' & 'E' sable* (cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above)

4. *azure a cross or between 4 (lyons) or* (cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above)

5. *azure 3 crowns or* (cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above)

middle row

1. *azure a cross fleury (or) between five (birds) or* (Edward the Confessor, cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above and Torre below)

2. *gules 3 crowns or* (cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above)

3. *or an eagle argent* (Montthermer?, cf. Keepe p.151 and Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above and Torre below)

4. *or 7 mascles (3, 3 & 1) gules* (St. William, cf. Keepe p.151 and Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above and Torre below)

5. *gules 2 keys in saltire argent in chief a bishops mitre or* (See of York, cf. Keepe p.151 and Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above and Torre below)

bottom row

1. *(ermine) a chevron impaling azure (six lions' masks) or on a bend or three water bougets sable* (cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>v</sup> above and Torre below. Unknown impaling Hunte, cf. Glover p.431 under St. Mary Castlegate)

2. *azure six lions' masks or on a bend or three water bougets sable* (cf. Keepe p.151 and Dugdale f.169<sup>r</sup> above and Torre below. Arms of Hunte, cf. Glover p.431 under St. Mary Castlegate)

3. *a cross g, in 1st quarter a sword erect* (City of London, cf. Keepe no.4 p.151 and Dugdale f.169<sup>r</sup> above and Torre below)

4. *on a cross of St. George 5 (lyons)* (City of York, cf. Keepe p.151 north no.3 and Dugdale f.169<sup>r</sup> above and Torre below)

(Johnston p.345, plate 166)

Arms in the windows. In high south windows lying in the east... (sketch of 7 shields, L to R:

1. *3 (lyons passant guardant)* (Edward I's arms of England, cf. Keepe p.151 and Dugdale f.168<sup>V</sup> above. Keepe sees this in a N window)

2. *quarterly 1 (&4) semèe of fleurs-de-lys, 2 (&3) 3 (lyons passant guardant)* (France ancient quartering England: Edward III's arms, cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>V</sup> above)

3. *quarterly 1 semèe of fleurs-de-lys a bordure argent* (Thomas of Gloucester; cf. Dugdale f.168<sup>V</sup> above)

4. *gules 3 mullets (2 & 1) argent* (cf. Keepe p.151 and Dugdale f.168<sup>V</sup> above. Keepe sees this in a N window)

5. *or 3 chevrons gules* (Clare, cf. Keepe p.151 and Dugdale f.168<sup>V</sup> above and Torre below)

6. *3 (devices unclear)*

7. *or a chevron gules between 3 bezants gules* (cf. Hutton p.23 and Keepe p.151 above)

(Johnston p.345, plate 166)

Arms in the church windows.

In the nave high wind. N side

(4 shields, left to right)

(1) *argent a chevron gules impaling azure six (?lions heads) or on a bend or three water budgets sable* (unknown impaling Hunte, cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Johnston above)

(2) *or an eagle argent* (Montthermer, cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Johnston above)

(3) *St. William Abp. or seven mascles (3,3 and 1) gules* (cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Johnston above)

(4) *gules two keys crossed in saltire argent in chief (?a bishop's mitre)* (See of York, cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Johnston above)

(3 shields, left to right)

(1) *azure six lion's heads or on a bend or three water budgets sable* (Hunte, cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Johnston above)

(2) *London City. argent a cross gules in the first quarter a sword erect gules* (cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Johnston above)

(3) *York City. argent on a cross gules five lions or* (cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Johnston above)

(Torre p.334, plate 171)

In the nave on the S side high wind.



(1) Clare. *or three chevronels gules* (cf. Keepe, Dugdale and Johnston above)

(2) Warren. *checky on a canton gules a lion rampant or*

(Torre p.334, plate 171)

In 2 windows of the S aisle

(1) Scrope of Masham. *azure a bend or a label of three points argent* (cf. Keepe and Dugdale above)

(2) *argent on a bend sable three bezants* (cf. Keepe above)

(Torre p.334, plate 171)

In the S quire end window

*Quarterly 1 & 4 ermine a cross fleury gules, 2 & 3 barry of eight argent and gules*

(Torre p.334, plate 171)

### 3) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

In the window of the south ... (aisle?) : *Orate p aiabz Johis Kirkeby et Johe uxoris sue et aiabus librum lorundem (sic)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.24<sup>v</sup>)

In the east window of the north isle; 1st stantion (kneeling effigies of knight and lady), 2d stantion Percy & Lucy coat & crest... 3d (kneeling figure with scroll *jhu filii dei*...)

(Johnston p.343, plate 165)

The west window is a very fair one ... this inscription all along the window at its middle this figure:

*Orate pro aia domini Roberti Semar quondam ministri istius ecclesie et camerarij capituli Ebor qui videns sibi finem vitae suae cum sit senex naturaliter appropinquare preordinavit et edificavit hoc operis vij die mensis Octobris A dni M CCCC XXXVIJ cuius aia pptur deus* (figure of kneeling cleric)

(Pray for the soul of master Robert Semar one time minister of this church and chamberlain of the chapter of York who seeing himself approach the end of his life as he was an old man prearranged and built this work the 7th day of the month of October the year of the lord 1437 on whose soul may god have mercy) (\*nII, former wI)

(Johnston p.345, plate 166)

North aisle windows (shields)

(Johnston p.345, plate 166)

In another north window (shield: *argent on a chevron sable a (unclear) argent between three ?keys*). This is in a border of the window and in a scroll running up by it: *Johannes Osbaldwyck*. (Shield: *azure a bend or a label of three points argent* for) Scroope (of Masham) (?\*sVI)

(Johnston p.346, plate 167)

#### 4) INSCRIPTIONS

On N side of last (stone in the chancel) lyes a blue stone wth a plate at the head containing this inscription viz *Here lyeth Raynold Bestley squier bacheller of law and vice admiral of the north partes who died y<sup>e</sup> XIIIth day of January An<sup>o</sup> M CCCCLXIII*

(Torre p.332, plate 169)

#### (\*)St. Martin Micklegate

RCHM, *York* 3, 20-26; T.W.French, 'The Advowson of St. Martin's Church, Micklegate, York', *YAJ* 40 (1959-1962), 496-505; G.Benson, 'The Church and Parish of St. Martin-cum-Gregory', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (1904), 37-48

#### 1) ICONOGRAPHY

Painted windows:

N of great W window - St. Martin giving part of cloak to poor man (\*sII)

1st NW - St. Thomas feeling Christ's wounded side (\*nII)

2nd - St. John Evangelist, St. Catherine (\*nVII, Sts. Catherine and John Baptist)

3rd - confused

4th - creation of man and woman led into paradise (?\*nIII)

5th - eat forbidden fruit. Cain killing Abel. (?\*nV)

6th - Peter taking Christ into vessel, Abraham sacrificing Isaac, children of Israel worshipping calf (?\*nIII)

NE window - first column downwards contains St. John in the Caldron, sons of ... at devotion, viz Robertus, Henricus, Johannes, Wilhelmus, Nicolaus. 2nd column dispossession etc. 3rd and 4th columns bishops etc. which concludes with 7 daughters of ... viz Judetha, Margareta, Alicia, Isabella wife of Roger de Morton lord mayor interred at St. Saviour's, Elena, Constantia, Johana. Part of window taken down to give greater light to church and might contain effigies of parents of above children.

SE window - 2 saints and underneath a gent and a lady (\*sII)

next window S - angel appearing to shepherds, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*

2nd - Eastern kings paying Adoration etc.

3rd - Judas betraying Christ, a combat etc. (\*sV, Betrayal of Christ, David and Goliath)

Window next S door - St. George

(Gent pp.182 -3)

## 2)HERALDRY

Arms in the windows:

(1) (Scrope) *Azure a bend or & file of five labels Argent*

(2) *Or a bend azure*

(3) *Gules a cross vary Impaling or 3 cheverons sab*

(4) *Barry of 6 or & Gules a bend Azure* (also in NE window at All Saints North St., cf. Torre above)

(5) *A Fess dansettee* on ye stonework without south (Vavasour)

(Keepe p.153)

*In orientali fenestra alae australis:* (east window of south aisle):

(a) *Barry of six A & g a bend b* (cf. Keepe (4) above)

(b) *A on a chevron b three stags attires vt impaling b a cross fleurie A between four martlets A* (E window of S aisle, arms of Nicholas Fouke?, or unknown impaling arms of Edward the Confessor?, cf. Johnston p.198 and Torre below)

(Dugdale f.173<sup>r</sup>)

*In australi fenestra ecclesie* (south window):

*b a bend or, a label of five points A* (Scrope of Masham - C&W p.323)

(Dugdale f.173<sup>r</sup>)

*In occidentali fenestra campanilis* (west window of belltower):

(a) *arg on a pale (?)sa a fish's head couped (?)or* (Gascoigne)

(b) *Qu 1 & 4 or a maunche g* (Hastings), *2 & 3 arg a bend g* (various - mainly Tirenton or Trehampton, C&W p.322)

(Dugdale f.173<sup>r</sup>)

In the west window: *Quarterly 1 or a manch gu* (Hastings) *2<sup>o</sup> ar a (?bend) g* (Tirenton/Trehampton, see Dugdale (c) above). *Quarterly 1<sup>o</sup> Gascoigne 2<sup>o</sup> gu a lion rampant Ar a border engr or* (Gascoigne and Hastings)

(Dodsworth 161 f.43<sup>r</sup>)

In the south window over the door (shield of Scrope of Masham)

(Johnston p.198, plate 179)

In the west window of the north isle (shield of Scrope of Bolton)

(Johnston p.198, plate 179)

In a window over the door (shield of Scrope of Masham)

(Johnston p.198, plate 179)

In the west window of the belfry (shield of Gascoigne, shield of Hastings)

(Johnston p.198, plate 179)

Shields of Gascoigne and Vavasour in stone at SW end (buttresses of S aisle)

(Gent p.182)

Coats of arms

In the end window of the south quire: *azure 3 attires of a stag vert impaling azure across patonce inter 4 martlets argent* (cf. Dugdale above and Johnston below)

(Torre p.664, plate 181)

In the window over the south door:

Scrope of Masham. *azure a bend or a label of three points argent* (cf. Keepe and Johnston above)

(Torre p.664, plate 181)

Upon 2 stone pillars outside

Vavasour. *a fess dancetté* (cf. Keepe and Gent above)

(Torre p.664, plate 181)

### 3) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

In the east window of the south isle (shield showing *A on a chevron between 3 ?stag's horns impaling a cross fleury*, arms of Nicholas Fouke?, cf. Dugdale 1)(b) above; kneeling knight, scroll above with *Priet pur... Nicho ... (Fouke)*; kneeling lady, scroll above with *Faisure Fer... Erare)(\*sII)*

(Johnston p.198, plate 179; also noted by Brooke p.2)

#### 4) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

On a stone in the bottom of the middle isle (i.e. at west end of nave): *Richard Toller yci gist par le grace de dieu cest chapele risstzelcum vous (sic)*

(Johnston p.198, plate 179)

On another (stone at the west end of the nave): *Hic jacet dns Willms Burton bacalareus in artibus quondam rector istius ecclie qui obiit iij<sup>o</sup> die Marcij A dni M CCCC LXXV cius aie ppicietur*

(Dodsworth 157 f.15<sup>f</sup>; Johnston p.198 gives name as John, plate 179)

In the north aisle: *Hic jacet dns Henricus Cattall quondam capellanus huius cantarie qui obiit vij<sup>o</sup> die Febr anno dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>mo</sup> LX<sup>o</sup> cuius aiae etc.* (\*floor slab with black-letter inscription, reused 1846)

(Dodsworth 157 f.15<sup>f</sup>; Gent p.182 gives date as 8 Feb 1460; Torre on p.625 gives name as Henry Cavall and date as 7 Feb 1460, plate 92 and on p.663 gives name as Henry Cavall and date as 8 July 1460, plate 180)

At foot of the last (stone in the nave) lyes a white stone inscribed in its circumference: *Hic jacet dns Robertus Hutteram quondam rector hujus ecclie qui obiit viii die mens ... an<sup>o</sup> dni m<sup>o</sup> ccclxxv<sup>o</sup> cujus aie pptur deus* (in margin: Robert de Feriby)

(Torre p.663, plate 180)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p aia Ricardi Gascoygne vyntner qui obiit vicessimo iij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Octobris anno dni M CCCC octogesimo sexto cuius aia ppicietur deus ac eciam Katharine uxoris eiusdem*

(Dodsworth 161 f.43<sup>f</sup>)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p aia Nicholai Person quondam civis et vicecomitis istius civitatis et p aiabus Alicie et Chiabr (sic - antiquarian transcription error for ?Cecilie) uxor eiusdem qui obiit vicessimo die mensis Aprilis anno dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC LXXXX<sup>o</sup>*

(Dodsworth 161 f.43<sup>f</sup>)

#### **St. Mary Bishophill Junior**

(\*restored 1860)

(RCHM, *York 3*, 26-30; L.P.Wenham, R.A.Hall, C.M.Briden and D.A.Stocker, *St. Mary Bishophill Junior and St. Mary Castlegate*, *The Archaeology of York 8/2*, (York Archaeological Trust 1987))

#### 1) HERALDRY

An old stone these Arms engraven on brass viz:

(1) *Bendy Lozengy on a canton a cressant Impaleing a lyon rampant gardant or*

(2) *Bendy Lozengy as before Impaleing 3 greyhounds currant in pale barrways* (monument of Brian and Christiane Middleton, cf. Johnston p.192)

(Keepe p.149)

Armes in the windows:

(3) *Azure 3 sunns or starrs with diverse rayes or* (E window, arms of St. Wilfrid, cf. Johnston p.191 below)

(4) *York See Gules 2 kees in saltire Arg in cheife a royall crown or* (E window, cf. Johnston p.191 below)


(5) *Gules 5 Doves heads erased or* (E window, cf. Johnston p.191 below; these arms are also in the E window at St. Mary Bishophill Sr.)

(6) *Quarterly. 1st Or a cross vt. 2d Arg on a cheife gules 2 mulletts p(oint)ed or* (Clynton, cf. Torre p.710 below). *3d Arg a bend ingr sable* (Raygate - C&W p.351). *4th Barry of 6 gules & Erm* (Henry Hese - C&W p.88). *5th or a cross vt. 6th Arg 3 chev erased in base sable* (Hussy, cf. Torre p.710 below). (NE window, cf. Johnston below)

(Keepe p.149)

*In Orientali fenestra Cancelli* (east window of chancel):

(a) *b three estoiles of eight points or* (arms of St. Wilfrid, cf. Keepe above; E window, cf. Johnston p.191 below)

(b) *g a pair of keys crossed in saltire arg, in the chief point a  (crown) or* (E window, See of York modern, cf. Johnston p.191 below)

(c) *b six eagles' heads erased or, 3, 2, & 1* (E window, cf. Torre p.710 and Johnston p.191 below; these arms are also in the E window at St. Mary Bishophill Sr.)

(d) *Quartely of six, 1 (?) or a cross vert, 2 arg on a chief sable two mulletts or, 3 A a bend engrailed sa(?)* (Raygate - C&W p.351), *4 Barry of six g and ermine* (Henry Hese - C&W p.88), *5 or a cross vert, 6 A three chevronels intertwined sa* (cf. Keepe (6) above) (NE window, cf. Johnston p.191 below)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>v</sup>)

In the east window of the church

(3 shields:)

1) *B 3 estoiles of six points or* (arms of St. Wilfrid, cf. Dodsworth and Torre below)

2) *gules 2 keys in saltire argent in chief a royal crown or* (See of York modern)

3) *B six eagles' heads erased or,* (cf. Dodsworth and Torre below; these arms are also in the E window at St. Mary Bishophill Sr.)

(Johnston p.191, plate 182)

In a north window of the quire (1 shield: *quarterly of six: 1 or a cross vert; 2 A on a chief sable two mullets or* (Clynton, see Torre below); 3 *A a bend engrailed sable; 4 barry of six gules and ermine; 5 or a cross vert; 6 A 3 chevronels intertwined sable* (Hussy, cf. Torre below); crest and mantling above)

(Johnston p.191, plate 182)

Quyer window:

*B. 6 eagles heads eraz(ed) or* (these arms also in east window of St. Mary Bishophill Sr., see below);

*B. 3 sonnes or* (arms of St. Wilfrid; cf. Johnston p.191 above)

(Dodsworth 157 f.15<sup>v</sup>)

Coats of arms in the windows:

In the chancel windows:

(1) *azure three estoiles or* St. Wilfrid

(2) *gules two keys crossed in saltire argent in chief a mitre or* York See

(3) *azure 6 falcons heads or*

In the north quire windows these quarterings viz of Hussy: *A 3 chev imbraced sab. 2d A on a chief sab 2 mullets or.* Clynton

Upon of the bells is inscribed:

*Virgo* (shield) *mater* + *OS mater* (shield) *dia* (shield) *me* (shield) *sana: 3 crowns in pale/ 3 cressants/ (3?) crowns.*

(Torre p.710, plate 184)

## 2) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

*Super tumulum prostratum in ala australi* (on monument in south aisle):

(a) *fretty on a canton a crescent impaling three dogs courant*

(b) *fretty on a canton a crescent*

(c) *(b) impaling a lion*

*Orate pro animabus Briani Middilton et ... uxori ejus ... obijt xxviiij die mensis Januarij ann dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC nonagesimo secundo quorum animabus propitiatur Deus Amen* (cf. Dodsworth 157 f.16<sup>f</sup> below)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>v</sup>)

On a stone in the south isle: (3 shields - 1st Middleton and Maleverer) *Orate p aia Briani Middleton armigeri et Christiane uxoris eius qui obiit xx die mensis Januarij an<sup>o</sup> dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo secundo quorum aiabus ppicietur deus Amen*

(Dodsworth 157 f.16<sup>r</sup> adds: On the same stone *Fretty on a canton a (crescent) y<sup>o</sup> e greyhounds cursant. Fretty on a canton a (crescent). P pale fretty on a canton a (crescent) y<sup>o</sup> a lyon rampt* [Middleton and Malauver]; Dugdale f.172<sup>v</sup> gives date 28 January 1492, see above; Johnston p.191 has date 28 January 1422, plate 182; Torre p.709 gives date as 8 Jan 1492 and sketches 3 shields: Middleton and Maleverer *fretty on a canton a crescent impaling three (greyhounds cursant) in pale*, Middleton *fretty on a canton a crescent*, Middleton and unknown *fretty on a canton a crescent impaling a lion rampant*, plate 183)

*Super alium Tumulum prostrato in dicta Ala Australi* (another monument in south aisle):

*Fretty and a canton impaling on a fesse between three f.d.l.'s three roundels*

*Hic jacet corpus Johis Medilton et Matilda uxoris suae qui obiit primo die mensis Novembris A<sup>o</sup> dni M<sup>o</sup> CCC<sup>o</sup> (sic - 1459) lix<sup>o</sup> quorum animabus propitietur Deus Amen*

(cf. Johnston p.192 *et al* below)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>v</sup>)

On another (stone) in the south aisle: *Hic jacet corpus Johis Midilton armigeri et Matilde uxori eius qui obiit primo die Aprilis A dni M CCCC LIX quorum etc* (Middleton & Thwaites shield)

(Johnston p.192 also sketches shield of Middleton & Thwaites: *Fretty on a canton a crescent impaling on a fess sable between 3 fleurs de lys gules 3 bezants*, plate 185; Dugdale f.172<sup>v</sup> gives date 1 Nov 1359, see above; Torre p.709 gives date as 9 Nov 1380 and adds: 'on the S side E.ward of last (in the nave) lyes a white stone whereon is this escotcheon impaled viz Midd(ilton) Thwaytes *1st A Frettie sab on a canton of 2d a cressant. 2d A on a fess sab inter 3 f le lyz gu as many bizantes*', plate 183)

### 3) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

North quyer window: *Orate p aiabus Willm Dainton et Matilde Johe uxoris eius*

(Dodsworth 157 f.15<sup>v</sup>)

On a gravestone at the west end of the church/in the cross walk by the steeple (i.e. under crossing at west end): *Orate p aia Johis Topham qui obiit viij<sup>o</sup> die mens Januarij ann dn M<sup>o</sup> CCCC LXXXI cuius aie pptur deus Amen.*

(Dodsworth 161 f.44<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.191 gives date as 8 June 1482; Torre p.709 gives date as 8 Jan 1472, plate 183. Topham was warden of St. Thomas' hospital in 1478)

On another gravestone/on the north side in the cross walk by the steeple (i.e. under the crossing): *Orate specialiter p anima Willmi Crosby nuper de Ebor cartwright ... Johanne et Margarete uxorum eius qui quidem Willelmus obiit (blank) die decembris A dni M CCCC LXXX IIIJ*



(Dodsworth 157 f.15<sup>v</sup> and Dodsworth 161 f.44<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.191 gives surname as Croyley or Croxley, first wife's name as Ellen, and William's date as 7 Sep 1484; Torre p.709 gives surname as Croseby, omits first wife's name and gives William's date as 10 Jan 1484, plate 183.)

Northward of the last (stone in the chancel) lies another white stone about 2 yds & ½ long whereon has been an old inscription of the head engraven *Orate pro aia dni Wilfridi*

(Torre p.710, plate 184)

### **St. Mary Bishophill Senior**

(demolished 1963)

(RCHM, *York* 3, 30-36)

#### **1) HERALDRY**

In an east window of the north isle of the church

(2 shields.

left: *a lion debruised by 3 bars gemells impaling azure 3 crescents or* for Fairfax impaling Ryther, cf. Dugdale and Keepe below;

right: *quarterly 1 (& 4) a lion debruised by 3 bars gemells 2 (&3) argent on a fess sable 3 bezants or between 3 fleurs-de-lys gules* for Fairfax and Thwaites, cf. Dugdale and Keepe below)

(Johnston p.193, plate 186)

*In Orientali fenestra ala borealis* (east window of north aisle):

(a) *a lion debruised by three bars gemelles impaling* (blank). Maners (NE window, Fairfax impaling blank or arms of Agnes Manars)

(b) *Qu 1 & 4 a lion sa debruised by three bars gemelles g 2 & 3 A on a fesse (?)sa between three f.d.l.'s g three roundels. Crest and mantling* (NE window, Fairfax and Thwaites, cf. Johnston above and Torre and Keepe below)

(c) *A a lion sa debruised by three bars gemelles g impaling b three crescents or.* Ryther (NE window, Fairfax and Ryther, cf. Johnston above and Keepe below)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>v</sup>)

*Super tumulum muro australi cancelli affixum* (monument on south wall of chancel):

*A a lion sa debruised by three bars gemelles g* (arms of Fairfax: *argent three bars gemelles gules surmounted of a lion rampant sable*, cf. Burke p.337)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>v</sup>)

Arms in the church. In the N quire end window: (3 shields)

(1) Fairfax. *A a lion rampant sub debruised by 3 barrs gemells gu*, cf. Dugdale above, Keepe below;

(2) Ryther *azure 3 crescents or*, cf. Johnston and Dugdale above, Keepe below;

(3) Fairfax and Thwaits. *Quarterly 1 & 4 A a lion rampant debruised by 3 bars gemells gules 2 & 3 A on a fess sab inter 3 f de lyz gu as many bizantes*, cf. Johnston and Dugdale above, Keepe below)

(Torre p.734, plate 188)

In the north window: *Per pale baron & femme baron broken out femme. Ar 3 greyhounds cursant sa collar & bell or* (arms of William Playce, cf. Johnston p.195 below)

(Dodsworth 161 f.44<sup>v</sup>)

In the qwyer window: *6 eagle heads erased or* (also in E window of St. Mary Bishophill Jr. , see above) *B 3 swines or* (?arms of Robert Savage and John Manfeld, cf. Dodsworth 157 f.16<sup>v</sup> below)

(Dodsworth 161 f.44<sup>v</sup>)

South window: *B. seme de [crosses crosslet fitchy] 3 garbes ar. B. on the upper end of [a bend] or a lyon rampant purp*

(Dodsworth 157 f.16<sup>v</sup>)

There is a kind of chapell in this church which the parishioners call Fairfax chapell. There is a small tomb adjoyning thereunto set about with arms of the Fairfaxes & their Matches which may lead them to it. viz *Argent 3 barrs gemells gules over all a lyon ramp: sab.* Byshe Fame of Fairfax then Fairfax as before impaling *Azure 3 crossants or* Ryther then Fairfax quartering *Argt on a fess sab. betweene 3 flowers de liz. Gules 3 beazants, crest a lyon head erased sab.* [Thwaits] which are all in the East window of the same chapell likewise the tomb being without Inscription.

(Keepe p.148)

## 2) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

In a north window of the north isle: (diagram of kneeling bearded man in long gown and beside him:) In the lower north window is the portraiture of a man all represented like this only his outer garment is g and his ... vt under only these was (sic) remaining: IONA(THAN)... (under the figure a scroll inscribed:)(WILLE)LMUS PLAYCE

(Johnston p.193, plate 186)

(Another kneeling figure of a bearded man wearing sash, belt and sword - unspecified location, likely to be a window because effigy is kneeling) *Orate pro Willo Santore*

(Johnston p.193, plate 186)

In the qwyer window: *Orate p dno Robto Savage. Orate p dno Johe Manfeld*

(Dodsworth 157 f.16<sup>v</sup>)

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Margareta mater Johis Northebye cuius aiae ppicietur deus Amen*

(Dodsworth 157 f.16<sup>v</sup>)

In the chancell on S side: *Hic jacet Matilda Westbe quonda uxor Willm Westbe que obijt xiiij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Augusti anno dni millim<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> LXXX<sup>o</sup> vj<sup>o</sup> cuius aiae ppicietur deus*

(Dodsworth 157 f.16<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.192, plate 185; Torre p.734, plate 188)

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Thomas ... quodam civis et mercator Ebor et Alicia uxor eius qui obijt vicesimo scdo die mensis Novembr anno dni millimo CCCC<sup>o</sup> vicesimo nono quoru aiabu ppicietur deus Amen*

(Dodsworth 157 f.16<sup>v</sup>)

In the North Quire: *Hic jacet Thomas Wilton quondam ... et Elena uxor ejus qui obijt v<sup>o</sup> die mensis Novembris ano dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> vicesimo quinto quorum aiabus pptur deus Amen*

(Torre p.734, plate 188)

### (\*)St. Mary Castlegate

(RCHM, *York 5*, 30-36; L.P.Wenham, R.A.Hall, C.M.Briden and D.A.Stocker, *St. Mary Bishophill Junior and St. Mary Castlegate*, *The Archaeology of York 8/2*, (York Archaeological Trust 1987))

#### 1) HERALDRY

(Arms in unspecified location):

(1) *Argent, on a bend cotised azure 3 griffins passant or, impaling gules 3 bars argent.*

(2) *Azure, on a bend between 6 leopards' heads cabossed or 3 water bougets sable.* Hunte (cf. Dugdale below)

(3) *Argent, 3 bars azure, on a canton gules a lion passant guardant or.* Holmes (cf. Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> below)

(4) *Gules, a crescent between 2 crosses patoncée, all in pale argent.*

(5) *Or, a bend between a mullet of 6 points in chief, and a crescent in base gules* (cf. Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> below).

(6) *Vert, 5 fishes hauriant 3, and 2, argent.*

(7) *Gules, a fesse argent between 3 mullets or.*

(Glover p.431; Glover CA f.253<sup>v</sup>; Glover Harley 1394 f.154<sup>v</sup> adds 'five fishes' under shield (6), plate 230; Glover Harley 1420 f.222<sup>v</sup>; Glover Add.18011 f.258<sup>v</sup> adds 'Hunte' under shield (2) and 'Holmes' under shield (3); all Glover references name this church 'St. Martins (*sic*) Church in Castell Garth')

(Arms in unspecified location):

(1) *On a bend between three leopard's heads three water bougets* (Hunte, cf. Glover p.431 above)

(2) *Blank impaling argent three bars*. Gray (Burke p.421 gives arms of William Gray Esq. of York as: *Barry of six argent and azure on a bend gules three roses of the first*. These are probably the arms on the monument of William and Joan Graa, cf. Johnston, Torre and Dodsworth below)

(3) *Argent three bars azure on a canton argent a lion* (Holmes, cf. Glover (3) p.431 above)

(4) *Gules in pale a cross fleury a crescent and a cross fleury argent*. Hourne (no correspondence in either Burke or Papworth)

(5) *Or a bend gules in sinister chief an estoile of six points gules in dexter base a crescent* (cf. Glover (5) p.431 above)

(6) *Azure a bend or in chief a label of three points argent* (Scrope of Masham)

(Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup>, where the church is referred to as 'St. Martins (*sic*) in Castle-Gate')

Sculptu in muro hujus Ecclesiae (sculpted on wall):

*On a bend cotised three leopards* (no tinctures; this could be Hunte shield noted by Glover above)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

*In Australi fenestra Cancelli* (south window of chancel):

(a) *A on a bend cotised b three (?)leopards or impaling barry of six gu and A* (Illesley or Touke - C&W p.89)

(b) *Arg on a bend cotised b three leopards or*

(c) *Barry of six g and arg(?)* (Margaret of Anjou - C&W p.88)

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

*In altera Australi fenestra Cancelli* (another south window of chancel):

(a) *Arg on a bend cotised b three leopards or*

(b) *Arg on a bend cotised b three leopards or a label of three points*

(Dugdale f.172<sup>r</sup>)

## 2) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

Circumscribed about a stone of marble in the middle isle of the church: ... *Johes Blackburne civis et mercator Ebor et Katherina uxor eius quorum aiabz prop deus*. There hath been three figures on it ... (\*floor slab)

(Johnston p.202; Torre p.384, plate 193)

On another stone: *Orate p aia Johi Sullyngelne q obijt vij die mensis Julij A dni M CCCC III*

(Johnston p.203; Torre p.383, very faint, plate 192)

On another (gravestone) in the body of the church: *Hic jacet Will ...* (surname could be *Chudens* or *Tudens*)

(Johnston p.203)

There is marble slab in an Arch betwixt the South Isle and the Quire but the marble filling the letters and figures of a man and a woman are all gone (\*Graa tomb?, see Dodsworth 157 f.24<sup>v</sup> below)

(Johnston p.203. Torre p.383 adds 'in the south quire of the church ... a raised monument inscribed ... now illegible' and sketches a tomb with spaces for at least four shields along its front. Torre also sketches two different shields from the tomb but the whole page is badly worn so all that can be made out is that the first shield was charged with *a bend*, plate 192)

A very fayr engraven tomb wth the pictures of a man & his wife (\*limestone tombchest): *Hic iacent Willmus Grave (Graa) & Johanna uxor eius Credo quod redemptor (meus) vivit et in novissima die ... meruit Amen*

(Here lie William Grave and Joan his wife. I believe that my redeemer lives and in the newest day ... deserved)

(Dodsworth 157 f.24<sup>v</sup>)

On a stone in the north aisle of the church: +DIEU DE SA ALME EIY ME(RCY)... DE WISTOW GIS... (\* 14C limestone slab with Lombardic inscription which reads + *WILLIAMVS GIST ICY DEV DE SA ALME EIY MERCY AMEN*+) )

(Johnston p.203; Torre p.384, plate 193)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p aia dni Johannis Garnett quonda Rectoris istius eccliae qui obijt ... die mensis Maij Millesimo CCCC LXXXX ... cuius aiae ppitietur deus*

(Dodsworth 157 f.24<sup>v</sup>. Garnett's will 22 May 1492, pr. 30 May 1492)

(unspecified location) *Roger OMarton pray for his soule*

(Dodsworth 161 f.35<sup>r</sup>)

## **St. Maurice Monkgate**

(medieval church taken down 1875)

(RCHM, *York 4*, 25)

### **1) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS**

In the east window on the south side

1. *Ar a [chevron between] 3 chapletts of 4 roses impaled ra Ar a [chevron between] 3 leopards faces ga by itt a man & his wief in red gownes kneeling under this inscription: ... Holme et Mar(garet?)...Inceptores*

2. A man kneeling in armor on his crest *gu a lion rampant er a mullet ar his wief kneeling behind him & under them written: Orate p Henrico Meleton Armiger et Isabella uxor sua et pro omnibus benefactori*

3. A man kneeling in armour on his brest *vert a fesse engr ent 3 benres ratyer wolston lyon to heare erazed or his wief kneeling behind him. Under: Orate p Roger Bradley et ...*

(Dodsworth 157 f.11<sup>r</sup>)

In the north window in the church: A man kneeling in a gowne a red soenre of rei in like the wardens & companies of London of his sholders Behind him 2 wiefs & 3 children. Under (in margin :*Tertij p. Ed. 4*): *Orate p aiabus Roberti Atkynson edykks (sic - Edytis?) & Agnetis ux eius (1464 was the third year of the reign of Edward IV)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.11<sup>r</sup>)

## **St. Michael-le-Belfrey**

(\*fabric built 1525-37)

(RCHM, *York 5*, 36-40)

### **1) ICONOGRAPHY AND HERALDRY**

Painted windows:

(1) Little E window on N side - top: people at prayers; below: St. George, St. Christopher, BVM wounded for suffering son and descent of holy ghost to her (\*sV St. George and St.Christopher, St. Christopher also in nVI and nVII)

(2) 2nd window S of altar - St. James, St. Peter, an archbishop, Christ, people at devotion (\*sIII, St. James and St. Peter)

(3) 3rd - St. Hugo bishop, St. Paul, St. Peter and St. William. Their arms below. Underneath instruments of passion encircled in glass, a heart wounded as emblem of 5 wounds (\*sIV, St. Hugh St. Peter and St. William and shields of St. Paul and St. William; cf. Dodsworth and Dugdale below - they see these arms in a N window)

(4) 4th - St. George, knight armed, bishop, St. Christopher. Underneath York arms and goldsmiths (\*sV, Goldsmiths and York arms; cf. Dodsworth below)

(5) 5th - one at devotion, St. James, bishop. Underneath priests in their oratories (\*sVI, St. James and bishop)

(Gent p.177)

In the windows:

These windows are well adorned with painted glass wherein are the larg portratures of Our Saviour, the holy Lamb, S. George, S. Christopher, S. Wynifrid (*sic* - St. Wilfrid) etc., S. Hugh, S. William, S. Peter & S. Paul &c. (\*St. Christopher in nVI/nVII; St. Wilfrid in sIII; Sts. Hugh, Peter, William and Paul in sIV; Sts. George and Christopher in sV)

(1) Armes under S. Peter. *Gules 2 kees in Saltire Arg* (cf. Gent above who sees this in 3rd S window, Dugdale below sees this in N window)

(2) Under S. Paul. *G 2 swords in saltire points downward Arg hilts & pomells or* (cf. Gent 3rd S window above and Dugdale N window below)

(3) Under S. Hugh *Quarterly 1 & 4 ... with in a border ingrailed sab 2 & 3 Arg a cheveron betweene 3 Annulets Gules* (arms of ?St. Hugh quartering Ashton; cf. Gent 3rd S window above, Dodsworth and Dugdale below - Dodsworth and Dugdale see this in a N window. Arms of Ashton: *argent a chevron between three chaplets (another, roses) gules*, cf. Burke pp.28-29)

(4) Under S. William *Or 7 Mascalls conjoyned gules* (cf. Gent 3rd S window above and Dugdale N window below)

(Keepe p.156)

## 2)HERALDRY

(In the 4th window on the south side):

(1) *Ar a (chevron between) 3 cowy(?) heads erazed it. bis.*

(2) *qurty g & b 1 a leopard face or second a cup covered B ar 2 4 and 1* (goldsmiths arms, cf. NE window Dodsworth 157 f.20<sup>v</sup> below. Also cf. Torre W window below)

(Dodsworth 157 f.18<sup>v</sup>);

*In quadam Boreali fenestra* (north window):

(a) *Qu 1 & 4 A three bars sa 2 & 3 A a chevron g between three (?)chaplets g* (arms of ?St. Hugh quartering Ashton, cf. Gent 3rd S window and Keepe above, Dugdale f.7<sup>f</sup> below. According to Torre 4th N window below these are the arms of Thwayts and Goring)

(b) *g a pair of swords crossed in saltire arg hilts uppermost or* (arms of St. Paul, cf. Gent 3rd S window and Keepe above, Dugdale N window below. According to Torre these are the arms of the See of London, see below)

(c) *g a pair of keys crossed in saltire arg swards uppermostr in centre chief a bishop's mitre or* (arms of St. Peter, cf. Gent 3rd S window and Keepe above, Dugdale N window below. A cording to Torre these are the arms of the See of York, see below)

(d) *or masculy of 7 (3, 3, & 1) g* (arms of St. William, cf. Gent 3rd S window and Keepe above, Dugdale N window and Torre 4th N window below)

(Dugdale f.170<sup>v</sup>)

*In Orientali fenestra Cancelli* (east window of chancel):

(a) *g a cross fleury or* (Latimer, cf. Burke p.586)

(b) *Arg five fusils in fesse g* (Boswell, cf. Burke p.103 and Papworth p.892)

(c) *Vair a fess g* (Marmion, cf. Burke p.660)

(d) *A on a chevron sa between three boars* ([probably porcupines or lizards] at side of shield) *sa, a cross crosslet fitchy* (no tinctures)

(e) *b a chief indented or*

(Dugdale f.170<sup>v</sup>)

*In dicta Orientali fenestra Cancelli* (east window of chancel):

(a) *g on a bend cotised arg three roundels sa*

(b) *Qu g and arg in the first quarter a.f.d.l. or* (Metham, cf. Burke p.681)

(c) *Arg a maunche sa* (Hastings, cf. Burke p.465)

(Dugdale f.170<sup>v</sup>)

*In quadam fenestra hujus Ecclesiae* (window):

(a) *g a tower or*

(b) *arg a lion purp* (both arms quartered for King of Spain - C&W p.125 and Burke p.365; both (a) and (b) from Martin Soza's NE window - cf. Dodsworth and Torre below)

(Dugdale f.170<sup>v</sup>)

Coats of arms in the windows

In N side 4th window E ward

(4 shields, left to right)

(1) Thwayts & Goring. *Quarterly 1st & last barry of six argent & sable 2d & 3d A a chevron inter 3 annulets gules* (St. Hugh quartering Ashton? cf. Dugdale above)

(2) London See *gules two swords erect crossed in saltire argent hilted or* (cf. Dugdale above)



(3) York See *gules two keys in saltire argent in chief a mitre or* (cf. Dugdale above)

(4) St. William Abp *or seven mascles conjoined 3, 3 & 1 gules* (cf. Dugdale above)

(Torre p.70, plate 206)

In the 5th window *ibid* (of the N aisle)

(5 shields, left to right)

(1) *argent the letters 'M' and 'S' in fess or*

(2) Castile Kingdom *gules a tower or* (cf. Dugdale above)

(3) Leon Kingdom *argent a lion rampant purpure* (cf. Dugdale above)

(4) York City *argent on a cross of St. George gules five lions of England or*

(5) Goldsmiths company *quarterly 1 & 4 gules a leopard's face or 2 & 3 azure a cup covered or* (cf. Dodsworth NE window below)

(Torre p.70, plate 206)

In the west window under the bell house (3 shields, left to right)

(1) *a chevron between three (?)*

(2) *Quarterly 1 & 4 a leopard's face 2 & 3 azure a cup covered or* (Goldsmiths company)

(3) *a chevron*

(Torre p.70, plate 206)

### 3) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

(Arms in windows of unspecified location):

(1) *Quarterly 1 and 4, argent, 3 bars within a bordure engrailed sable; 2 and 3, argent, a chevron between 3 chaplets gules.* Hugh Ashton, resident (*sic* - residentiary canon) of Yorke, who glazed the window (\*sIV, shield; cf. Gent 3rd S window, Keepe and Dugdale N window above, Dodsworth N window and Dugdale below)

(2) *Argent, a chevron between 3 hinds' heads erased gules.* William Beckwith and Anne his wife (\*sIII modern inscription; cf. Gent 4th S window and Dodsworth 4th S window above; arms of Beckwith: *argent a chevron between three hinds' heads erased gules*, cf. Burke p.65)

(3) *Azure, 3 estoiles or* (arms of St. Wilfrid). Christopher Ceel, Chaunter of the Churche, and sometyne Clarke of St. Peter's worke, at whose devotion this window was glazed, MDXXXVII (\*nVII modern inscription; cf. Dodsworth N window and Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> below)

(Glover p.432; Glover CA f.253<sup>v</sup>; Glover Harley 1394 f.154<sup>v</sup> gives 1573 as year in Ceel inscription, plate 230; Glover Harley 1420 f.222<sup>v</sup>; Glover Add.18011 f.258<sup>v</sup>; all Glover references show Ceel shield listed under 'In St. Peter's Church in Yorke', i.e. York Minster, although the error arises out of a lack of space in the page arrangement)

(Arms in unspecified location):

(1) *Quarterly 1 & 4 three bars, 2 & 3 argent a chevron gules between three chaplets gules.* Hugo Ashton Residenciarie of Yorke who glassed ye window (\*sIV, shield; cf. Gent 3rd S window, Keepe and Dugdale N window above, Dodsworth N window below)

(2) *Argent a chevron gules between three hind's heads.* Willm Beckwith et Anne his wife (\*sIII modern inscription; cf. Gent 4th S window and Dodsworth 4th S window and Glover above; arms of Beckwith: *argent a chevron between three hinds' heads erased gules*, cf. Burke p.65)

(3) *Azure three estoiles.* Chrisopher Ceel Chaunter of the Church and some times Clarke of St. Peters Yorke at whose devotion this window was glaysed 1537 (\*nVII modern inscription; cf. Glover p.432 above and Dodsworth N window below)

(Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup>)

3 windows on the north side of the church:

(1) *B 3 sonnes or* (arms of St. Wilfrid). *Of your Charity pray for the soule of mr Christopher Ceel chantor of the church of Yorke and sometymes Clerk of Saint Peters workes of whose devotion this window was glasyd in the yere of our lord god M CCCC XXXVIJ* (\*nVII modern inscription; cf. Glover and Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup> above)

(Dodsworth 161 f.39<sup>r</sup>)

(2) *Orate p aia magistri Hugoni de Asheton quondam canonici residentiarj ecclia cathedralis Ebori cujus devotione hoc fenestra vitrata fuit A dni M quingentesimo ... Quarterly 1o Arg barrs sa a border engr sa 2o Arg a ^ (chevron) ent 3 cross chapletts or 3 ar 2 & 4 ar* (?St. Hugh quartering Ashton; cf. Gent 3rd S window, Keepe, Dodsworth N window, Dugdale N window above)

(Dodsworth 161 f.39<sup>r</sup>)

(3) In the north window of the quire: *g a towre or Ar a lyon rampt purpure* (arms of King of Spain, C&W p.125, cf. Dugdale f.170<sup>v</sup> above) *qurty or & B in the first qur a leopards face or in the 2d qur a ?cupcondred (cup covered?) or 3 ar 2 4 ar* (goldsmiths' arms) under inscribed: ... of Martin Soza, he was sometyme Sheriffe of Yorke, borne in Spayne, goldsmythe, & Elyne his wief who caused this wyndow to be made of his coste & chardges In the yere of our lord god ... [he was Sheriff 1545 and died 1560] (\*nV modern inscription)

(Dodsworth 157 f.20<sup>v</sup>)

South window: *God grant thaim grace & heaven meded that Hartley helped to do this deed; Ar 3 barrs g on a canton ... a Ai m...*

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>r</sup>)

4) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

In the windows on the south side:

(1) *Pray for the soule of Mr John Listar sometye Sheriffe of York & of his three wiefes which ... anno dni M CCCCC XXXV (\*nVI modern inscription)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.18<sup>v</sup>)

(2) *Of your Charity pray for the soule of Mr Thomas Marsar sometye Clerk of Saint Peter works in whose tyme this church was newly erect & builded & of his devotion caused this window to be glased att his owne costs & charityes A<sup>o</sup> dni mill<sup>o</sup> quingen<sup>mo</sup> XXXV<sup>to</sup> (\*sVI modern inscription)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.18<sup>v</sup>)

(3) *Of your Charity pray for the soule of Mr John Coltman laite subthresaurer of the church of York & clerk of Saint Peter workes ... viiiij of the first stone towards the beulding of this church wch was the yere of our lord god M<sup>o</sup> CCCCC<sup>o</sup> XXV... (\*sV modern inscription)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.18<sup>v</sup>)

(4) (see Dodsworth 157 f. 18<sup>v</sup> under HERALDRY for 4th window on south side)

(5) *Of your charity pray for the soule of Willm (B)eckwith & Jane his wief ... Beckwith & An his wief with ... wch caused this wyndow for to be made glased a<sup>o</sup> dn M<sup>o</sup> CCCCC<sup>o</sup> XXX... (\*sIII modern inscription)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.18<sup>v</sup>)

South quyer window: *Of your charity pray for the soules of Mr John Elwald sumtyme maior of this cytty and dame Agnes his wief & for the soules of Mr Robt Elwald sometymes Sheriffe & Alderman of the same cyttye & Ellen his wief wch there(?) said Mr Robt Elwald of his devotion caused this window to be made att his proper costs & charities in the yere of our lord god 15... (\*sIV modern inscription)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>r</sup>)

In the south east window: *Of your charity pray for the soules of Willm Tomson & ...*

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>r</sup>)

(in the north window of the choir, see Dodsworth 157 f.20<sup>v</sup> above) *Of your Charity pray for the soulles of Martin Soza he was sometye sheriff of Yorke & goldsmyth borne in Spayne & Ellen his wieff who causide this window to be made of his costs and charities in the yere of our lord ... (\*nV modern inscription)*

(Dodsworth 161 f.39<sup>v</sup>)

(Martin Soza's epitaph was in York Minster: *Of your Charity pray for the soullis of Martin Soza goldsmyth born in Saphir in Spayne and Elyne his wief whose soules god pardon of this citty he*

*was Sheriffe who was buried in this ... and dyed the xvij day of october in the yere of our lord god one thousand five hundred and sixty, Dodsworth 161 f.17<sup>r</sup>)*

In the body of the church (monuments in the nave):

(1) *Of your charity pray for the souls of Richard Crafurth, Beatrix his wief & ther ii children*

(Dodsworth 157 f.19<sup>r</sup>)

(2) *Hic jacet Thomas de Bolyn (?Rolym) quondam civis Eboraci ... uxor eius quorum aiabus ppicietur deus Amen qui obiit anno ...*

(Dodsworth 157 f.19<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.342 adds: 'On a stone in the north isle' and gives name as Thomas de Rolrun. Torre p.64 adds: 'in the north isle' and gives inscription as *Hic jacent Thomas de Rol... aldermannus & cives Eboraci et ... uxor ejus quorum aiabz pptur deus amen*, plate 201)

(3)...*glio Mater jhu et mater gliosisie orate p aia Fris Willmo Cokerham qui obiit xiiij die mensis Augusti ano dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCC<sup>o</sup> octavo cuius aiae ppicietur deus amen*

(Dodsworth 157 f.19<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.337 adds: Circumscribed by about a gravestone in the middle isle; Torre p.66 adds 'on N side the nave' and gives inscriptions as '*... Jhu Xti et matris ejus gloriosissime. Orate pro aia fratris Willmi Cokenburn qui obiit xiiii die mens apl anno dni Mo CCCC<sup>o</sup> octavo cujus aie pptur deus amen*', plate 203)

(4) *Orate p aiabus magistri Gilberti Pynchebek et Margarete uxoris eius (Administration of goods 1457)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.19<sup>r</sup>; Torre p.65, plate 202)

On a plate of brass (unspecified location): *Orate pro aiabus Ricardi Birgman et Johanne uxori eius qui obiit die mensis Novembris xij A dni M CCCCC XLII*

(Johnston p.338)

(monument in unspecified location) *Sub hoc marmore requiescunt Henricus (Georgius?) Evers Scriba & Requestarius cum vixit almae curiae Eboric et Beatrice uxor ejusdem una cum filijs ejusdem qui quidem Henricus obiit XXI die mensis Novembris An Dom M CCCCC XX*

(Keepe p.154; Johnston p.341, plate 200; Torre p.69 adds: 'At foot of last (in the S quire) lyes a blue marble at corners couterfoyled containing the 4 Evangelists and on two plates are the full portratures of the defunct & his wife, out of his mouth is an escrowle containing *dns deus adiutor meus* under his feet is a plate whereon is inscribed *Sub hoc marmore requiescit Georgius Evers scriba registrarius cum vixit alme curie Ebor et Beatrix uxor ejusdem una cum filia ejusdem qui quidem Georgius obiit xxi die mensis Novbris Ano dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCCCXX*', plate 205)

In the cross walk between the doors by the S door lyes a white stone upon the verge engraven *Orate pro aiabus ... qui obiit ... die mensis novembris ano dni M<sup>o</sup> CCCCCXI ...*

(Torre p.64, plate 201. This could be the Birgman monument, see Johnston p.338 above)

Toward the foot of the last (stone in the south aisle) lies a white stone inscribed at the head *Hic jacet Agnes Buller cujus aie pptur deus*

(Torre p.65, plate 202)

### St. Michael Spurriergate

(\* , E wall set back 7 ft. in 1821)

(RCHM, *York 5*, 40-43; E.Milner-White, *The Ancient Glass of St. Michael Spurriergate York*, (York 1948))

### 1) ICONOGRAPHY

Windows:

S of altar - prophet Malachias, BVM, Zecharias, king David, Josiah, Daniel, Ananias, Manasses, Ezekiel etc. (\*sIV Tree of Jesse)

Middle window - angels under archangel Michael. (\*sIII 9 Orders of Angels)

SE window - Zechariah praying, birth of Christ (*sic* - nativity of John Baptist?), John Baptist preaching in the wilderness, baptizing Christ, preaching repentance, brought before Herod, who grants to daughter of Herodias the head of the saint which she receives from executioner and carries to her mother. In midst of this window is effigy of St. John Baptist in full proportion clothed in camels hair and leather girdle (\*Zachariah? and large John Baptist in sII; ?Herod and Herodias in sV)

(Gent p.178)

### 2) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Robertus Johnson grocer quondam major istius civitatis Eboraci qui obiit septimo die mensis february A dni M CCCC LXXXVII<sup>o</sup> cuius etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.36<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.265 adds a merchant's mark with letters 'r' and 'j' and a shield: *ermine a chevron*; Hutton p.24; arms of Johnson: *ermine on a chevron azure three bezants*, cf. Burke p.544; Hutton Lansdowne f.14<sup>r</sup> adds: 'on another brasse this ...(inscription) ...on one side of it ye grocers arms')

On N side of last (stone in S quire) lies an old white stone whereon is an escocheon thus charged (no tinctures, 3 unidentified charges, possibly merchant's marks) *Orate pro aiabus Johis ... nuper civis & mercator Ebor & Reanalde uxis ejusdem qui quidem Johes obiit ... Ao dni Mo CCCC... quorum aiabus pptur deus*

(Torre p.349, plate 213)

### 3) INSCRIPTIONS

In a window: *W. Blakely. Beddren Domus Fratru the house of Brethren*

(Dodsworth 157 f.22<sup>v</sup>)

On gravestones in the chancell:

(1) *Orate p anima Nicholai Vicars quondam mercator istius civitatis Ebor qui obiit xxvj<sup>o</sup> die mensis Januarij A dni M CCCC LXXX VIIIJ*

(Dodsworth 161 f.36<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.204 gives date 26 Jan 1488, plate 211; Keepe p.156 gives date 26 Nov 1488; Torre p.350 gives date 26 Jan 1488, plate 214)

(2) *Orate p aia Thome Vicars quondam mercator istius civitatis Ebor qui obiit xxvij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Septembris A dni M CCCC nonodecimo ix*

(Dodsworth 161 f.36<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.204, plate 211; Keepe p.156 gives date 18 Nov 1490; Hutton York Minster p.23; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f. 14<sup>r</sup> adds: 'on a brasse on ye ground in ye chancell this'; Torre p.353 adds merchant's mark, plate 216)

(3) *Orate p aiabus Willmi Hancok olim istius civitatis Eboraci Apothecarij qui obiit sexto die mensis Julij anno dni millimo CCCC<sup>o</sup> LXXX V<sup>o</sup> et Alicie uxoris sue que obiit ... die mensis ... anno dni millimo ... quoru aiabus ppicietur deus Amen (\*brass)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.18<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.204 gives Ellen for wife's name, plate 211; Keepe p.156 gives date 6 July 1484; Gent p.178 gives date 6 July 1484; Hutton York Minster p.24 and Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>r</sup> give wife's name as Ellen; Torre p.352 gives wife's name as Ellen and date for Ellen 1480, plate 215; full inscription with blanks for Alice's dates in Stephenson p.63 who gives William's date as 6 July 1485)

(4) *Hic jacent Oliverus Middleton mercator quondam vicecomes civitatis Ebor et Matilda et Johana uxores eiusdem q quidem Oliver obiit xvij<sup>o</sup> die Januarij a<sup>o</sup> d<sup>o</sup> 1504*

(Dodsworth 157 f.18; Johnston p.204, plate 211; Keepe p.156 gives Arthur Middleton and only year 1504; Hutton York Minster p.23 and Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>r</sup> both give date 25 Jan 1600 and add: 'on another this in brasse'; Torre p.350 gives date 14 Jan 1504, plate 214)

(5) *Orate p aia magistri Willmi Langton quondam rectoris istius ecclie qui obiit xij<sup>o</sup> mensis Augusti A dni M CCCC XVJ<sup>o</sup> (\*brass)*

(Dodsworth 161 f.36<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.204 gives date 13 Aug 1466, plate 211; Keepe p.156 gives date 14 Aug 1463; Hutton Lansdown<sup>e</sup> f.14<sup>r</sup> adds: 'on another brasse this ... (inscription) ... under it a cup'; Torre p.352 gives date as 13 Aug 1463, plate 215; Gent p.178 gives date 13 Aug 1466 - the last is the correct date; full inscription in Stephenson p.60 who gives date as 13 Aug 1466)

(6) *Hic iacet Alanus Hamerton nup civis et mercator Ebor et Isabella uxor suae q quidem Alanus obiit xx<sup>o</sup> die Februarij anno dni M CCCC<sup>mo</sup> VI<sup>o</sup> et Isabella obiit ... quoru aiabz ppic deus (\*floor slab moved from St. Peter Little c.mid 16C)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.204, plate 211; Hutton York Minster p.24 and Hutton Lansdowne f.14<sup>r</sup> both give name as Baerton)

(monument in south aisle):

*Quisquis eris qui nunc transis istium p(ro)pe bustu(m) nullatinus pergas funde precesqz mane  
Wilson Wilielmus glebis iacet hic coop(er)tus vir p(ro)bus exp(er)tus ut summo principe (sic -  
principe) certus (1517)*

(Whoever you will be who now pass by near this grave by no means (before) you proceed please utter and pray and remain William Wilson lies in the earth this elected honest man (he was) experienced being reliable for the highest origin/beginning?) (\*brass)

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>v</sup>; Dugdale f.170<sup>v</sup> adds: *super laminam aeneam marmori prostrato affixam in ala australi*; Hutton York Minster p.24; Hutton Lansdowne f.14<sup>r</sup>; Torre p.349, plate 213; Stephenson p.63)

(monument in N choir) *Hic jacet magister Robertus Appylby et Alicia filia (on whose) soll god (have mercy) (1428?)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.18<sup>r</sup>; Torre p.353 adds 'in the N quire' and gives name as Appulgarth, plate 216)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p aia Ricardi Savege quondam vicecomitis civitat Ebor et Alicia ux eiusdem qui obiit xxiii<sup>o</sup> die Augusti a d 1544*

(Dodsworth 161 f.37<sup>r</sup>)

(monument in unspecified location) Inscription: Nicholas Miers d. 26 Jan 1439

(Gent p.178)

### **St. Nicholas without Walmgate (Lawrence St.)**

(destroyed 1644, \*12C porch at St. Margaret's)

(RCHM, York 5, 23)

Steeple and S wall surviving. Gravestone with effigy of priest in his habit with chalice. Around it French inscription in Saxon (*sic* - Lombardic) characters: *Icy Gist Sir Richard de Grimston Iadys de Stilyngflet Person Dieu Lui Face Mercy et Pardon Amen*

(Gent p.171, plate 218; Torre p.432 adds 'there is still remaining one white gravestone in the quire thus marked and inscribed', plate 219)

On a stone adjoining the north wall of the quire (effigy of priest)

(Johnston p.214, plate 217)

## St. Olave

(\* , rebuilt 1721-2)

(RCHM, York 4, 25-29)

### 1) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

On a stone in the quire: *Hic jacet Robertus Asby sadler cuius aie ppicietur deus Amen*

(Dodsworth 157 f.14<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.255; Keepe p.158; Torre p.596 gives name as Alby, plate 221)

On a gravestone in the middle aisle: *Hic jacet Johns de Spawldinge quondam civis Ebor et Alicia uxor eius quoru aiabus ppicietur deus qui obijt anno dni M CCCXC IIIJ*

(Dodsworth 157 f.14<sup>r</sup>; Johnston p.255)

Towards foot of last (stone in the nave) lyes a white stone long bordered about & engraved thus *Hic jacent Johes de Mawldynge quondam cives Ebor & Johana uxor ejus qui quidem Johes obijt ... die mensis novembris ano dni M CCC XX VIII*

(Torre p.595, plate 220; possibly a different version of the Spawldinge monument above)

(monument by the pulpit) *Orate pro aia ffratris Ricardi Kendall monachi istius Mo(nasterij) etc*

(Dodsworth 157 f.14<sup>r</sup>; Keepe p.158 gives name Robert Kendall and describes it as a funeral inscription; Torre p.595 adds 'in the cross walk by the pulpit', plate 220)

(monument) In the S aisle lyes a white stone whereon is inscribed *Hic jacet Robertus ... cujus aie pptur deus*

(Torre p.595, plate 220)

(monument) At head of last (stone in the S aisle) lyes a white stone whereon is inscribed *Orate pro aia Jannet Walton*

(Torre p.595, plate 220)

(monument) At head of last (stone in S aisle) lyes a white stone whereon is engraven in one line *Orate pro aia Robti de Mawlturas*

(Torre p.595, plate 220)

(monument by pulpit) ... *Willms Vendor ... Agnetis Vendor*

(Dodsworth 157 f.14<sup>v</sup>; Torre p.595 adds 'in the cross walk by the pulpit', plate 220)

(monument in S choir) *Orate p aia Laurencij Jole*



(Dodsworth 157 f.14<sup>v</sup>; Torre p.596 adds: 'in the S quire', plate 221)

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Henricus Flemyng cuius aie ppitietur deus*

(Dodsworth 157 f.14<sup>v</sup>)

(monument in unspecified location) *Orate p aia Willmi Briggys qui obijt xiiij die mensis Junij A dni M CCCC nonagesimo cuius aie etc*

(Dodsworth 161 f.42<sup>v</sup>)

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Johes Cotes quondam vicecomes istius civitatis qui obijt xxviiij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Junij ano dni millimo CCCC<sup>o</sup> LXXX<sup>o</sup> VIJ<sup>o</sup> cuius aiae ppicietur deus Amen*

(Dodsworth 161 f.42<sup>f</sup>. The date is wrong - Cotes's will was written on 15 May 1487 and proved 20 May 1487)

(monument in unspecified location) *Hic jacet Thomas Gudebarne carpentarius cuius aie ppicietur deus Amen*

(Dodsworth 157 f.15<sup>v</sup>)

(unspecified location) *Orate p aia Isabella Sparry cuius aiae etc*

(Dodsworth 157 f.14<sup>v</sup>)

### **St. Peter Little**

(demolished 1550s, VCHY p.400)

#### **1) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY**

*Hic iacet Alanus Hamerton nup civis et mercator Ebor et Isabella uxor suae q quidem Alanus obijt xx<sup>o</sup> die Februarij anno dni M CCCC<sup>mo</sup> V<sup>to</sup> et Isabella obijt ... quoru aiabz ppic deus (\*floor slab moved to St. Michael Spurriergate c.mid 16C)*

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>v</sup>; Johnston p.204, plate 211; Hutton p.24 gives name as Baerton)

### **St. Sampson**

(\* , rebuilt 1845-48)

(RCHM, York 5, 44-46)

#### **1) ICONOGRAPHY**

On steeple is antient effigy of first bishop of York to which saint the church is dedicated (*sic*)

Window over altar contains St. Sampson

Next window SE - history of 7 sacraments as held by Romanists, Christ in proportion

In one of W window - Paul and Silas in confinement etc.

(Gent p.187)

## 2) ICONOGRAPHY AND HERALDRY

In the lowest north window (1 merchant's mark & 1 shield with untingured City of York arms *on a cross 5 lions* for John Karr mayor 1456) ... marked in likewise upon the font and upon the arch of the steeple and upon a house in Jubbergate in this parish. In this window in likewise St. Sampson and St. John of Beverley ... with a scroll. John Karr lord mayor 1456. As likewise in the west window and the arms in the woodwork of the church (\*merchant's marks on S arch of W tower and on boss of N aisle roof; \*figure of bishop in wI)

(Johnston p.343, plate 223)

## 3) HERALDRY

These armes are standing in the windows viz:

(1) *Gules 2 kees in saltire* (E window; St. Peter; cf. Torre below)

(2) *Or 7 Mascalls conjoynd 3.3.1 Gules* (E window; St. William; cf. Torre below)

(3) *B a bend or & file of 3 Argent* (SE window; Scrope of Masham; cf. Johnston and Torre below)

(4) *Sable 3 Picaxes Argent* (SE window; Pigott; cf. Johnston and Torre below; arms of Pigott: *sable three pickaxes argent a bordure of the second*, cf. Burke p.803)

(Keepe p.162)

This in another window: *Ermine, a chevron gules, in chief 3 torteaux, a mullet for difference*

(Glover p.431; Glover CA f.235<sup>v</sup>; Glover Harley 1394 f.154<sup>v</sup>, plate 230; Glover Harley 1420 f.222<sup>v</sup>; Glover Add.18011 f.258<sup>v</sup>; cf. Dugdale below)

This is another window: *Ermine, a chevron gules, in chief 3 torteaux, a mullet for difference*

(Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup>; cf. Glover above)

In a south window of the chancell

(1) *azure a bend or a label of three points argent* for Scrope of Masham

(2) *sable 3 pickaxes argent* (cf. Keepe above and Torre below)

(Johnston p.343, plate 223)

In a south window in the body of the church (merchant's mark)

(Johnston p.343, plate 223)

Upon the wood work in the church (*8 mascles (5 and 3) in chief two ?*)

(Johnston p.343, plate 223)

Coats of arms in this church

In N quire

In ye east end window thereof

(1) *gu 2 keyes in saltire ar.* St. Peters York. Dean & Chapter (cf. Keepe above)

(2) *Or 7 mascles gu 3, 3, 1.* St, William Abp Ebor (cf. Keepe above)

In the side window of the same quire

(1) Scrope of Masham. *az a bend or & fyle of 3 poynts arg* (cf. Keepe and Johnston above)

(2) *sab 3 milln picks vel hammers A.* Pigott (cf. Keepe and Johnston above)

In a window on N side the steeple by the N door

York City. *on a cross 5 lions* (lowest N window, City of York for John Karr, cf. Johnston above)

(Torre p.282, plate 225)

#### 4) HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS

In a window: *Azure 5 fusills in fesse or between 3 garbs argent. Orate pro animabus Roberto Midleton, et uxoris eius et liberis eius*

(Glover p.431; Glover CA f.235<sup>v</sup>; Glover Harley 1394 f.154<sup>v</sup>, plate 230; Glover Harley 1420 f.222<sup>v</sup>; Glover Add.18011 f.258<sup>v</sup>; cf. Dugdale below)

(Arms in unspecified location):

*Azure 5 fusils in fesse or between 3 garbs argent. Orate pro Roberto Middleton et uxore ejus ac liberis eorum*

(Dugdale f.7<sup>r</sup>; cf. Glover p.431 above)

#### St. Saviour

(\* , N and S aisles rebuilt 1844-5)

(RCHM, York 5, 46-49)

## 1) ICONOGRAPHY

Painted over pillars: effigies of Moses, Aaron, St. Peter, St. Paul, and 4 Evangelists

Great E window - Christ raised on cross, crucified, laid in tomb, appearing to apostles etc. (\* scenes now in wI at All Saints Pavement)

(Gent p.186)

## 2) HERALDRY

Armes in the windows:

(1) *Ermine on a saltire Gules a mullet Argent* (window by the door, cf. Torre p.577 below)

(2) *Bellasis. viz Arg a chev Gules betweene 3 flowers de luce B quartering Or a fess Gules Betweene 3 Torteaux. 3d Bellasis Arg a pallet ingrailed betweene 2 endorses plane sab. 4th arg a pallet ingrailed betweene 6 martlets in orle sable. 5th barry of 6 Arg & Gules on a canton of the last a lyon of England. 6th Arg 2 barrs & 3 Escalops in cheife Azure* (N choir window, cf. Torre and Dugdale below)

(Keepe p.162)

Armes in the church:

(1) In the window by the door: *Erm on a saltire gu a cinquefoil A* (cf. Keepe above)

(2) In the N quire window: *Belasis & Lings. 1) A a chev inter 3 file de lyz B. 2) O a fess gu inter 3 torteaux. 3) A a pale ingr double cotized sab. 4) (illegible) inter 3 martlets sab. 5) barry of 6 A & gu. 6) A 2 barrs & 3 escallops in chief B* (cf. Keepe above)

(Torre p.577, plate 229)

*In quondam Boreali fenestra* (north window):

(a) *Ermine on a saltire g a cinquefoil A* (NE window, cf. Torre (1) above)

(Dugdale f.169v)

4 windows: *Ar on a (bend) sa 3 ... heads like Bosswell(?) erazed impaled with Vavasor*

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>v</sup>)

## 3) INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

By the steeple lye 2 white coffyn like stones at the heads thereof is engraven viz: 1/ *Orate pro aia Roberti de Duffeld. 2/ Et pro aia Helene uxoris ejus*

(Torre p.576, plate 228)

A white coffin like stone about 2 yds & ½ long thus inscribed on its verge (in the N choir): *Hic iacet Robertus Verdenel cuius an(imae) propicietur deus (Amen)* (\*late 13C coffin lid)

(Dodsworth 157 f.21<sup>v</sup>; Torre p.576 adds: 'in the N quire', plate 228)

In the south quire lyes a coffin like stone: *Pray for Jon Kapwyk ux ej* (sketch with inscription beginning: *Orate...*)

(Torre p.577, plate 229)

(monument in the chancel) *Orate p aiabz Rogeri Moreton quondam maioris Civitatis Eboru qui obiit v<sup>o</sup> die mensis Julij Anno Dni M CCC LXXXII<sup>o</sup> et Isabellae uxoris sue que obiit vj<sup>o</sup> die mensis martij Anno Dni M<sup>o</sup> quadringentesimo XIJ quorum aiabz etc*

(\*brass now in All Saints' Pavement) (Dodsworth 161 f.34<sup>v</sup>; Dugdale f.169<sup>v</sup> gives dates 5 July 1382 and 6 March 1412 and describes the monument as '*laminam aeneam marmori prostrato affixam*'; Keepe p.160 gives dates 5 July 1389 and 6 March 1410; Torre p. 575 adds 'in the chancell' and gives dates 5 June 1382 and 6 March 1412; Gent p.186 gives dates 5 July 1382 and 6 March 1415; Stephenson p.67 gives surviving inscription with dates 5 July 1382 and 6 March 1412)

### **St. Wilfrid**

(demolished 16C)

Burial of Nicholas Fleming mayor d.1319 fighting against Scots at Myton-upon-Swale

(Gent p.178)

## **A.2 Alphabetical List of Patrons**

Insofar as it is possible the entries in this list include names, occupations, wills abstracts, details of commemoration and of civic activities. The list of 516 entries includes: 1) 291 names of people commemorated in inscriptions and heraldry derived from the antiquarian evidence (indicated by the (A) symbol) - some of these names were also chantry founders; 2) 11 names of people whose heraldry was seen by the antiquarians although their names are not mentioned in the antiquarian record (indicated by the (HA) symbol); 3) 76 names of people, not mentioned in the antiquarian evidence, but in whose name chantries were founded, either by themselves or by their executors; 4) 138 'significant others', including 34 close relatives of groups 1), 2) and 3), whose details can help to shed further light on the commemorated themselves, and 104 other individuals whose importance resides in having made significant testamentary bequests to parish churches. While for group 1) all names are listed individually, for group 3) only the chantry founders are listed individually and the names of other individuals commemorated are listed under the founder's entry. Women are listed under the surname with which they appear in commemorative inscriptions or chantry foundation documents. All names are listed in alphabetical order under surnames, except for twenty-one individuals whose surnames did not survive - these are listed in alphabetical order under first names.

Where they exist, manuscript wills of the commemorated have been read. Of the additional 235 printed wills read, only those with direct bequests to parish churches (excluding bequests to parish clergy) are abstracted here, with the exception of a few aristocratic wills. These are included because the testators are considered to be the most likely individuals commemorated by particular heraldic arms.

Occupations are gathered from a variety of sources - from inscriptions either surviving or transcribed by the antiquarians, from wills, and from the freemen's register. No inconsistencies were found if a person's occupation was reported in more than one source, although occasionally those who describe themselves as merchants also add 'goldsmith' or 'grocer' which are occupations recognized to belong to the general merchant heading (see chapter 3 section 3.4).

Civic duties: no distinction is made here between 'mayors' (up to 1388) and 'lord mayors' (from 1389) because this distinction is not made in the memorial inscriptions.

'Monument' means a monumental inscription, either on a brass or on a floor slab; other contributions (e.g. windows or stonework) will be described individually - dating is included where known, guesswork is in brackets. (\*) indicates surviving material, followed by details.

Dating: the dating of memorials is the author's and is based on the following principles. Chantries are simply dated from the year of the license in the Calendar of Patent Rolls. Windows and funerary monuments are dated in the first instance according to any inscription that may appear in them. Monuments are dated according to the date of death which appears in the inscription. If no date is mentioned in the inscription then the date of the monument is assumed to predate the death of the person commemorated, which is based on the date of probate of their will, if existing. Monuments which commemorate more than one person present particular problems - where the different individuals commemorated died in different years the monument is assumed to have been made by the earlier or earliest date of death, with subsequent dates being filled in in subsequent years. This is indicated by dating the monument to sometime between the earliest and latest dates. For those monuments which commemorate individuals who could not have planned a memorial by the earliest death (such as in the case of an individual and his or her successive spouses), the monument is assumed to date from the latest rather than earliest date of death. Some memorials cannot be dated due to insufficient evidence concerning the commemorated. Windows - whose inscriptions do not usually carry dates - are dated to before the death of the principal commemorated, because of the scarcity of instructions for posthumous windows in testamentary evidence. The exception to this are the early sixteenth-century windows at St. Michael-le-Belfrey,

many of which did carry dates. In this particular case all the windows cannot be dated earlier than 1527 which is when the rebuilding of the church began - hence one of the windows (Hugh Ashton's) appears to postdate the date of death of the commemorated.

Wills abstracts: the term 'bequests' indicates small sums of money - any large or unusual bequests will be fully described. When paying for masses for one's soul, it was customary to request that the clerk should also pray for the souls of benefactors and all the faithful departed - in the abstracts this is indicated by 'etc'. The abstracts are not all-inclusive - only material relevant to this thesis is mentioned.

Chantry foundations: where possible, information is given on the amounts of money involved, both in the amount paid for the licence and for the yearly value of the chantry itself, commonly derived from the alienation in mortmain of a certain amount of rent from tenements, messuages or shops to support the chaplain(s) who were to celebrate mass for the commemorated. This is abbreviated as follows: '... licenced for x marks/ £ s d for x marks/ £ s d rent/ OR for an annuity of x marks/ £ s d...' (1 mark = 13s 4d). Where such information is not given, the foundation deed fails to record it. Chantry foundations are listed under the names of those who founded chantries in their own lifetimes for themselves and their relations and friends, or under the names of those whose chantries were founded posthumously by their executors. In those cases where a widow founds a chantry for herself and her late husband, the chantry is listed under the wife's name.

Editorial comments are made in round brackets. Quotations are in italics. The spelling of the surnames is that found in the testator's will or in the civic records if no will is found and may differ from the spelling reported in the windows and monumental inscriptions - alternative spellings are inserted in brackets.

Question marks (?) indicate uncertain attributions. General references and starting points provided by RCHM *York 3-5* and VCHY; specific references to primary and other sources will be found in the text.

de ACASTER, Isolda (A)

Widow of John, merchant

Will 26 March 1495, pr. 10 April 1495 (*sic* - scribal error for 1395) (BI Reg.1 ff.81<sup>v</sup>-82<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in All Saints Ousegate (i.e. Pavement) before altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury next to husband's grave. To rector her best gown for mortuary and 40s for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 80 lbs wax for her funeral, then 20 lbs to rector of All Saints P., 20 lbs to high altar of All Saints P., 12 lbs to altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury, 12 lbs to church of St. Andrew Fishergate, 12 lbs to altar of St. Mary in St. Andrew's priory. Trental of masses of St. Gregory for 8 days after her death. 26s 8d for one chaplain to celebrate mass for her soul, i.e. 2 trentals of St. Gregory, for 1 year. £8 to be distributed among 4 orders of friars. £100 for 20 chaplains to celebrate mass for one year after her death for her soul and for souls of husband John, sons John, Robert, William, etc. 6s 8d to rector of St. Cuthbert. Bequests to paupers, lepers, recluses and prisoners. 13s 4d for a torch for elevation of host at light before altar of St. Mary in St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate). 20s to guild of St. George. 40s to fabric of steeple of All Saints P. Residue to executors, i.e. master John de Shirburn, William de Kexby cleric, William Sauvage of London, William Sassay, Robert de Acaster, for the good of her soul.

Chantry at altar of St. Thomas Martyr in All Saints Pavement for self and souls of late husband John, her father William etc licensed for 20 marks (1 mark = 13s 4d) for £6 13s 4d rent during her life 1383 (*CPR 1381-85* p.318; *YCC I* p.59)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband John 1379 (John died 1379, blanks for Isolda)

de ACASTER, John (A)

Merchant

Bailiff 1358; mayor 1362, 1364, 1378; MP 1366, 1370, 1374, 1379 (*Freemen*, pp. 57, 59, 76; *Drake* pp.356, 361)

Chantry at altar of St. Thomas Martyr in All Saints Pavement for wife Isolda and self, also her father William etc licensed for 20 marks for £6 13s 4d rent during Isolda's life 1383 (*CPR 1381-85* p.318; *YCC I* p.59)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Isolda 1379 (John died 1379, blanks for Isolda)

de AKUM, John Sr.

Chamberlain 1337; bailiff 1341 (*Freemen*, p.32; *Drake* p.361)

Chantry at altar of BVM in St. Peter Little for self, Adam de Hadon, John de Nassyngton, Walter de Yarewell etc licensed for 6 marks for 2 messuages and 6s rent 1348 during his life; augmented by John Sr. for 30s license for one messuage's rent in 1349 and by John Jr. for 2 marks licence for plot of land and 9s rent in 1359 (*CPR 1348-50* p.122, 414; *CPR 1358-61* p.240)

ALCOCK, John

b.1430-d.1500

Born at Beverley, educated at Beverley grammar school and University of Cambridge (LL.D.). Bishop of Rochester 1472-76; bishop of Worcester 1476-86; bishop of Ely 1486-1500. Founded chantry at Holy Trinity, Hull. Founded Jesus College Cambridge. Buried in Alcock chapel at Ely Cathedral. (*DNB I*, pp.236-7; J.Bentham, *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely*, (Cambridge 1771), pp.181-3; *YCC*, p.340)



Arms as bishop of Ely (*argent, on a fess between 3 cock's heads erased sable, wattled gules, a mitre or*) in window nVI at All Saints North St. (1486-1500)

..., ALICE (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with sisters Judith, Margaret, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen, Constance, Joan and brothers Robert, Henry, John, William and Nicholas (late 14C).

..., ALICE (A)

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. with husband Thomas 1429

ALNE, Robert

Examiner-general of court of York and parson at altar of St. Nicholas in York Minster.

Will 24 Dec 1440, pr. 26 Dec 1440 (*TE II* p.78, also Shaw p.94): requests burial before altar of St. Nicholas in church of All Saints North St. To church: one Legend in 2 vols to pray for soul of master Thomas Hebbeden, for his own soul and souls of parent etc; 6s 8d for repair of book of preachers. Books to York Minster library and to library of University of Cambridge (law books, service books, philosophical and devotional tracts). To John Otringham, master of St. Michael's Cambridge, a pair of tablets of ivory with binding of white and black silk (ivory diptych). To Robert Semer rector of church of St. Martin Coney St. the use of Giles' *de Regimine Principum* for the rest of his life, then to York Minster library.

de ALNEWYK, Alan

Goldsmith

Will 3 Sep 1374, pr. 13 Sep 1374 (*TE I* pp.91-92): requests burial in choir of St. Michael-le-Belfrey near where he used to sit in the same choir or within church of St. Leonard's hospital. His best gown with hood for his mortuary. 5s for forgotten tithes. 6s 8d to rector or vicar for 4 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to paupers, friends and neighbours, parish clergy. All messuages in Stonegate to wife Matilda and heirs.

de ALWARTHORP, Thomas

Bailiff 1316; MP 1312 (Drake pp.356, 360)

Chantry in All Saints Pavement founded during his life for own soul and souls of his sister Isabel, Robert Haget and his wife Eilen licensed for 5 marks rent in 1311 (*CPR 1307-13* pp.303-4; *YMB I* p.25)

de AMPILFORD (AMPLEFORD/AMPELFORD), Robert (A)

Tanner, free 1317 (*Freemen*, 17)

Chamberlain 1344 and 1357; bailiff 1360 (*Freemen*, pp.38, 52; Drake p.361)

Will 28 Mar 1390, pr. 15 July 1390 (BI Reg.1 ff.28<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in All Saints Pavement. His best gown for his mortuary. 20s to rector for forgotten tithes. 20s to church fabric. Bequests to York Minster clergy to pray for his soul. 30 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to parish clergy at All Saints, including 12d to chaplain of chantry of St. Mary. 10s to friars preachers. 6s 8d each to other three orders of friars. 40s to York Minster. £10 for his funeral for friends and neighbours. Tenement in Coppergate. 40d for a torch to burn at altar of St. Peter in All Saints at elevation of host. £10 for two chaplains to pray for his soul, the souls of his wife Margaret etc for one year after his death in All Saints. Residue to executors John Feriby, subtreasurer of York Minster, his son Robert, his brother John.

Chantry at altar of St. Peter in All Saints Pavement for self and souls of wife Margaret, William de Wyghtstowe etc licensed for £20 for a message's rent during his life 1378 and augmented by licence for 6s 8d for 3s 4d rent posthumously 1395 (*CPR 1377-81* pp.285-6; *CPR 1391-96* p.607; *YCC I* p.59)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Margaret (1390)

de AMPLEFORD, Margaret (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband Robert (1390)

APPILGARTH, Richard

Armourer

Will 2 Apr 1437, pr. 6 Apr 1437 (BI Reg.3 f.484<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate) before pulpit. His best gown for his mortuary. 20d for forgotten tithes. 4 lbs. wax for his funeral. 3s 4d to church fabric for his burial. Bequests to parish clergy. A chalice with patten to his son William to use for the rest of his life then for the use of his parish church.

APPILGARTH, William

Chaplain of St. Michael Spurriergate

Will 2 Aug 1438, pr. 7 Aug 1438 (BI Reg.3 ff.531<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in church of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate) before altar of St. Margaret. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to parish clergy. 2 priest's vestments and a silver chalice bequeathed to him by his father to altar of St. Margaret.

(\*sV 1b) Probably commemorated in glass panel with St. Margaret, dragon and figure of kneeling cleric at St. Michael Spurriergate (pre-1438)

APPYLBY, Alice (A)

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate with father Robert (1428)

APPYLBY, Robert (A)

Woolman

Probate act 14 Dec 1428 (BI Reg.2 f.540<sup>r</sup>)

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate with daughter Alice (1428)

ASBY, Robert (A)

Saddler

Monument at St. Olave

ASHTON (ASHETON), Hugh (A)

Bachelor of Canon Law from University of Cambridge; rector of Barnack Northants 1502-1517; canon and prebendary of Exeter 1507-1516; canon of Sarum and prebendary of Lyme and Hardstock 1509-1517; canon and prebendary of St. Stephen's Chapel Westminster 1509 till death; rector of Lythe Yorkshire until 1511; rector of Grasmere Westmorland before 1511; archdeacon of Winchester 1511-1520; canon of York and prebendary of Strensall 1515 till death; archdeacon of Cornwall 1515-1517; archdeacon of York 1516 till death; rector of Burton Latimer Northants 1522 till death; controller of household of Lady Margaret and member of her council; died by Jan 1523; buried in York Minster (Emden, *Cambridge*, pp.18-19)

Will 7 Dec 1522, pr. 9 March 1523 (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 4 Bodfelde)

(\*now sIV) Window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey 15...(commissioned pre-1523, executed c.1530)

ASKE, Hawisia, n<sup>è</sup>e Mowbray

Widow

Will no date, pr. 11 Jan 1450 (*TE II* pp.141-146): requests burial in York Minster in grave of her former husband William Selby. 40s to York Minster for her burial. Her best gown for her mortuary. 25 lbs wax for her funeral. 13 torches, 6 lbs wax each, for her funeral, then 4 torches for high altar of St. Michael-le-Belfrey at time of elevation of host, 2 for altar of BVM in same church, one for altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Mary Magdalen in same church, others for churches outside York. Bequests to parish clergy of St. Michael. 100s to John Horsley chaplain to celebrate mass for her soul and souls of her husbands (William Selby and Roger Aske) in church of St. Michael for 3 years. Bequests to lepers and poor. To Joan Lascels sister of Roger Aske a gilt and silver tablet of the Salutation of the BVM decorated with pearls. To Sir John Mowbray several bequests, including a coverlet with red tapestry of Arrass work with lions and a belt of silver silk decorated and gilt with the image of the three kings of Cologne sculpted in the buckle.

de ASKHAM, John

Merchant

A John de Askham (his father?) MP 1307-8; Mayor 1307, 1308 (Drake pp.356, 360)

Bailiff 1389 (Drake p.361)

Will 31 Dec 1400, pr. 21 Jan 1400 (BI Reg.3 f.52<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in St. Martin Micklegate. His best gown for his mortuary. 15 lbs wax for his burial. Bequests to parish clergy. To wife Agnes and her heirs his tenements in York. To wife Agnes his whole estate (no children mentioned). Residue to wife Agnes executrix.

Chantry of Holy Trinity in St. Martin Micklegate for self and souls of wife Agnes (living) etc licensed for 26s 8d for rent of a messuage and vacant plot 1394 during his life. (*CPR 1391-96* p.529)

ATKYNSON, Agnes (A)

N aisle window at St. Maurice with husband Robert, his other wife ?Edith and 3 children (1464)

ATKYNSON, ?Edith (A)

N aisle window at St. Maurice with husband Robert, his other wife Alice and 3 children (1464)

ATKYNSON, Robert (A)

Lister, free 1442 (*Freemen* p.160) or

Walker, free 1444 (*Freemen* p.163) or

Carpenter, free 1477 (*Freemen* p.199) or

Walker, free 1493 (*Freemen* p.218) or

Blacksmith, free 1496 (*Freemen* p.222)

N aisle window at St. Maurice with wives Agnes and ?Edith and 3 children (1464)

BAGULE (BAGULEY), James (A)

Rector of All Saints North St.

Member of CC 1409-10 (*Reg. CC* p.12)

Will 19 July 1438, pr. 16 Mar 1440 (BI Reg.2 f.17<sup>r</sup>, also *TE II* p.79 and Shaw p.94): requests burial in All Saints North St. at entrance to choir under marble slab. 4 lbs wax for funeral. Bequests to parish clergy. 3s 4d to each monk in Holy Trinity Priory in holy orders and 20s to each monk not in holy orders. A book of canticles and a red book of ballads to William Hanke. A book with motetts to the chaplain Thomas Astell. To All Saints North St. a book called *The Marrow of Grammar* and a processional, to be chained in the stall before the rector in the choir. Residue for masses and works of charity.

(\*now sIII with St. Michael and St. John Evangelist) Window at All Saints North St. with Robert Chapman and wife (2nd quarter 15C)

del BANK, Adam

Litster (dyer), free 1370 (*Freemen*, p.68)

Bailiff 1387 (Drake p.361)

Will pr. 1410 (Shaw p.10, will not found)

Chantry in All Saints North St. (c.1410) (*YCR III* p.30; *YCR IV* p.144)

BANKE, Margaret

Wife of Adam del Bank, also related to John and Reginald Bawtre.

Will 14 Oct 1401, pr. 27 Nov 1401 (BI Reg.3 f.66<sup>v</sup>-67<sup>r</sup>; also Shaw pp.10-11): requests burial in All Saints North St. Her best gown for her mortuary. Bequests to parish clergy. 30 lbs wax for her burial. 6 torches of 10 lbs each for her burial, then to remain at high altar of All Saints North St. 13s 4d to each order of friars. Bequests to St. Leonard's hospital, infirm, servants. Bequests to husband Adam del Bank and to her relative John Bawtry (to the latter her tenement in North St.). Her income in Petergate to be sold after her death for masses and alms. Bequest to Reginald Bawtry. Residue to executors: husband Adam and relative John Bawtry.

**BARDEN (BERDEN/CARDEN), John (A)**

Lister

Chamberlain 1367; mayor 1378 (*Freemen*, pp.65, 75; Drake p.361)

His daughter Margaret married John Moreton, mercer; his other daughter Agnes married Henry Wyman, goldsmith and merchant (*Reg. CC* pp.33, 239)

Will Thursday next after feast of SS. Philip and James 1396, pr. 17 Jan 1396 (BI Reg.1 ff.95<sup>v</sup> and 100<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in York Minster or in his parish church of St. Crux. 100 lbs of wax for candles and torches for his burial . 40s to fabric of York Minster. 10 marks to fabric of his parish church. Bequests to parish clergy. 20s each to friars minors, friars preachers and Austin friars. 40s to Carmelite friars. Bequests to St. Leonard's hospital, hospital of Holy Trinity Fossgate, paupers and maisonndieux. To his wife Alice the messuage in the Pavement where he lives, for the rest of her life, then to Henry Wyman and his wife Agnes (Barden's daughter) and their heirs. To his daughter Helen the yearly income, i.e. 5 marks, of his lands. Executors: wife Alice, Thomas Graa, John Brathwayt, Richard de Gascoigne, Henry Wyman, John de Hamton.

Chantry at altar of BVM and St. Thomas Apostle at St. Crux 1407 (*YCC* pp.74-5)

(\*brass in St. Crux parish room) Mentioned in monument at St. Crux with daughter Agnes and son-in-law Henry Wyman 1411-1413

de **BARNEBY, Richard**

Butcher, free 1340 (*Freemen*, p.35)

Posthumous chantry in Holy Trinity King's Court for self and souls of wife Alice, parson William, Robert de Richemund etc licensed for £40 for 7 messuages rent 1378 to John Feryby and John de Brodesworth parson of Holy Trinity. (*CPR 1377-81* p.256; *YCC I* p.77)

**BARTON, Thomas**

Spicer

MP 1450 (Drake p.357)

Will 20 Jan 1460, pr. 7 Sep 1461 (BI Reg.2 f.451<sup>v</sup>-452<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in St. Michael Spurriergate near the bones of his sons. 6s 8d to church for burial. 2 candles weighing 8 lbs for his funeral. Bequests to parish clergy. 13s 4d for 4 torches for his funeral, then to high altar of St. Michael. Bequests to paupers; maisonndieux; leper houses. 5s to each order of friars. 7 marks for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for one year after his death in St. Michael. Bequests to brothers John and Roger; uncles John and Robert; sister-in-law Ineta Bracebrig. Bequests to guild of St. Christopher. £26 to buy a whole vestment of white damask with orfrays for chaplain, deacon and subdeacon; 2 dalmatics for boys; and 3 copes of damask for his parish church of St. Michael. To his wife Matilda all his lands and tenements with appurtenances in High and Low Ousegate and Walmgate for the rest of her life, then to daughter Katherine and her heirs. If Katherine dies without heirs, lands and tenements to be sold for the good of his soul and souls of wife Matilda, daughter Katherine etc. Residue to wife Matilda. Executors: wife Matilda, William Langton rector of St. Michael Spurriergate, Thomas Clarell and Robert Hancock.

**BASY, Roger**

Bailiff 1277; mayor 1289 and 1291 (*Freemen*, pp.4, 5; Drake p.360)

Advowson of Holy Trinity King's Court in 14C (chapter 2 table 2.6)

Chantry in St. Mary Bishophill Sr. for self, wife Alice, his father Roger, his mother Margaret, master William de Skeldergate etc licensed for 6 marks rent 1311 during his life (*CPR 1307-1313* p.343; *YCC I* p.68-9 has augmentation by Elizabeth Basy 1404; *YCC II* p.465)

**BAWTRE, Reginald (A)**

Merchant

Member of CC with wife (Cecily widow of John de Escrick) 1428-9; chamberlain 1429 (*Reg. CC* p.28)

Will 21 Nov 1429, pr. 21 Nov 1429 (BI Reg.2 ff.572A<sup>r-v</sup>, also Shaw p.89). Requests burial in his parish church of All Saints North St. next to body of his uncle John Bawtre. His best garment for his mortuary. 6s 8d for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 3s 4d to church fabric for his burial. A red chasuble and an alb to chantry of Adam del Bank and John Bawtre at altar of St. Nicholas. A chasuble, an alb and an amice to altar of BVM. 100s to fabric of a new window in south part of church. 8 lbs wax for his funeral. £4 for his funeral expenses. A bronze vessel to high altar of All Saints. 6s 8d to each mendicant friar attending his exequies. Bequests to poor, lepers and prisoners. Half of all his books to his (step-) son John Escryk. The other half to John Babyngton, his wife's relative. 7 marks a year for one chaplain to celebrate mass in his parish church for his soul and for soul of his wife Cecilia for 7 years after his death. 6s 8d to York Minster.

(\*effigy in nIV, Corporal Acts of Mercy; original lights in nV Christ and 2 St. Thomases) Window in north aisle at All Saints North St. with Blackburne arms (pre-1429)

South window of south aisle at All Saints North St. with wife Cecily and ?daughter, Nicholas Blackburne Sr. & wife Margaret (c.1429-32)

**BAWTRY, John (A)**

Succentor to vicars choral of York Minster 1388-97

Will 18 April 1411, pr. 24 April 1411 (YML L2/4 f.157<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in All Saints North St. next to tomb of Adam del Bank and his wife Margaret. To Thomas Martin vicar of York Minster his best gown for the choir, his Bible. Bequests to cleks at York Minster. 8s 4d to fabric of All Saints North St. Bequests to parish clergy. 12 lbs wax for his funeral in All Saints. Bequests to poor. Relations: his sister Agnes; his sister Margaret and her sons Thomas and William; £20 to his relative (nephew - see Reginald Bawtre's will above) Reginald. 20 marks to fabric of York Minster. His best vestment to chantry of Adam del Bank and wife Margaret in All Saints. Messuage with buildings and appurtenances in North St. bequeathed to him by Margaret del Bank to executors to be sold for works of mercy for the good of his soul and for the souls of William de Burn, his wife Margaret etc. Residue to his relative Reginald. Executors: Thomas Martyn, vicar choral of York Minster, and Reginald Bawtre.

(\*floor slab) Monument at All Saints North St. (1411)

**BAXTER, John**

Sherman

Will 28 Jan 1478, pr. (?) (*TE III* pp.243-244): requests burial in church of St. John Ousebridge in ambulatory before image of St. Crux. 6s 8d to fabric to make 2 tabernacles.

**BECKWITH, Anne (A)**

Wife of William Beckwith (Jr.)

(\*now sIII with modern inscription) Window in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with husband William, William Beckwith (Sr.) and wife Jane, 153..(1535?)

**BECKWITH, Jane (A)**

Wife of William Beckwith (Sr.)

(\*now sIII with modern inscription) Window in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with husband William, (?)son William and his wife Anne 153..(1535?)

**BECKWITH, William (Jr.) (A)**

(\*now sIII with modern inscription) Window in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with (?)parents Jane and William, and wife Anne 153..(1535?)

**BECKWITH, William (Sr.)(A)**

Merchant, free 1529 (*Freemen* p.250)

Member of CC 1530

Chamberlain 1540; sheriff 1543; mayor 1555 and 1569 (*Reg. CC* p.215; *Drake* pp.364-5)

Governor of York Mercers 1555-6 (*YM & MA* p.323)

(\*now sIII with modern inscription) Window in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with wife Jane, (?)son William and his wife Anne 153..(1535?)

BELL, John

Tanner/barker

Free 1431 (*Freemen* p.146)

Will 18 Jan 1458, pr. 17 Apr 1459 (BI Reg.2 ff.402r-403v): requests burial at end of altar of St. Mary in his parish church of St. Denys. His best gown for his mortuary. 6 lbs wax for his funeral. 3s 4d to rector for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 4 torches at 8s each for his funeral. One chaplain to celebrate mass, i.e. trental of St. Gregory, for his soul for one year. 3s 4d to church fabric for burial. 20d to York Minster fabric. 12d to each order of friars. 20d to St. Andrew's priory (Fishergate). Bequests to wardens of order of St. Gilbert, guild of Corpus Christi, guild of St. Christopher, guild of St. John, guild of St. George. Bequests to prisons, maisonnieux, leper houses. 6s 8d for a perpetual anniversary for his soul etc the next day after feast of St. Denys. 2 candles of wax weighing 3 lbs for his funeral then one for image of BVM and other for image of St. Denys. Tenement in Walmgate where he lives to his wife Isabel. Residue for the good of his soul.

BELL, John

Chapman/merchant

Will 30 July 1444, pr. 6 Nov 1444 (BI Reg.2 ff.95<sup>v</sup>-96<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in choir of BVM at St. Michael Spurriergate. His best gown for his mortuary. Bequests to parish clergy. 28 marks for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for 4 years after his death at the tenth hour at altar of BVM. 3s 4d for wax for said altar. 23s 4d for 4 torches to high altar of his parish church. To wife Alice his whole estate and all his tenements in Ousegate. 6 marks for funeral expenses. Residue to wife Alice and child with whom she is pregnant. Executors: wife Alice, John Bell of Walmgate, Richard Rumby.

BELLAMY, John

Rector of St. Saviour

Will 8 July 1452, pr. 8 Aug 1452 (BI Reg.2 ff.251<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in choir of St. Saviour. £8 to roof south choir of church with lead.

de BELTON, Henry

Miller, free 1323 (*Freemen*, p.22) OR

Bailiff 1329; mayor 1334-1337 and 1339 (*Freemen*, pp. 28-31; Drake p.360-1)

Chantry at altar of BVM at All Saints Pavement licensed 1337 (*CPR 1334-8*, p.385; *YCC*, p.556; Drake p.294)

BENETSON, Matilda

Late wife of William, marshall



Will Saturday next after feast of Purification of BVM 1392, pr. 10 March 1392 (*TE I* pp.180-183): requests burial in choir of church of St. Helen near Walls (Aldwark) near her late husband William. To rector of St. John del Pyke (Ogleforth) her best gown with hood for her mortuary; 8 lbs wax for 5 candles to burn around her body in church of St. John; and 3s 4d for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. To rector of St. Helen her second best gown with hood; and 8 lbs wax for 5 candles to burn around her body in church of St. Helen. 2 lbs wax for 2 candles to burn in her house before her burial. 8s to 4 orders of friars. One image of St. Mary in alabaster to high altar of St. Helen.

**BENGE, John**

Chaplain

Chantry at altar of St. Mary at All Saints North St. licensed during his life 1324 (*CPR 1324-27* p.31)

**BERGHE, Walter**

Will 9 May 1404, pr. 14 June 1404 (*TE I* pp.333-334): requests burial in church of friars minors near his wife Eufemia de Haslarton. 20 lbs wax for his funeral. 20s to convent of friars minors. To vicar of church of St. George one tablet *de Proyse cum le menyhe* to pray for soul of Isabel Persay. One cloth for high altar of St. Martin Coney St. One cloth for high altar of St. Margaret. 7 cloths for high altar of St. George.

**BEVERLAY, Alice (A)**

Widow of Thomas, merchant

Will 8 Aug 1482, no pr. (*BI Reg.5 ff.28<sup>v</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>*): requests burial in her parish church of All Saints Pavement next to body of husband Thomas. 20s to church fabric for burial. 6s 8d to rector for forgotten tithes. £35 for chaplain to celebrate mass for her soul and souls of husband Thomas, their parents etc for 7 years, within 1½ years of her death a trental of St. Gregory. 6s 8d to each order of friars to celebrate a trental of masses. Bequests to maison dieux and leper houses. 40s for making a great bell in All Saints P. within 2 years of her death. 3s 4d to York Minster fabric. 40s to augment chantry of St. Mary in All Saints P. 3s 4d to fabric of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate). 3s 4d to fabric of St. John Micklegate (Ousebridge). Bequests to parish clergy of All Saints P. 10 lbs wax for her funeral, then for altars at All Saints P. £9 for making of a small choir with altar in honour of St. Christopher in south part of All Saints P. Bequests to sons William, Nicholas, John and Richard and daughters Joan Barber and Isabel Leedes. Residue to executors, i.e. John Feriby merchant and sons Nicholas, John and Richard, for the good of her soul.

Monument in All Saints Pavement with husband Thomas 1480 (Thomas died 1480, blanks for Alice)

**BEVERLAY (BEVERLEY), Thomas (A)**

Merchant

Free 1439 (*Freemen* p.155)

Sheriff 1451; mayor 1460 and 1471 (*Drake* p.363)

Member of CC with wife Alice (daughter of Henry Markett) 1453 (*Reg. CC* p.52)

Governor of York Mercers 1461 (*YM & MA* p.322)

Will 11 Aug 1480, pr. 19 Aug 1480 (BI Reg.5 ff.184<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in choir of St. Mary Virgin in his parish church of All Saints Pavement. 20s to church for his burial. His best gown to rector for his mortuary. 40s for forgotten tithes. £40 for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for 8 years. Bequests to parish clergy. 10s to each order of friars for two trentals of masses. 8 torches for his funeral, then for high altar of All Saints. 18 lbs wax for his funeral. 20d to recluse in Clementhorp. Bequests to leper houses and maisonndieux. Cloth for a pair of copes, chasubles and tunics for his parish church. 6s 8d to support the Pope's war. Residue to executors for masses and other works of charity for the good of his soul. 40s for mass of St. Mary to be celebrated on Sabbath day for three years after his death in his parish church.

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Alice 1480 (Thomas died 1480, blanks for Alice)

**BILLER, John (A)**

Baxter (baker)/miller, free 1427 (*Freemen* p.141)

Administration of goods 10 Nov 1472 (BI Reg.4 f.185<sup>r</sup>)

His son William, notary, free 1478 (*Freemen* p.201) and member of CC 1469 with wife (*Reg. CC* p.73)

Panel of E window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate for John and his wife (c.1471)

de **BILTON, John**

Clerk

Co-founder with clerk John de Feriby of chantry at altar of BVM in St. Martin Micklegate licensed for 1 mark for a message's rent 1384 during their lives. (*CPR 1381-85* p.486)

**BIRGMAN, Joan (A)**

Monument at St. Michael-le-Belfrey with husband Richard 1542

**BIRGMAN, Richard (A)**

Monument at St. Michael-le-Belfrey with wife Joan 1542

**BLACKAYE, Alice**

Widow

Will 13 Aug 1525, pr. 11 Sep 1525 (BI Reg.9 f.355<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in south aisle of her parish church of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate). For her mortuary as is the custom (i.e. her best gown). Bequests to parish clergy. 4 lbs wax for her funeral. 5s for a trental of masses. 8d to church fabric. 6d to Rood light. 6d to light of St. Sithe. Her *hyngyng candilstike* to (image of) St. Anne in her parish church.

**BLACKBURNE, Joan n<sup>èe</sup> Bowes (A)**

Daughter of William Bowes Sr. and second wife of John Blackburne

(\*merchants' mark in sIII?) Window at St. Cuthbert with husband John, 3 sons and one daughter (pre-1426)

(\*floor slab of black marble) Monument at St. Mary Castlegate with husband John and his first wife Katherine(1426)

#### BLACKBURNE, John (A)

Merchant, free 1403

Member of CC 1411-12; MP 1418 (*Reg. CC* p.15; *Drake* p.357)

Will feast of St. Martin in winter 1426, pr.17 March 1426 (BI Reg. 2 f.507v): requests burial in church of St. Mary Castlegate next to bodies of wife Katherine and his sons. His best gown to rector of his parish church of St. Mary Bishophill Sr. for his mortuary. 6s 8d to fabric of St. Mary Castlegate for his burial. 8 torches for his funeral, subsequently 4 to remain in his parish church and 4 to St. Mary Castlegate. 40 lbs wax for his funeral, subsequently half to rector of St. Mary Bishophill Sr. and other half to rector of St. Mary Castlegate. 6s 8d to each order of friars present at his funeral. Bequests to leper houses, maisonndieux, recluses. 6s to each chaplain of St. Mary Sr. and St. Mary Castlegate present at his funeral. Residue to wife Joan. Executors: wife Joan, his brother Richard Blackburn, his brother-in-law Richard Bolton. (no children mentioned)

(\* unidentified merchants' mark in sIII) Window at St. Cuthbert with wife Joan, 3 sons and one daughter (pre-1426)

(\*floor slab of black marble) Monument at St. Mary Castlegate with wife Katherine and another figure (wife Joan?) (1426)

#### BLACKBURN, Margaret, Jr. (A)

Wife of Nicholas Blackburn Jr.

Administration of goods 6 Feb 1453 (BI Reg. 2 f.290<sup>r</sup>)

(\*formerly nII, now I) Window of N chancel at All Saints North St. with husband Nicholas, parents-in-law Nicholas and Margaret (c.1413-1426)

#### BLACKBURN, Margaret, Sr. (A)

Wife of Nicholas Blackburn Senior

Will 10 March 1433, pr. 29 Apr 1435 (BI Reg.3 ff.415<sup>v</sup>-417<sup>v</sup>, also *TE II* pp.46-51 and *Shaw* p.93): requests burial in York Minster next to Nicholas Blackburn Senior her late husband under a marble stone before image of BVM in south part. 8 torches of wax for her funeral, subsequently to be distributed between All Saints North St., St. John Ousebridge, Holy Trinity King's Court and St. Mary Richmond. £20 for funeral expenses. Bequests to poor, parish clergy of All Saints North St. and St. John Ousebridge, prior and convent of Holy Trinity Micklegate. 10s to friars preachers. 20s to be shared by other 3 orders of friars. 14 marks for a chaplain in St. John Ousebridge to celebrate for her soul and souls of Nicholas Blackburn, their parents etc. Bequests of altar cloths and vestments to chapel of St. Anne Ousebridge founded by her husband. Relations: her brother William Ormeshede, his wife Ellen; her son Nicholas, his wife Margaret; her daughter Isabel Sandford, her son John Sandford; her daughter Alice Bolton; her son Robert; other relatives Thomas, Christopher and Alice (two sons and a daughter). Residue to executors William Ormeshede, Isabel Sandford, Alice Bolton, John Fox for the good of her soul.

(\*formerly nII, now I) Window of N chancel at All Saints North St. with husband Nicholas, son Nicholas and wife Margaret (c.1413-1426)

(\*Blackburne effigies in nIV) South window of south aisle with husband Nicholas Sr. and Reginald Bawtre, wife Cecily and ?daughter (c.1429-32)

#### BLACKBURN, Nicholas Jr. (A)

Merchant

Sheriff 1428, 1438; Mayor 1429 (Drake p.362)

Will 7 Feb 1447, pr. 8 Mar 1447 (BI Reg.2 f.168<sup>v</sup>-169<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints North St. in choir of BVM where he used to sit, near burial of his sons. 20s to church fabric for burial. His best gown for his mortuary. 20 lbs wax for torches and candles for his day of burial. 8 torches each weighing 10 lbs for his burial. Bequests to parish clergy. 6s 8d to fabric of York Minster. 5s to each order of friars. £10 for funeral expenses. 10 marks to be distributed among poor on day of burial. Bequests to wife Margaret, including lands and tenements in *les Flesshamells* (the Shambles), which the late Joan Blackburn owned and which are to be sold, with one half of the proceeds to wife Margaret and other half to executors to be spent on prayers for his soul. Residue to executors for the good of his soul. Executors: wife Margaret, and chaplains John Hemeslay and John Shirwod. To wife Margaret messuage in North St. where he lives and tenements near chapel of St. James in suburbs. Probate to wife Margaret.

(\*formerly nII, now I) Window of N chancel at All Saints North St. with wife Margaret and parents Nicholas and Margaret (c.1413-1426)

#### BLACKBURN, Nicholas of Richmond (A)

Father of Nicholas Sr.

Merchant

Free 1396

Arms in window of north aisle at All Saints North St. with effigy of Reginald Bawtre (pre-1429)

#### BLACKBURN, Nicholas, Sr. (A)

Merchant

Member of CC with wife 1414-15 (*Reg. CC* p.16)

Mayor 1413 (Drake p.362)

Will 20 Feb 1421, pr. 10 Apr 1432 (BI Reg.2 ff. 605<sup>r</sup>-606<sup>v</sup>; also *TE II* pp.17-21 and Shaw p.90): commends his soul to God, BVM and St. Anne. Requests burial in York Minster in south part before image of BVM under a marble stone. 16 torches of wax for his funeral, subsequently to be distributed among All Saints North St. (4 torches), St John Ousebridge (2), Holy Trinity Micklegate (2), Corpus Christi guild (4), his chantry of St. Anne on Fossebridge (2) and guild of St. Christopher (2). 50 marks for funeral expenses. 20s to each order of friars. 4 chantries: 1 in chapel of St. William Ousebridge, 1 in church of St. John Ousebridge, 2 in church of St. Martin Micklegate. Messuage, buildings and appurtenances in North St. to wife Margaret. Arable land near church of St. James in suburbs of York. Sons: Nicholas, Christopher. Daughters: Agnes, Alice (Bolton), Isabel (Sandford).

Chantry of St. Anne on Fossbridge (*YCC I* p. 61)

(\*formerly nII, now I) Window of N chancel at All Saints North St. with wife Margaret, son Nicholas and wife Margaret (c.1413-1426)

(\*Blackburne effigies in nIV) South window of south aisle at All Saints North St. with wife Margaret, Reginald Bawtre, wife Cecily and ?daughter (c.1429-32)

**BLAKELY, W(illiam?) (A)**

Vicar choral of York Minster(?) from Bedern house

Window at St. Michael Spurriergate

**BLAWFRONTE, William**

Mercer

Will 21 June 1447, pr. 26 June 1447 (BI Reg.2 f.157<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate. All his goods to executors to pay debts and for the good of his soul.

**BOLRON, John (A)**

Carpenter

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court (post-1433)

**BOLRON, Matilda**

Wife of John, carpenter

Will 26 May 1433, pr. 7 June 1433 (BI Reg.3 ff.354/2<sup>v</sup>-355<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in Holy Trinity King's Court before altar of St. James Apostle. Her best gown for mortuary. 3s 4d for burial. 10 lbs wax for her funeral. Bequests to parish clergy. 6s 4d to 4 orders. Residue to her husband and executor for her soul.

Husband's monument at Holy Trinity King's Court (post-1433)

**BOLTON, Agnes**

see under HILL-BOLTON

**BOLTON, Alice n<sup>è</sup>e Blackburne**

Wife of John, merchant

(\*nIII) Possibly commemorated with husband John as one of couples under Prick of Conscience window together with Wiloby, Roger & Cecily Henrison and Abel & Agnes Hesyl (1st quarter 15C)

**BOLTON, John**

Merchant

Bailiff 1387; sheriff 1420; mayor 1410, 1431; MP 1399, 1407, 1428, 1429 (Drake pp.357, 361-2)

Will 10 Aug 1445, pr. 16 Aug 1446 (BI Reg.2 f.107<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in St. Saviour. His best gown for his mortuary to the rector of his parish church of St. John Micklegate (Ousebridge). £20 to be distributed among paupers to pray for his soul etc. 20s to guild of Corpus Christi. 20s to each order of friars. Bequests to recluses. Residue to executrix, i.e. wife Alice (née Blackburne), for herself and unmarried sons and daughters.

Owned YML MS.Add.2 Book of Hours 15C

Chantry in All Saints North St. (pre-1446)(*YCR III* p.30)

(\*nIII) Possibly commemorated with wife Alice as one of couples under Prick of Conscience window together with Wiloby, Roger & Cecily Henrison and Abel & Agnes Hesyl (1st quarter 15C)

**BOLTON, William (A)**

Tailor, free 1405 (*Freemen* p.109) or

Son of John de Bolton, mercer, free 1409 (*Freemen* p.114)

Window in Holy Trinity King's Court with (wife) Agnes and Alan Hyll (c.1440)

**BOLYN (ROLYM, ROLRUN), Thomas (A)**

Monument at St. Michael-le-Belfrey

de BOLYNGBROK, Andrew

Bailiff 1275, 1302; mayor 1305, 1309 (*Freemen*, pp.10, 12; Drake p.360)

Posthumous chantry at All Saints Pavement for souls of self, Stephen de Bolyngbrok etc licensed for 5 marks rent to widow Agnes 1316 (*CPR 1313-17* p.448; *YCC I* p.60)

de BOSHALE (BOSSALL/BOSSALE), Andrew

Free 1305 (*Freemen*, p.11)

Chamberlain 1321; bailiff 1324 (*Freemen*, p.20; Drake p.360)

Chantry in St. Mary Castlegate for self, wife Mary (living) etc licensed for 5 marks rent 1338 during his life and augmented by Thomas de Houme in 1377 for licence of 5 marks for a message's rent, in 1384 for licence of 6s 8d for a toft's rent, in 1386 for licence of £4 for a message's rent, and in 1392 for a licence of 40s for a toft's rent. (*CPR 1338-40* p.122; *CPR 1381-85* p.437; *CPR 1385-89* p.205; *CPR 1391-96* p.75; *YCC I* p.45)

**BOTOMER, Hugh**

Chantry of BVM in St. Sampson licensed 1336 (*YCC I* p.48)

**BOULINGTON, John (A)**

Priest

Monument at St. Crux 1480

**BOWES, Isabel (A)**

(\*brass) Monument at St. Cuthbert with husband William 1435-39 (Isabel died 1435, blanks for William)

Window at St. Cuthbert with husband William, 5 sons and 5 daughters (pre-1439)

**BOWES, William, Senior (A)**

Merchant

Member of CC 1415-16 with wife Isabel

Chamberlain 1399; sheriff 1402, 1432(?); MP 1416, 1422, 1426 and 1429; mayor 1417 and 1428 (*Reg. CC* p.17; *Drake* pp.357, 362)

Will feast of Pentecost 1437, pr. 6 Aug 1439 (BI Reg.3 ff.580<sup>v</sup>-583<sup>r</sup>, also *TE II* pp.69-70): requests burial in his parish church of St. Cuthbert Peaseholme. His best gown to rector for his mortuary. 10 lbs wax for his funeral and eighth day. 12 torches each weighing 16 lbs minimum for his funeral and eighth day; subsequently 4 for high altar of St. Cuthbert and to 2 other altars in same church, 2 to high altar of St. Saviour, 1 to chapel on Ousebridge, 1 to chapel on Fossbridge, 2 to executors to dispose of. £10 for funeral expenses to entertain friends and paupers. Bequests to parish clergy at St. Cuthbert. 20s to York Minster fabric. Bequests to anchoresses, maisonndieux, prisoners, lepers, paupers and bedridden. 26s 8d to Carmelite friars. 20s each to other 3 orders to be at his exequies, and sing *placebo* (evening funeral service) and *dirige* (morning funeral service) and Requiem mass in their own houses and 3 trentals of masses within 14 days after his death for his soul and the souls of his wife Isabel etc. In the first year after his death a trental of masses of St. Gregory by some chaplain. Messuage in Peaseholme to son William Bowes. To executors the yearly income of 12s from the capital of his messuage and other tenements and incomes and appurtenances in Peaseholme, Thursday Market and Colliergate for 40 years after his death to be completed on feast of Pentecost and St. Martin in winter for an annual obit in his parish church on the feast of St. Edmund king. Mayor and commonalty to establish chantry for his soul only in unlikely event of death of all his issue. Bequests to parish clergy. Capital of messuage with appurtenances and buildings in Peaseholme in which he lives to son William and his wife Agnes daughter of Robert de Kirkeby. To daughter Joan, formerly wife of John Blackburn, his tenements in Thursday Market. To his grandson William two whole suits of armour with 2 *basynettes*, *umbras* and *rerebrace*, *gloves de plaite*, *pannce de plaite*, leg-harness, one hauberk, one battleaxe, and a sword of Bordeaux silver. Residue to son William for the good of his soul and souls of his wife Isabel etc.

(\*brass) Monument at St. Cuthbert with wife Isabel with blanks for William's dates (1435-39: Isabel died 1435, blanks for William)

Window at St. Cuthbert with wife Isabel, 5 sons and 5 daughters pre-1439

**BOYNTON, (Lady) Margaret of Barneston (now Barmston) in Holderness**

Wife of Sir Robert Boynton, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Martin de la See

Member of CC 1511 (*Reg. CC*, p.178)

Will: 2 Sep 1533, pr. 3 Aug 1536 (BI Reg. 11 f.202<sup>r</sup>, also *TE VI*, pp.36-38): requests burial in church of Barneston. 25 masses of the 5 principal wounds to be said for her soul the day of burial or within 5 days. 3 priests to sing for her soul, her husband's soul etc. in church of Barneston for one year after her death to be paid 7 marks each. Her manors of Barneston and Wynton to her son Matthew (Boynton). Bequests to monastery of Nunappleton, to her son Marmaduke Tunstall, to Anne Preston, to her son Brian Tunstall, to her daughter Isabel Tunstall, to Cuthbert Tunstall former bishop of London now bishop of Durham, to Robert Waide parson of Lowthorp. Executors: Cuthbert Tunstall, Isabel Tunstall, Marmaduke Tunstall and Robert Waide.

Chantry at Holy Trinity King's Court (*YCC* pp.77, 470; *Valor Eccl.* p. 29)

**BRADLEY, Roger (A)**

Merchant, free 1421 (*Freemen* p.131)

SE Window at St. Maurice Monkgate with wife, (Thomas) Holme and (wife) Mar(garet), Henry Meleton & wife Isabel (post-1421)

**BRAITHWAITE, John**

Chamberlain 1372 (*Freemen*, p.70)

Posthumous chantry at altar of St. Peter at St. Martin Coney St. with Thomas Smyth and his wife Katherine 1417 (*CPR 1416-22* p.89 records augmentation by 5 marks a year for a 20 mark licence paid by chaplains Robert Otley and William Nunyngton; F. Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, (London 1952), p.16)

**BRIDESALE (BRIDECAL), Matilda (A)**

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband Robert

**BRIDESALE (BRIDECAL), Robert (A)**

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Matilda

**BRIDESALL, Richard**

Mercer, free 1340 (*Freemen* p.35)

Will 19 Dec 1392, pr. 14 Jan 1392 (*TE I* pp.174-175): requests burial in church of friars preachers near his mother. 30 lbs wax for 10 candles for his funeral, then 5 to remain in his parish church of St. John Ousebridge and other 5 to remain at friars preachers near his body. Piece of *burdalysaunder* (striped cloth from the east) to embellish high altar of his parish church. 3s 4d for light of St. Cross in said church. 3s 4d for lights in choir of St. Mary. 15s for trental of masses in his parish church and in church of friars preachers. Bequests to parish clergy.

**BRIGENALE, Katherine n<sup>è</sup>e Shupton (A)**

Daughter of John de Shupton and wife of Richard Brigenale

(\*now in YM nXIX) Window at St. John Ousebridge with husband Richard (1330s)



**BRIGENALE (BRIKENALE), Richard (A)**

Merchant/mercator, free 1337 (*Freemen* p.32)

Bailiff 1330; MP 1333, 1336, 1337 (Drake p.356, 360)

According to RCHM, *York 3*, p.19, he died 1362.

The only Richard Brigenale in testamentary evidence is: Will 10 Feb 1399, pr. 5 Apr 1401 (BI Reg 3 ff.54<sup>v</sup>-56<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in monastery of St. Oswald in Nostell. To prior and convent 8 marks for one canon to celebrate daily mass at altar of St. John Baptist for one year after his death for his soul and souls of his brother John chaplain, his wife Margerie etc. One chaplain to celebrate mass for said souls for one year after his death at altar of St. John Baptist within church of St. John Ousebridge York. Residue to executor William Everlay chaplain. (This is probably a descendant - son or grandson - of the one commemorated at St. John Ousebridge)

(\*now in YM nXIX) Window at St. John Ousebridge with wife Katherine Shupton (1330s)

**BRIGGE (BRIGGYS), William (A)**

Pewterer, free 1473 (*Freemen* p.194)

Monument at St. Olave 1490

**BROUNFLETE (BROUNFLEET, BROMFLETE), Thomas (A)**

Merchant, free 1430

Member of CC 1423-4 with parents John, apothecary, and Joan

Chamberlain 1456; sheriff 1458; married Alice, daughter of Richard Thornton (*Reg. CC* p.23; Drake p.363)

Will 4 Oct 1458, pr. 10 Oct 1458 (BI Reg.2 ff.380<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints Pavement. His best gown for mortuary. 20s to rector for forgotten tithes. 2 candles weighing 8 lbs and 6 torches for his funeral, subsequently 2 torches for high altar and other 4 torches to other altars in All Saints. Bequests to poor; Kirkham Abbey; parish clergy of All Saints Pavement; leper houses. 2s to York Minster fabric. 28 marks for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his parents etc for 4 years after his death in All Saints Pavement. £10 for new set of vestments for chaplain, deacon and subdeacon in All Saints P. if made within 1½ years after his death. £10 to executors i.e. wife Alice, daughters Alice, Beatrice, Cecilia, Joan, Elizabeth, for the good of his soul. Residue to wife Alice, his father(-in-law) Richard Thornton, his brother William Brounflete (Governor of York Mercers 1480-81, *YM & MA* p.322) for his soul.

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Alice 1458

**BROUNFLEET, Alice (A)**

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband Thomas 1458

**de BROUNFLETE, Agnes (A)**

Monument at All Saints Pavement

**BROUNFIELD, John (A)**

Parish priest at St. Crux

Monument at St. Crux 1485

**BROWN, John**

Founder

Will 5 Jan 1492, pr. 19 Jan 1492 (*TE IV* pp.77-78): requests burial in churchyard of his parish church of St. Helen Stonegate before image of BVM in church porch, near wife Joan. A laten candlestick before BVM in north choir. Altar cloths to altar of BVM in north choir.

**BULLER, Agnes (A)**

Monument at St. Michael-le-Belfrey

**BULMER, Sir Ralph of Wilton in Cleveland**

Knight

Administration of Goods 19 Sep 1486 (BI Reg.5 f.291<sup>v</sup>)

Chantry at altar of BVM in St. Michael-le-Belfrey 1473 (*YCC I* p.71; *YCC II* p.469)

**de BURTON, Nicholas**

Clerk

Posthumous chantry in St. Sampson licensed for £4 for a message's rent 1379 to clerks John de Waltham and William Lovell. (*CPR 1377-81* p.345)

**BURTON, Janett**

Wife of William, mercer

Two chantries in church of St. Saviour: (1) at altar of St. Anne, (2) at altar of St. James 1408 (*YCC I* pp.64, 68)

**BURTON, William**

Mercer, free 1356 (*Freemen*, p.51)

A William Burton (possibly his father) was bailiff 1355, 1369 (*Drake* p.361)

Two chantries in church of St. Saviour: (1) at altar of St. Anne, (2) at altar of St. James 1408 (*YCC I* pp.64, 68)

**BURTON, William (A)**

Bachelor of Arts; rector of St. Martin Micklegate

Monument at St. Martin 1475

de BRYGNALE (BRIGENALE), John

Chaplain

Chantry at altar of St. John Baptist in St. John Ousebridge for self and souls of parents, Juliana de Allerton, Hugh de Thornton chaplain, Ralph de Thornton chaplain etc licensed for 100s for 25s rent 1365 during his life. (*CPR 1364-67* p.98)

BYRKYN, Richard (A)

Priest

Monument at St. Lawrence.

CANDELER, Richard

Chamberlain 1352 (*Freemen*, p.47)

Posthumous chantry at altar of BVM in St. Martin Coney St. for self and souls of wife Juliana etc licensed for 5 marks for a messuage's rent 1375 to chaplains Roger de Nessyngwyk and Adam de Fournays. (*CPR 1374-1377* p.108)

CANDELL, Janet

Widow of John

Will 31 Aug 1479, pr. 11 Oct 1479 (*TE III* pp.245-246): requests burial in *closett* of St. Anne in her parish church of St. Sampson. Her best gown for her mortuary. 4 lbs wax for her funeral. 10s to John Farleton to pray for her souls and souls of her husbands, parents, children. To the church: silver pieces, plain linen cloth to high altar.

CARLETON, John Jr.

Doctor of law and advocate of consistory court.

Will 30 May 1442, pr. 3 Nov 1442 (*TE II* pp.85-86): requests burial in nave of York Minster with marble stone. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. To parish church of St. John del Pyke (Ogleforth) 2 silver phials (cruet set) and one gilt paxboard.

CARRE (CARR/KARR), John (A)

Mercer

Son of Thomas Karr/Carr

Free 1433 (*Freemen* p.148)

Member of CC 1423-4 with parents Thomas Carr and wife (*Reg. CC* p.23)

Mayor 1456; MP 1449 (*Drake* pp.357, 363)

Will 6 Nov 1487, pr. 20? Apr 1488 (BI Reg.5 ff.327<sup>v</sup>-329<sup>r</sup>, also *TE IV* pp.26-30): commends his soul to God, BVM, St. Sampson, St. John of Beverley, St. Mary Magdalen. Requests burial in church of St. Sampson by the body of his late wife Joan. His best gown for his mortuary. 7 *dosan* wax for his funeral and eighth day. 20s for a lamp to burn before sacrament at his burial. 2 torches cost 20s for altar of St. Sampson at elevation of host. 12 torches at 5s each for his burial and eighth day, then 2 to remain at high altar in his parish church (St. Sampson), 2 to altar of Our Lady before his stall, one to every other altar at St. Sampson; one torch for high altar of each house of friars; one to chapel of St. Mary Magdalen beside York. 13 gowns for 13 poor men present at his funeral. 20 marks for his funeral expenses. Bequests to paupers. 20d to York Minster fabric. Diamond and gold ring to hang about neck of image of BVM above altar of BVM in York Minster. Ruby ring and torc to hang about neck of image of Jesus lying in the arms of BVM (*Pietà* group). Bequests to parish clergy of St. Sampson and to every priest in York who celebrates mass for his soul and souls of his wife Joan, his parents, his children etc. Bequests to guild of Pater Noster, guild of St. Anthony, guild of St. John Baptist, guild of St. Christopher and St. George. His candlestick of silver to high altar of St. Sampson. 20s to each order of friars. Bequests to prior and convent of Feriby Abbey, abbot and convent of Rielvaux, prior and convent of Mount Grace, prioress and convent of Clementhorpe, prioress and convent of Appleby, prioress and convent of Hull to celebrate masses for his soul etc. Bequests to lepers, prisoners, anchoresses and paupers in maisonndieux in York.

(\*merchant's mark on S arch of W tower) Posthumous chantry in honour of Holy Trinity, BVM, St. Nicholas, St. Benedict, St. Katherine and All Saints at altar of St. Nicholas in St. Sampson for self and souls of wife Joan, his parents Thomas and Isabel, his brothers and sisters etc licensed for £8 for annuity of 8 marks 3s 1489 to executors Thomas Symson clerk and John Wyntryngam chaplain. (*CPR 1485-94* p.265; *YCC I* p.47; *YCC II* p.464)

(\* merchant's mark on N aisle roof boss; stained glass fragments in window wI) 2 windows, font and roof boss at St. Sampson (pre-1488)

CATRYK, Alice

Widow of Thomas, mercer; sheriff 1430, 1442 (Drake p.362)

Will 16 May 1440, pr. 20 May 1440 (*TE II* pp.74-75): requests burial in her parish church of St. Sampson under marble stone of husband Thomas. 20s for new silver cross for use of church. Bequests to sons William and John (the latter mayor 1453; Drake p.363)

CATTALL, Henry (A)

Chantry chaplain

One of 6 keepers of CC 1432-33 (*Reg. CC* p.32)

Will 10 Sep 1460, pr. 14 March 1460 (BI Reg.2 f.439<sup>v</sup>-440<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in choir of St. Nicholas within church of St. Martin Micklegate. 20s to church fabric for his burial. 6 lbs wax for his funeral. 20s to John Burton rector of St. Martin for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 42 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and for souls of his parents etc in church of St. Martin for 6 years. 3s 4d to York Minster fabric. Bequests to monks of Holy Trinity Micklegate, to York clergy (including William Hancock) and to individual friars, e.g. a book (tractate in 9 parts) to Henry Archer of order of preachers. Bequests to guild of Corpus Christi, paupers, lepers, maisonndieux. Several bequests of silver pieces to female relatives. Residue to executors, i.e. his sister-in-law (*cognata*) Thomasina, and clerics Nicholas Bewe and Richard Bolton, for the good of his soul. His best psalter to be chained for the use of the high choir of St. Martin Micklegate. His red vestment for the use of his chantry in St. Martin.

(\*floor slab reused 1846) Monument at St. Martin Micklegate 1460

CEEL, Christopher (A)

Succentor to vicars choral of York Minster and warden of York Minster fabric; compose fabric rolls 1515-16 and 1518-19 (*Fabric Rolls* pp.96-7)

(\*now nVII with modern inscription) Window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey 1537

CHAPMAN, John (A)

There are two possible candidates for this:

(1) saddler, apprentice to Thomas Chapman in 1482, free 1486, chamberlain 1506, sheriff 1512, member of CC 1489 (*Freemen*, pp.206, 212, 230; *Reg. CC*, pp.127-8, 153; Drake p.364). No will found.

(2) public notary, merchant, count palatine (*comes palatinus*) of the holy Lateran palace, registrar of the chancery of Thomas Archbishop of York, registrar to the city and diocese of York, free 1520 although still not fully paid up by 1525 (*Freemen*, pp.242, 247); member of the guild of Holy Trinity Fossgate, the guild of the York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers, in 1529 (*YM & MA*, p.130)

Will 4 March 1527, pr. 20 May 1531 (BI Reg.10 ff.52<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>v</sup>; YML MS. L 2/5 f.158<sup>r</sup>-160<sup>v</sup>; also *TE V*, pp.240-5): commends his soul to God Almighty, BVM, St. Michael Archangel, St. Peter, St. Lawrence, St. Sebastian, St. Nicholas, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Cecilia, St. Helen, and All Saints. Requests burial before image of BVM before chapel of St. Stephen (Scrope chapel) at York Minster. 10s to his parish church (unnamed) for forgotten tithes. 1,000 Masses to be celebrated for his soul after his death by stipendiary chaplains especially from Carthusian and Mendicant orders. bequests to Carthusian foundations of St. Michael near Hull, Mount Grace, *Bellavalle* (Bellevoir, Leics.?), another near Coventry, in exchange for masses, suffrages, exequies and prayers. 6s 8d to each house of Mendicant friars in York in exchange for prayers. bequests to Brothers of Observance near Newark, and to prior and convent of Gisburne. 4d and a new white gown to each of 13 paupers for carrying torches on day of his burial. bequests to prisoners. 40s to fabric of York Minster for his burial. one chaplain to celebrate Mass and divine offices in parish church of Knesall (Kneesall, Notts.) at altar of St. Nicholas, for his soul and souls of parents, sisters Alice and Margaret, nephew William Claiburgh doctor of law, souls of late Cardinal Christopher Bainbryg and of Thomas Savage Archbishops of York, etc. lands, meadows and pastures in and around Knesall, Ampston and Allerton in Sherwood in county of Nottingham; lands, tenements and pastures in and around Fokethorp, Escrik and north Dalton in county of York; all to be used to found his said chantry. bequests of silver and gilt pieces, bedlinen. bequests to sister Alice. (lead) mines in Hextildesham, Swaledale and Craven. bequests to prior and convent of Feriby. residue to executors master William Claiburgh doctor of law, Robert Hardie of Southwell priest, William Mooke priest for the good of his soul. Witnesses: Laurence Hall parish chaplain of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, William Wright public notary, alderman George Gaill and Robert Elwald merchant. Codicil 7 April 1530.

(Given the connections with the Minster, (2) is the more likely candidate)

Died 1530, age 63, buried in York Minster

Shield and inscription, probably in a window, at Holy Trinity King's Court (c. 1530)

CHAPMAN, Robert of Snape (A)

Free 1423 (*Freemen* p.134)

(\*now sIII with St. Michael and St. John Evangelist) Window at All Saints North St. with wife and James Bagule (2nd quarter 15C)

CLARK, Richard

Tanner

Will 11 March 1494, pr. 11 May 1495 (BI Reg.5 f.461<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Martin Coney St. in chapel of St. Mary near his daughter. His best gown for his mortuary. 20 lattens of lead to roof said chapel. 12d to repair bells. Bequests to parish clergy. 3 candles for high altar for 3 years.

CLARKE, Alison

Widow

Will 5 July 1509, pr. 7 Aug 1509 (YML L.2/5 f.82<sup>r</sup>, also *TE V* p.4): requests burial in York Minster before image of BVM near tomb of St. William near husband William. 20s for her burial. 7 lbs wax for her funeral. 7 marks for one priest to celebrate mass for her soul for one year. 5s to each of 4 orders of friars. 6s 8d to guild of BVM. 10s to Mount Grace (priory) for building of one glass window. Executors to buy a marble stone for her grave with names of Alison and her husband engraved in metal.

CLERK, John

Chaplain of chapel of St. Mary Magdalen between Clifton and Bootham

Will 12 Sep 1449, pr.24 July 1451 (*TE II*, pp.149-152): burial in any church. Bequests to parish clergy of St. Olave. His goods to remain in chapel of St. Mary including service books, cloths, relics, images in wood and alabaster, stained cloths with arms of Scrope and See of York and with Holy Trinity and 2 St. Johns.

CLERK, Richard (A)

Tanner, free 1481, son of William, barker (*Freemen* p.204)

Monument at St. Margaret (1504)

CLERK (CLERKE), Thomas (A)

Clerk/attorney

Free 1450 (*Freemen* p.170)

Will 19 April 1482, pr. 20 Feb 1482 (BI Reg. 5 f.39<sup>v</sup>): commends his soul to God Almighty, BVM, Jesus, and St. Thomas Apostle. Requests burial in All Saints North St. in choir of SS. Nicholas bishop and Catherine. 6s 8d for his burial. 3s 4d for forgotten tithes. His best garment for his mortuary. Messuages, tenements and buildings in North St. Residue to wife Margaret.

(\*brass) Monument at All Saints North St. with wife Margaret 1482, reused 1642

CLERKE, Margaret (A)

(\*brass) Monument at All Saints North St. with husband Thomas 1482

CLYFF, John

Chaplain of chantry at altar of BVM in church of All Saints North St.

Will 10 July 1455, pr. 9 July 1456 (*TE II* p.202, also Shaw p.96): requests burial in All Saints near grave of his mother. Vestments to his chantry. Vestments to altar of St. James at All Saints.

COKERHAM, William (A)

Friar or monk

Monument at St. Michael-le-Belfrey 1408

COLTMAN (COLLMAN), John (A)

Born 1490 (he was 58 in 1548)

Chantry priest at altar of St. Michael at York Minster from 1518; prebendary in St. Sepulchre's chapel from 1558; vicar of Withernsea 1512-1513; vicar of Retford 1513-1522; rector of Foxholes 1521-1527; rector of Slingsby 1527 until death; York Minster chamberlain in 1520s; subtreasurer of York Minster in 1535; prebendary of Apesthorpe from April 1546 (*YCW I* p.90; *YCC* pp.19-20 and 429; Torre pp.672, 926; Drake p.340)

Inventory 5 May 1552. Total sum of his goods: £43 13s. (*YCW I* pp.90-92, also Dean & Chapter Original Wills 1552)

Sir John Collman, subtreasurer of York Minster, was supervisor of the will of John Litster in 1541 (see below under Litster).

Likely owner of YML MS.Add. 115 mid-15C breviary (see f.349<sup>r</sup>; *obit Magister Johan Collman*, scribbled beside feast of relics, 15C-16C) (Ker and Piper pp.820-821)

(\*now sV with modern inscription) Window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (post-1535)

COLYNSON, Robert (A)

Mercer, free 1416 (*Freemen* p.125)

Member of CC 1429-30, chamberlain 1442, sheriff 1446, mayor 1457 (*Reg. CC* p.29; Drake p.362-3)

Will 6 Oct 1450, pr. 3 Oct 1458 (BI Reg. 2 ff.378<sup>r</sup>-380<sup>r</sup>, also Shaw p.97): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints North St. 10s to rector for forgotten tithes. 40s to church fabric for his burial. Bequests to parish clergy. 20 lbs wax for torches for his funeral, subsequently to be divided between high altar and altar of St. Nicholas in his parish church. £15 for one chaplain to celebrate trental of St. Gregory daily in his parish church for three whole years after his death for the good of his soul. 7 marks to every other chaplain in his parish church to celebrate mass for his soul for a whole year after his death. 7 marks for one other chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul in church of St. Cuthbert Carlisle for a whole year after his death. Bequests to monastic houses (total £8 8s 8d). 26s 8d to four orders of mendicant friars, i.e. 6s 8d each. Bequests to paupers, lepers and prisoners. Bequests to St. Cuthbert's Carlisle, St. Peter's Ripon, Driffield parish church, York Minster. 6s 8d to guild of Holy Trinity Fossgate. Tenement with buildings in North St. to wife Isabel (later married William Stockton) during her lifetime, afterwards to be sold for the good of his soul (implies no children living). Silver piece weighing 28 oz to abbot and convent of St. Mary's Abbey to pray for his soul. Bequest of 13d each to 13 poor folk of 22 parishes outside York. 7 marks a year for one chaplain to celebrate mass in his parish church for his soul for a further 8 years in addition to 5 years already mentioned above.

(\*brass set into floor slab of John de Wardalle) Monument at All Saints North St. with William Stockton and wife Isabel (c.1471, after William's death)

..., CONSTANCE (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with sisters Judith, Margaret, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen and Joan and brothers Robert, Henry, John, William and Nicholas (late 14C).

COTES, John (A)

Butcher, free 1435 (*Freemen* p.150) or cordwainer, free 1438 (*Freemen* p.154), living in Marygate  
Member of CC 1457 with wife Agnes

Chamberlain 1461; sheriff 1464 (*Reg. CC* p.60; *Drake* p.363)

Will 15 May 1487, pr. 20 June 1487 (BI Reg.5 ff.309<sup>v</sup>-310<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in choir of St. Olave under a certain stone that lies next to the precentors' stall. His best gown for his mortuary. 6s for his burial. 13 lbs wax for his funeral and eighth day. 2 torches, price 13s 4d for his funeral, then to remain on high altar. Bequests to parish clergy. Bequests to guild of St. Christopher, guild of St. Anthony, BVM, guild of St. John Baptist. 66s 8d to bell tower of his parish church. £4 a year for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of wives Agnes and Margaret etc for 20 years. 3s 4d to 2 lamps at high altar and at altar of St. Anne for 20 years. 5s to fabric of St. Edward's. 13s 4d to fabric of Holy Trinity King's Court. Residue to executors for the good of his soul.

Monument at St. Olave 1487

COUPELAND, John (A)

Tanner/barker, free 1425 (*Freemen* p.138)

Married to John Shirwod's daughter Matilda.

Will dated 16 May 1469, pr. 8 June 1469 (BI Reg. 4 f. 135<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints North St. His best garment for his mortuary. 8 lbs wax for candles for his funeral and eighth day. 10s to high altar of All Saints for tithes forgotten. Bequests to parish clergy. 3s 4d to each order of friars to celebrate 80 masses between them for his soul. Tenement in North St.

(\*floor slab) Monument at All Saints North St. (1469)



COWPAR, John (A)

Butcher

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court

CRAFURTH, Beatrice (A)

Monument at St. Michael-le-Belfrey with husband Richard and 2 children (post-1545)

CRAFURTH (CRAWFURTH), Richard (A)

Goldsmith, free 1545 (*Freemen* p.266)

Monument at St. Michael-le-Belfrey with wife Beatrice and 2 children (post-1545)

CRATHORN(E), Robert (A)

*Generosus*/Armiger

Will 8 March 1464, pr. 18 March 1464 (BI Reg.3 f.301<sup>F</sup>): asks to be buried in a church. Best gown for mortuary. 6 lbs wax for funeral. 20d to high altar of All Saints Pavement for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 20d to York Minster fabric. 20d each to orders of friars for 4 trentals of masses. 7 marks for one year for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul etc. in All Saints. 7 marks for one year for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul in Crathorn church, Cleveland. Bequests to maison dieux, leper houses and paupers. Residue to executor John Kent alderman, to be used for the good of his soul.

(\*brass) Monument at All Saints Pavement. (1464)

CRATHORNE, John (A)

Armiger

Monument at All Saints Pavement 1464

CRAVEN, Thomas

Vintner

Will 4 Sep 1479, pr. 27 Sep 1479 (BI Reg.5 ff.149<sup>V</sup>-150<sup>V</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate before altar of St. Anne. 3s 4d to church for his burial. 4 lbs wax for his funeral. His best gown for his mortuary. 3s 4d to high altar for forgotten tithes. 7 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul etc (for one year). 3s 4d to each order of friars to say exequies and mass for his soul. Bequests to leper houses, maison dieux, parish clergy.

CROSTBY (CROPLEY or CROXLEY), Ellen (A)

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. with husband William and his other wife Margaret 1484

**CROSTBY (CROPLEY or CROXLEY), Margaret (A)**

**Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. with husband William and his other wife Ellen 1484**

**CROSTBY (CROPLEY or CROXLEY), William (A)**

**Cartwright**

**Sheriff 1464 (Drake p.363)**

**Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. with wives Ellen and Margaret 1484**

**CURTAS, Alyson (A)**

**Monument at St. Crux with husband Thomas and daughter Alyson Upsall (1460)**

**CURTAYS (CURTOISE, CURTAS), Thomas (A)**

**Mercer, free 1420 (*Freemen* p.130)**

**Member of CC 1422-23**

**Chamberlain 1444; sheriff 1450 (*Reg. CC* p.22; *Drake* p.362)**

**Member of fellowship of York Mercers (mentioned in 1440 roll; *YM & MA*, p.52)**

**Will 12 Dec 1460, pr. 14 Mar 1460 (*Reg.2 f.438<sup>r</sup>*): requests burial near wife Alice in his parish church of St. Crux.**

**Monument at St. Crux with wife Alyson and daughter Alyson Upsall (1460)**

**DAINTON, Joan (A)**

**Window at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. with husband William and first wife Matilda**

**DAINTON, Matilda (A)**

**Window at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. with husband William and second wife Joan**

**DAINTON, William (A)**

**Window at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. with wives Matilda and Joan**

**de DALE, Emma (A)**

**Monument at All Saints North St. with husband William (post-1336)**

**DALE, Robert**

**Shipman (his son Thomas, parish clerk, free 1489, *Freemen* p.215)**

Will 18 July 1517, pr. 18 Sep 1517 (BI Reg.9 f.57<sup>r</sup>): requests burial before St. Anne in south stall in his parish church of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate). His best garment for his mortuary. £10 6s 8d for 2 priests to celebrate mass before St. Anne; 20s or £2 to buy a stone to lie upon his grave.

de DALLE (de DALE), William de Ripon (A)

Pelter

Free 1336 (*Freemen* p.31)

Monument at All Saints North St. with wife Emma (post-1336)

de DALTON, Richard

Barber

Will 29 Oct 1392, pr. 24 Mar 1393 (*TE I* pp.183-184): requests burial in Holy Trinity Micklegate. His best gown for his mortuary. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. To high altar of Holy Trinity one ironbound chest to keep altar ornaments in.

DANBY, Matilda (A)

Widow of Thomas, merchant

Will 31 May 1459, pr. 31 Dec 1463 (BI Reg.2 ff.595<sup>v</sup>-596<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in Holy Trinity Goodramgate. Her best gown for her burial. 6 torches of wax for her burial, then 4 to high altar and 2 to altars of St. Mary and St. James, at elevation of host, all in Holy Trinity. 6s 8d for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. £15 for one chaplain to celebrate mass for her soul for 3 years. 13s 4d to repair high choir and ornaments of high altar. 3s 4d to York Minster. 10s to each order of friars. Bequests to guild of St. Christopher; guild of St. Mary and St. Martin; paupers; anchorites; lepers and prisoners. Residue one part to daughter Margaret, other part for the good of her soul.

(\*brass) Monument at Holy Trinity Goodramgate 1458-1463 with husband Thomas

DANBY (DAUBY), Thomas (A)

Merchant/mercator, free 1423 (*Freemen* p.134)

Mayor 1452 (*Drake* p.363)

Member of fellowship of York Mercers (mentioned 1451 roll; *YM & MA*, p.57)

Will 29 Apr 1458, pr. 20 May 1458 (BI Reg.2 ff.364<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. 40s to high altar to repair and maintain vestments. 20s for forgotten tithes. His house in Goodramgate to wife Matilda. 6s 8d each to friars preachers, friars minors and guild of St. Anthony. £20 for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for 4 years. 20s to each order of friars to celebrate 2 trentals of masses for his soul. Bequests to maison dieux, lepers, recluses. 6s 8d to guild of St. Christopher. Residue half to wife Matilda to dispose of as she pleases, the other half to her for the good of his soul.

(\*brass) Monument at Holy Trinity Goodramgate 1458-1463 with wife Matilda

DAUTRE, John

Son of Thomas de Alta Ripa (*de Haute Rive*= Dautre)

Lawyer

Will 20 May 1458, pr. 24 Aug 1459 (BI Reg.2 ff.413<sup>r</sup>-414<sup>r</sup>, also *TE II* pp.230-234): requests burial before altar of Holy Trinity in his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate before image of St. John Baptist for whom he has had a special love since his youth. To rector his best gown for his mortuary and 6s 8d for forgotten tithes. To master William Langton (rector of St. Michael - see will) the use of a book for the rest of his life - book formerly belonging to the blessed (*sic*) Richard Scrope (Archbishop of York 1398-1405) bequeathed to John by his father, after William's death book to be chained next to place where Richard's body rests (York Minster, St. Stephen's chapel, north east end of choir). 8 lbs wax for his funeral. 4 torches for his funeral (2s each), then 2 to high altar, one to altar of Holy Trinity and one to chapel of Richard Scrope outside wall (at Clementhorpe - site of execution). Bequests to parish clergy. 6s 8d to fabric of new table (retable) for high altar of York Minster. 6s 8d to St. Michael's church fabric. 20d to each order of friars. Bequests to lepers; guild of Corpus Christi. 26s 8d to assemble friends neighbours and paupers on day of his exequies. Bequests to son and heir Alexander, including book of Gestes of Alexander; to son William, including book of Bonaventure, book of Devotions, books on laws of England; to son Guy, including book of life of St. Thomas Martyr; to son John, including book of Trojan War, book of Cato, book of *solempna pharaoris*; to son Richard, including book called *Brito*; to daughter Eustachia, including a silver piece with image of St. John Baptist and his best primer; to daughter Isabel, including a small primer. To feretry of St. William a gold *monile* with pearls. To blessed St. Richard Scrope a pair of 50 beads of coral (rosaries) that God may concede his canonization. £9 6s 8d for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of parents etc at altar where he is buried in church of St. Michael for 2 years. Lands and tenements in Bootham to executors to be sold for dowries of daughters Isabel and Eustachia. If daughters already married, lands and tenements to be sold for the good of his soul and souls of parents etc. Lands and tenements in parishes of St. Martin Coney St., St. Michael Spurriergate and St. Andrew St. Andrewgate. to wife Margaret and his children. If his children die without heirs, lands and tenements to be sold by his brother-in-law Guy Fairfax for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul etc for 3 years. Residue to his children. Executors: Guy Fairfax, Alexander and William Dautre his sons, and chaplain Robert Pudsay. To Robert Pudsay a small book with images on the cover.

(\*sII 2b-4b and scattered fragments) Probably commemorated in St. John Baptist window at St. Michael Spurriergate (pre-1459)

DAUTRE (DE ALTA RIPA), Thomas

Clerk/attorney

Will feast of St. John Beverley 1437, pr. 6 June 1437 (*TE II* pp.59-61): requests burial before altar of Holy Trinity near body of wife Isabel in his parish church (St. Michael Spurriergate?). Bequests of books: Bonaventure, Gestes of the Trojans, Gestes of Alexander, Chronicles, Book called Scropp, Art of Calendar and Psalter to his son John; book of Vices and Virtues; book of Trojan war; book of Petrarch; book called *Pupilla Oculi* to be chained to stall where he used to sit.

DRASWERDE, Thomas

Carver

Sheriff 1505; mayor 1515, 1523 (Drake pp.363-4)

Will 28 Jan 1528, pr. 30 July 1529 (*TE V* pp.267-269): requests burial in church of St. Martin Coney St. before Rood. House in Jubbergate to St. Martin's church work.

de DRIFFIELD, William

Chaplain of St. Martin Coney St.

Will Monday next after feast of St. Leonard Abbot 1361, pr.? (*TE I*, p.73): requests burial in choir of St. Martin. 20s for a stone to be placed over his body. 3s 4d for the impression of a chalice on the stone. His books to Thomas of Malton: one of Commemorations and Sacraments of the Church; one of the 7 Sages of Rome; one of Mark son of Cato; one of father and son Titus and Vespasian. To William of Chester his painted table with lectern and beneath the same a keyhole and lock.

de DUFFELD, Helen (A)

Wife of Robert, merchant

Coffin at St. Saviour (pre-1398)

de DUFFELD, Robert (A)

Merchant

Bailiff 1375 (Drake p.361)

Will Thursday before feast of St. Margaret Virgin 1398, pr. 29 July 1398 (BI Reg.3 ff.2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in church of St. Saviour; his own parish church St. Andrew St. Andrewgate. 40 lbs. wax and 10 candles for his burial, half to St. Saviour and half to St. Andrew. Bequests to parish clergy of both churches; poor; maison dieux; nunneries outside York. Bequests to sons John and Robert; to daughters Alice, Joan and Isabel; to wife Isabel. 100s for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and soul of his late wife Helen in church of St. Andrew for one year. Tenements in Little St. Andrewgate and in Aldwark. 40s to repair a missal in church of St. Andrew. Residue to executors (wife Isabel, Robert de Sheffeld and his nephew John de Duffeld) for the sustenance of his children.

Coffin at St. Saviour (1398)

DUFFELD, William

Chaplain of chantry of St. Thomas of Canterbury in parish church of All Saints Pavement.

Will 6 April 1443, pr. 24 Apr 1443 (*TE II* pp.87-88): requests burial in choir of All Saints. To altar of All Saints a long cloth of twill. To John Crake vicar of All Saints a small bag called *gipsiane*.

DURANTE, Thomas Sr.

Merchant

Chamberlain 1302 (*Freemen*, p.9)

Chantry of BVM and All Saints in St. Crux 1332 (*CPR 1330-34* p.367; *YCC I* p.74)

DURANTE (DORAUNT), Thomas Jr.

Cordwainer, free 1349 (*Freemen*, p.43)

Chantry of St. John Baptist in St. Crux (3rd quarter 14C)(*YCC I* p.75)

de EGREMOND, William (A)

Bishop of Dromore; rector of All Saints Pavement 1489 until death in 1502

Member of CC 1464-5 (*Reg. CC* p.65)

Panel in E window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate (c.1471)

ELWALD, Agnes (A)

Wife of John, merchant

(\*now sIV) Window in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with husband John, son Robert and his wife Ellen (c.1530)

ELWALD, Ellen (A)

Wife of Robert, merchant

(\*now sIV) Window in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with parents-in-law John and Agnes and husband Robert (c.1530)

ELWALD, John (A)

Merchant, free 1471

Member of CC 1471 with wife Agnes

Chamberlain 1486; sheriff 1490; mayor 1499 (*Reg. CC* p.80; *Drake* p.363)

Governor of York Mercers 1492 (*YM & MA* pp.83, 323)

Will 29 Apr 1505, pr. 16 May 1505 (YML L.2/5 ff.43<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in the choir of Our Lady in St. Michael-le-Belfrey. His best garment for his mortuary. 16 lbs wax for his funeral and 10 torches for his funeral and eighth day. 20s for forgotten tithes. 13s 4d to the guild of Our Lady in St. Michael. Bequests to guild of St. Anthony and to guild of St. Christopher. Bequests to poor, almshouses, maisonnieux. 20s to be divided among 4 orders of friars to pray for his soul. 14 marks for a priest to celebrate mass for his soul and the souls of his parents etc for 2 years in the church of St. Michael *and after evere messe that he sais for me to say in his albe psalme de profundis with the coletts ther to be songyng at my grave and cast holy water upon it*. Bequests to his cousin Robert Elwald, his brother John Elwald, his daughter (unnamed). A banner cloth of silk to be bought for his parish church for the cross. To his wife Agnes all rents, tenements, pastures and meadows, tenures in the *wynd mylnes*, a house in Stonegate, houses at St. Leonard Gate (and other properties - document damaged and illegible) while she lives and is unmarried, then to his son Robert Elwald, if Robert dies without heirs the properties to be distributed among his daughters. Residue to his wife Agnes executrix while she remains unmarried, and to his children if she remarries, for the good of his soul.

(\*now sIV) Window in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with wife Agnes, son Robert and his wife Ellen (c.1530)

ELWALD, Robert (A)

Merchant, free 1506

Member of CC 1517 with wife Ellen

Chamberlain 1530; sheriff 1532; mayor 1539 (*Reg. CC* p.189; *Drake* p.364). Constable of fellowship of Mercers and of guild of Holy Trinity Fossgate 1529 (*YM & MA*, p.129)

Witness to will of John Chapman, public notary and merchant, on 4 March 1527 (see Chapman entry)

Administration of goods 10 May (?)1507 (*YML L.2/5* f.66<sup>r</sup>)

(\*now sIV) Window in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with parents John and Agnes and wife Ellen (c.1530)

ERGHES, Richard (A)

Rector of St. Margaret, ratified 1399 (*CPR 1396-99*, p.521)

E window and ?monument at St. Margaret. (post-1399)

de ESHTON, John

Bailiff 1343; MP 1377 (*Drake* p.356, 361)

Master of guild of BVM of fellowship of Mercers 1366 (*YM & MA*, p.16)

Posthumous chantry for 100s rent in St. Nicholas Micklegate (pre-1384). 1384 presentation of chaplain to chantry founded according to John's will. (Holy Trinity Micklegate) (*YMB I* p.36)

ESYNGWALD, John

Money-maker

(?)Sheriff 1432 (*Drake* p.362)

Will 15 Nov 1431, pr. (?) (*TE II* p.16): requests burial in York Minster before the great crucifix. To Robert Semer rector of his parish church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey 20s for forgotten tithes.

ESYNGWALD, Robert

Procurator-general in court of York

Will 1 Aug 1443, pr. 30 Dec 1443 (*TE II* pp.90-92): requests burial under a marble stone in York Minster before image of BVM where people make offerings to fabric. To his parish church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey his best gown for mortuary. To rector of church 20s for forgotten tithes. 20s to York Minster fabric and 20s for burial. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. 20s to sustain 2 candles, one before main crucifix and other in choir of St. Thomas before image of BVM in his parish church. Bequests for funeral expenses; and to poor; parish clergy. To William Langton rector of St. Michael Spurriergate all his law books, one small hanging ewer, one flat bowl and a silver cover. To prior and convent of Holy Trinity (Micklegate) one great bowl made of maple wood and 40s to celebrate his obit on day of his burial.

ETTON, Margaret

Wife of William, merchant

Will 20 July 1391, pr. 27 July 1391 (BI Reg.1 f.29<sup>v</sup>, also Shaw p.83): requests burial in choir of BVM in church of All Saints North St. Wax for her funeral at her husband's disposition. 6s 8d to fabric for burial. Bequests to parish clergy.

(\*14C indent) Possibly monument at All Saints North St. (1391) (see also William Meburn)

EVERS, Beatrice (A)

Monument in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with husband George and a daughter 1520

EVERS, George (A)

Notary/scribe

Will 19 Nov 1520, pr. 3 Dec 1520 (*TE V* pp.120-121): requests burial in his parish church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, executors to provide a stone with writing on it. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. Candle of wax weighing 1 lb. to burn before image of St. Sithe in his parish church for 2 years. 6s 8d to parson for forgotten tithes. 3s 4d to each of 4 orders of friars. Bequests to poor men; Beverley Minster; other monasteries; leperhouses, maisonndieux and prisons. Bequests to wife Beatrice and daughters Marie and Cecilie. 7 marks a year for 5 years for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul etc.

Monument in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with wife Beatrice and a daughter 1520

FAIRFAX, Guy

Clerk; Recorder of York 1460-1477

Member of CC with wife Isabel 1455; said to have died 1495 (*Reg. CC*, p.56)

Co-licensee of chantry of Richard Russell at St. John Hungate 1460 (*CPR 1452-61* p.632; *YCC I* p.50)

FENWICK, Margaret (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband William 1421

FENWICK, William (A)

Merchant (merchants' mark on brass)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Margaret 1421

FERNELL, John

Chaplain

Will 1 Sep 1466, pr. (?) (*TE II* p.275): to church of All Saints Peaseholme one psalter with *porticu* of St. John Baptist to be chained.



**FERIBY, John**

Clerk

Co-founder with clerk John de Bilton of chantry at altar of BVM in St. Martin Micklegate licensed for 1 mark for a message's rent 1384 during their lives. (*CPR 1381-85* p.486)

**FERIBY, John (A)**

Merchant, free 1447

Member of CC 1469 with wife Millicent

Chamberlain 1462; sheriff 1473; mayor 1478 and 1491 (died in office); MP 1485 (*Reg. CC* p.73; *Drake* p.363)

Governor of York Mercers 1466 and 1474 (*YM & MA* p.322)

Will 21 March 1490, pr. 6 June 1491 (BI Reg.5 ff.417<sup>v</sup>-418<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints Pavement in the south part of the high choir before the image of St. Mary. His best gown to the rector for his mortuary. 20s for his burial and for forgotten tithes. 4 *duodenas* and 8 lbs wax for his funeral and eighth day. 26s to be distributed among the four orders of friars. Bequests to maison dieux; leper houses; fraternity of Mercers; fraternity of St. Christopher and St. George; abbot and convent of St. Mary; master and brothers of St. Leonard; prior and convent of St. Andrew; sisters of St. Nicholas (to pray for his soul). Bequests to parish clergy. £5 to chaplain William Soureby to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his sons, his parents etc in All Saints Pavement for 10 years after his death. 4 tenements in perpetuity to the chantry of St. Mary founded in All Saints Pavement, for one chaplain to make an obit and for the parish clerk to say *De profundis* daily for his soul and the souls of his wife Milisant, his sons, Thomas Beverlay and his wife Alice and their sons. Bequests to daughter Anne Beverlay. 2s to guild of Corpus Christi. Residue to executors for the good of his soul, i.e. master William Sheffield treasurer of York Minster; Anna Beverlay and Ellen Metcalf his daughters; William Barker *pistor* (miller); Thomas Pollor merchant; James Lounysdaile.

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Milicent, 2 sons 3 daughters (1491)

**FERIBY, Milicent (A)**

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband John, 2 sons and 3 daughters (1491)

**FITZHUGH, Elizabeth, of Ravensworth**

Widow of Henry lord Fitzhugh, daughter and sole heir of Robert Grey, knight and brother of John Grey, Lord Marmion.

Will 24 Sep 1427, pr. 10 Dec 1427 (*TV I* pp.212-4, also *W&II* pp.74-75): requests burial in Jervaulx Abbey before high altar near husband.

**FITZHUGH, Lord Henry**

Knight of Garter

Will 24 June 1424, pr. (?) (*TV I* p.206): requests burial in Jervaulx Abbey.

License to augment chantry of BVM in West Tanfield parish church 1413; chantry at Ravenswaith Castle (*YCC* p.108)

(\*sII?)Arms in St. Helen Stonegate

FLEMYNG, Henry (A)

Monument at St. Olave

le FLEMYNG, Nicholas (A)

Mayor 1311-1316 and 1319 (*Freemen*, pp.13-16; Drake p.360)

Chantry in St. Wilfrid for self, wife Ellen, James le Flemyng, his wife Margaret etc licensed for 6 marks rent during his life 1312. (*CPR 1307-1313* p.440)

Monument at St. Wilfrid 1319

FLOS, Walter (A)

(\* part of coffin lid) Monument at Holy Trinity Micklegate

FOSTER, Alexander

Will 15 Nov 1520, pr. (?) (*TE V* p.120): requests burial in York Minster near Lord Savage. 33s 4d for a marble stone on his grave *with a scripture of brase*.

FOSTER, Francis

Painter, free 1492 (*Freemen* p.217), living in Gillygate

Will 11 Aug 1498, pr. 2 Jan 1498 (BI Reg.3 f.332<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in cemetery of St. Olave near gates of monastery of St. Mary York. For his mortuary as is the custom (i.e. his best gown). 20d to high altar of St. Olave for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 3s 4d to church fabric. 6s 8d for church bells. 20d to church of St. Giles Gillygate.

FOUKE (FOUKES), Nicholas (A)

Merchant (merchant's marks on his window at St. Martin Micklegate)

Bailiff 1322; mayor 1341 or 1343 (*Freemen*, p.35; Drake p.360-1)

Posthumous chantry at altar of BVM in St. Martin Micklegate for self and souls of wives Margaret and Katherine etc licensed for £10 for 5 messuages rent 1367 to John de Sevenhous, merchant. (*CPR 1364-67* p. 383)

(\* now sII) Window at St. Martin Micklegate with Lombardic inscription and Anglo-French text (c.1322-43)

FROST, Isabel

Wife of William

Chantry at altar of St. Thomas Beckett in St. Saviour 1399 (*YCC I* p.65)

FROST, William (Sir)

Free 1394 (*Freemen*, p.95)

MP 1399; mayor 1397, 1400-1404, 1406 (*Freemen*, pp. 96, 98, 103-7, 109; Drake pp.357, 362)

Chantry at altar of St. Thomas Beckett in St. Saviour 1399 (*YCC I* p.65)

FUGGET, Richard (A)

Fisherman

Monument at St. Denys 1515

FYTHIAN, William

Rector of St. Martin Micklegate

Will 20 Oct 1429, pr. 24 Oct 1429 (BI Reg.2 f.569<sup>r</sup>); requests burial in choir of St. Martin Micklegate. 5 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to chaplains. Residue for the good of his soul.

GARE, Katherine (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband Thomas Senior 1445

GARE, Thomas Jr.

Merchant, free 1418

Chamberlain 1427, sheriff 1429, mayor 1434 (*Reg. CC* p.11; Drake p.362)

GARE, Thomas Sr. (A)

Mercer

Son of William, mercer

Free 1384 (*Freemen* p.81)

Bailiff 1395; mayor 1420, 1434; MP 1421 (Drake pp.357, 362)

Member of CC 1408 with wife Katherine and sons John and Thomas (*Reg. CC* p.11)

Gift of 100 marks to Austin convent at York in 1425 in return for obits, candles and bell-ringing. (*YCA*, G 24B; Dobson 1984 p.117)

Will 1 Dec 1428, codicil 4 Dec 1438 (*sic* - possibly scribal error for 1428), no pr. (BI Reg.2 ff.110<sup>v</sup>-111<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints Pavement next to door to choir of St. Thomas Martyr. 13s 4d for burial. 6s 8d to rector for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. wax for funeral, then for high altar and other 4 altars in All Saints P. 3s 4d to each order of friars. Residue to wife Ellen also executrix for the good of his soul.

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Katherine 1445

del GARE, Thomas Jr.

Sheriff 1441 (Drake p.362)

del GARE, William

Mercer

Free 1342 (*Freemen* p.36)

GARNET (GARNETT), John (A)

Rector of St. Mary Castlegate

Master of CC 1473, 1480, 1482, 1491 (*Reg. CC* pp.92, 108, 111, 130)

Will 22 May 1492, pr. 30 May 1492 (BI Reg.5 ff.411<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in choir of St. Mary Castlegate. 6s 8d to fabric. 20s towards new silver crucifix. 7 marks a year for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for three years. To guild of Corpus Christi an old noble (6s 8d) to hang from the feretry. 20d to York Minster fabric. Residue to his brother Richard for the good of his soul.

Monument at St. Mary Castlegate 1492

GARTHE, Roland

Fishmonger

Will 26 Oct 1528, pr. 18 Sep (?) (BI Reg.9 f.485<sup>v</sup>): requests burial before altar of Trinity in north side in his parish church of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate). Bequests to parish clergy; to light of Rood and to light of St. Sithe.

GARTON, William (A)

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court 1509

GASCOYGNE, Katherine (A)

Monument at St. Martin Micklegate with husband Richard 1486

GASCOYGNE (GASCOYNE), Richard (A)

Vintner

Will 22 Oct 1486, pr. 16 Feb 1486 (BI Reg. 5 ff.294<sup>v</sup>-295<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Martin Micklegate before the pulpit. 23s 4d to fabric for his burial. 5 lbs wax for his funeral. Surplice with hood to rector for his mortuary. 2s for forgotten tithes. 6s for 2 torches for his funeral, to remain at high altar. 3s 4d to each order of friars. 21 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and soul of his wife Katherine in his parish church for 3 years. Bequests to parish clergy. Bequests to daughter Ellen. Residue to executors, i.e. wife Katherine, William Mitford, Thomas Smyth leather-dresser (*allutarius*), for the good of his soul.

Monument at St. Martin Micklegate with wife Katherine 1486

**GAUNT, Agnes (A)**

**Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with husband Robert and daughter Margaret (1407 or 1412)**

**GAUNT, Robert (A)**

**Merchant**

**Sheriff 1408-9**

**His widow Isabel member of CC 1416-17 when remarried to William del Lee (sheriff 1402; Drake p.362) (*Reg. CC* p.18)**

**Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with wife Agnes and daughter Margaret (1407 or 1412. According to antiquarian notes he died 12 March 1407. The date could have been misread, e.g. for 1412: M CCCC VIJ instead of M CCCC XIIJ.)**

**GAUNT, Margaret (A)**

**Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with parents Robert and Agnes (c.1407)**

**GILLIOT, Sir John (A)**

**Son of John Gyliot, mercer**

**Merchant and goldsmith, free 1480.**

**Member of CC 1481 (*Reg. CC* p.109)**

**Chamberlain 1482; sheriff 1484; MP 1487; mayor 1490 and 1503; Knight of the Bath 1500 (*Freemen*, pp. 203, 214, 227; Drake p.363)**

**First wife Catherine died 1488, second wife Maud, daughter of Sir Henry Vavasour of Haslewood, died before 1509**

**Governor of York Mercers 1485-86 and 1500-1501 (*YM & MA* p.322)**

Will 28 Dec 1509, pr. 4 Mar 1509 (BI Reg.8 ff.32<sup>v</sup>-34<sup>v</sup>, also *TE V* pp.12-16): requests burial in a chapel to be newly built in church of St. Saviour with the body of his wife Maude. For his mortuary as is the custom (i.e. his best gown). £3 for forgotten tithes to parson of All Saints Pavement and £3 for forgotten tithes to parson of St. Saviour. For his funeral: 7 serge (candles) to burn for 30 days, mass and dirige with music, 13 torches to burn for 30 days and 13 gowns for 13 poor folk. Bequests to parish clergy of All Saints P.; 6d to every parish priest in York *to do dirige and mass with note with ryngyng of bellys the morne next after my beriall* and 2d to every other priest - all to pray for his soul and souls of his parents, wives Katherine and Maude and his children. Bequest to parish clergy of St. Saviour. £20 or more to be given to poor folk on day of his burial and eighth day. Bequests to every man and woman in maisonndieux, leper houses, prisons and bedridden. 100 gowns for 100 poor men and women; 100 linen and bedding for 100 bedridden folk. 15s to greyfriars (Friars minors or Franciscans); 15s to Friars of Toftes (Friars Preachers or Dominicans); 36s 8d to Whitefriars (Carmelites) and 26s 8d to Austin friars - all to sing 30 masses each. Bequests to prior and convent of St. Andrew (Fishergate), of Mount Grace, of Charterhouse of Hull and to Leonard's hospital for masses. Bequests for meat and drink to prisoners for 3 years. 50 beds to poorest men and women. 6s 8d dowry each for 40 poor maidens. £10 to poor wedded men and women. Bequests to guild of Corpus Christi, guild of St. Christopher and St. George, guild of St. John Baptist, guild of St. Anthony. 40s towards repair of guild of Trinity in Fossgate. All lands, rents and tenements in Fossgate to pay a chantry priest at altar of St. Thomas in church of All Saints Pavement and his successors; yearly annuity of 4 marks for chaplain and successors. Bequests to sons Peter, Laurence, William; daughters Maude, Margaret - including lands, rents and tenements in parishes of St. Crux, All Saints Pavement, St. Mary Castlegate, Holy Trinity King's Court; also in Stonegate, Fishergate, Coney St., Monkgate, Hungate; house in Coppergate; his *great place in Middil Watyr Lane*. £400 or more to purchase land worth £6 a year in mortmain for a chantry in new chapel in St. Saviour where his body lies for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his parents, wives Katherine and Maude, his children etc. Chantry to be finished within 3 years of his death. 5 marks to buy an alabaster retable for high altar of St. Saviour. Cloth for vestments to St. Saviour. Residue equally to 5 children.

Chantry in St. Saviour founded posthumously by son William 1513 (*YCC I* p.67; *YCC II* p.472)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with parents John and Joan and sisters Joan, Alice, Agnes and Katherine 1484

GILLIOT (GILYOT), Matilda (Maude), n<sup>è</sup>e Vavasour

Second wife of Sir John Gilliot

Member of CC 1489 (*Reg. CC* p.126)

GILLIOT, William

Mercer, son of Sir John

Chantry in St. Saviour founded 1513 (on behalf of father Sir John Gilliot?) (*YCC I* p.67; *YCC II* p.472)

GILLYOT, John (A)

Priest

Master of Grammar from Oxford University admitted 1450; rector of All Saints North St. admitted 1467 vacated 1473; rector of Everingham admitted 1475 vacated 1477. Owned Antwerp Museum Plantin-Moretus MS. 83 (formerly Latin 67), Petrus Comestor *Historia Scholastica* which his executors gave to William Poteman (residentiary canon of York Minster 1468-93, one of patrons of guild of Corpus Christ when its statutes were approved in 1477 and provost of Beverley Minster 1472-90, will 8 Feb 1492-3, pr. 1 May 1493) (Emden, *Oxford II*, p.771; *Reg. CC* pp.69, 259, 274, *TE IV* pp.78-83; *BMF* pp.86-7; J.Denucé, *Museum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogue des Manuscrits - Catalogus der Handschriften*, (Antwerp 1927), p.60)

Member of CC 1461-2; master of CC 1472 (*Reg. CC* pp.63, 82)

Will 20 July 1484, pr. 15 Sep 1484 (BI Reg.5 ff.236<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints Pavement. 3s 4d for his burial. To George Wright, one of seven parsons in collegiate church of St. John Beverley (untraced, see *BMF* pp.31-109, 117, 122, 126, 136-7), his best *portiphorium* (portable breviary) to celebrate a trental of St. Gregory for his soul for one year after his death. Bequests to paupers, maison dieux in Beverley. To master John Sharparow (sacrist/treasurer at Beverley Minster 1484 till after 1493, *BMF* p.117) and abovementioned George Wright the task to ensure that income of messuage with appurtenances in ...(illegible) for seven parsons of St. John Beverley to make a perpetual obit for his soul etc within four days of his decease. Residue to executors to dispose in works of charity for the good of his soul. Executors: John Gilliot Jr. and George Wright.

Monument at All Saints Pavement 1484

(\*)Roof boss at All Saints North St. (c.1467-1473)

(\*)Misericorde at All Saints North St. (c.1467-1473)

GILYOT, Agnes (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with parents John and Joan, brother John and sisters Joan, Alice and Katherine 1484

GILYOT, Alice (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with parents John and Joan, brother John and sisters Joan, Agnes and Katherine 1484

GILYOT, Joan (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband John, son John and daughters Joan, Alice, Agnes and Katherine 1484

GILYOT, Joan (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with parents John and Joan, brother John and sisters Alice, Agnes and Katherine 1484

GILYOT, Katherine (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with parents John and Joan, brother John and sisters Joan, Alice and Agnes 1484

## GILYOT, John (A)

Mercer, free 1438 (*Freemen* p.153)

Member of CC 1455; chamberlain 1451; sheriff 1453; mayor 1464 and 1474 (*Freemen*, pp.170, 183, 194; *Reg. CC* p.55; *Drake* p.363)

Governor of York Mercers 1459-60 (*YM & MA* p.322)

Will 17 Sep 1484, pr. 27 Sep 1484 (BI Reg.5 ff.237<sup>r</sup>-238<sup>r</sup>): requests burial within high choir of his parish church of All Saints Pavement. 6s 8d to rector for his burial. His best gown to rector for his mortuary. 40s to rector for forgotten tithes. 40 lbs wax for his funeral and eighth day. 8 torches for his funeral, subsequently three for high altar, 2 for altar of St. Thomas and 3 for other altars at All Saints Pavement. 8 gowns for 8 poor men to pray for his soul. £40 to be distributed among infirm immediately after his death for the good of his soul. 7 marks a year for 20 years for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and for souls of his parents etc., in the first year said chaplains to celebrate a trental of masses of St. Gregory. 20s to each of 4 orders of friars, each order to celebrate a trental of masses of St. Gregory after his death. Bequests to guild of Corpus Christi; guild of Holy Trinity Fossgate; guild of St. Christopher and St. George; prisoners, leper houses and maison dieux; parish clergy at All Saints Pavement. To son John tenement in Coppergate where he lives, all other lands and tenements in city and suburbs, also lands and tenements in Sherburn in Elmet and Towthorpe and elsewhere in the county of York. If son John dies without heirs, all lands and tenements to be sold for masses and other works of charity. To wife Joan an annuity of 10 marks a year from income of all lands and tenements (see above) for the rest of her life. Residue to executors for the good of his soul, i.e. son John, Alan Wilberfosse gentleman and master John Odlow. Codicil: 46s 8d to All Saints Pavement for fabric of great bell. Annuity of 4 marks a year from lands and tenements in Fossgate to chaplain William Seton incumbent of chantry of St. Thomas Martyr in All Saints Pavement and his successors.

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Joan, son John and daughters Joan, Alice, Agnes and Katherine 1484

## GIRLYNGTON, William

Draper

Sheriff 1427; mayor 1440; MP 1442 (*Drake* pp.357, 362)

Will 20 May 1444, pr. 7 June 1444 (*TE II* pp.93-95): burial in any church. His best gown for his mortuary. 40s. to York Minster fabric. £8 to 4 orders of friars and 40s to any other order. Bequests to fraternity of St. John Baptist; lepers; maison dieux; St. Leonard's hospital; prisoners; anchoresses. 20s for forgotten tithes. 21 marks for 2 chaplains to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of wife Ellen, his parents etc in his parish church of St. Martin Coney St. for 3 years.

## de GISBURN, Ellen

Chantry in St. Martin Micklegate for self, late husband John etc licensed for 40 marks for a message's rent 1392 during her life; in 1405 the chantry was too small to support 2 chaplains. (*CPR 1391-96* p.145; *CPR 1401-1405* p.496)

## de GISBURN, John (A)

Merchant



Mayor 1371, 1372, 1380; MP 1361, 1374 (Drake pp.356, 361)

Will 11 June 1385, pr. 20 Oct 1390 (BI Reg.1 ff.15<sup>v</sup>-16<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in choir of St. Martin Micklegate between high altar and altar of St. Nicholas. 50 lbs wax for his funeral. £20 to repair vestments. 40s to chaplain John de Feriby to repair the necessaries in his chantry in the church of St. Martin. £20 to York Minster fabric. £24 to 4 orders of friars. Bequests to friaries in Scarborough, Hull, Lancaster, Beverley, Tickhill and to nuns of Clementhorp. Bequests to monasteries, maison dieux, anchoresses. 100s to lights of St. Nicholas and St. Katherine in St. Martin. £40 for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul etc for 2 years.

Chantry at altar of St. Nicholas at St. Martin Micklegate (either pre-1385 as suggested by will or posthumously 1392 licensed to wife Ellen)

Possibly NE window and windows in N chancel aisle (c.1370) at St. Martin Micklegate

GRAA (GRAVE), Joan (A)

(\*limestone tomb chest in S chapel) Monument at St. Mary Castlegate with husband William (post-1378)

(\*late 14C arms of Graa on stonework of S chapel E wall)

GRAA, John

Son of Richard

MP 1311 (Drake p.356)

Chantry in church of St. Mary Castlegate augmented posthumously for license of 100s for 30s 10d rent 1380 by executors of William Graa including son Thomas. (*CPR 1377-81* p.435)

GRAA, Matilda

Wife of Thomas Graa

Will no date, pr. 5 Jan 1391 (BI Reg.1, f.42<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in chapel of St. John Baptist in St. Mary Castlegate. Her best gown for her burial. Bequests to sons John, Thomas, Robert. Bequests to husband Thomas. Bequests to daughters Joan and Elizabeth. Residue to husband and executor.

GRAA, Robert

Chantry in church of St. Mary Castlegate c.1293 (J.I. 1/1085, m.72, from VCHY p.393)

GRAA, Thomas

Son of William

Cordwainer, free 1377 (*Freemen* p.75)

Mayor 1376; MP 1377, 1379, 1380, 1384, 1386, 1387, 1395, 1397 (Drake pp.356-7, 361)

Will 20 May 1405, pr. 8 July 1405 (BI Reg.3 ff.235<sup>v</sup>-263<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in St. Mary Castlegate before altar of St. John Evangelist and St. John Baptist in south part. To rector his best gown for his mortuary and 13s 4d for forgotten tithes. 30 lbs wax for his funeral and one torch worth 30s. 3s 4d to fabric of St. Mary. Bequests for alms and to assemble his friends on day of his funeral. 13s 4d to friars minors. 6s 8d each to friars preachers, Carmelites and Augustinians. Bequest to (second) wife Alice. 3 *cotagia* in Coppergate to chaplain John de Horselay and his successors for a perpetual chantry at chapel of St. John Evangelist and St. John Baptist in St. Mary. To John de Horselay and successors a book called *tyxt* with images of Crucifixion and other relics for said chapel; also a standing cross with 3 silver-gilt images for said chapel. 100 marks for a marble slab with images of himself and (first) wife Matilda. £14 for chaplain John de Malteby to celebrate mass for his soul etc for 2 years. Residue for the good of his soul.

#### GRAA (GRAVE), William (A)

*Foyster* (wine-merchant? foist=wine cask, *OED I*, 779), free 1364 (*Freemen* p.61)

MP 1348, 1349, 1354, 1356, 1357, 1361, 1365, 1366, 1370, 1372, 1373 (*Freemen* pp.62-3; Drake p.356, 361)

William Graa, merchant, was co-licensee of John de Langeton's chantry at Holy Trinity King's Court in 1378 (see below *sub* de Langeton, John - *CPR 1377-81*, p.216)

(\*late 14C arms of Graa - *argent on a bend between two cotises azure three griffins passant or*, cf. Burke p.417 - on stonework of S chapel E wall) Chantry in chapel of St. John Baptist in St. Mary Castlegate for self, wife Joan (living), his parents John and Katherine, John Womme, his wife's parents etc licensed for £20 for £4 rent 1377 during his life and augmented for licence of 100s for 30s 10d rent by his executors 1380. (*CPR 1377-81* pp.21, 435; *YCC I* p.44)

(\*limestone tomb chest in S chapel) Monument at St. Mary Castlegate with wife Joan (post-1378)

#### de GRAFTON, Agnes (A)

(\*now at YM nXXII) Window at St. John Ousebridge with husband William (1320s)

#### de GRAFTON, William (A)

Free 1307, chamberlain 1327 (*Freemen* pp.12, 23)

(\*now at YM nXXII) Window at St. John Ousebridge with wife Agnes (1320s)

#### GRAIE, Katherine (A)

Monument at All Saints North St. with husband William (post-1367)

#### GRAIE (GRAYE), William (A)

Bailiff 1346; mayor 1367 (Drake p.361)

Monument at All Saints North St. with wife Katherine (post-1367)

de GRANTHAM, William

Mercer

Bailiff 1311, 1333, 1340 (Drake pp.360-1)

Posthumous chantry in St. Helen Stonegate for self and souls of wife Maud, William de Santon etc licensed for £20 for 4 messuages worth 100s rent 1371 to executors of William de Grantham, William de Santon and his wife Ellen. (CPR 1370-74 pp.41-42)

de GRIMSTON, Richard, of Stillingfleet (A)

Priest

Monument with Lombardic inscription and Anglo-French text at St. Nicholas (pre-1340)

GRINEDALE, John (A)

Parish priest at St. Crux

Monument at St. Crux 1488

GUDEBARNE, Thomas (A)

Carpenter, living in Bootham

Will (?), pr. 28 Apr 1473 (BI Reg.4 ff.189<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in a church. His best gown for his mortuary. 5 lbs wax for his funeral. 3s 4d to high altar of St. Olave. Bequests to parish clergy, including John Rudby (see will of Laurence Yole). 6s 8d to abbot and convent of St. Mary. 2s to York Minster. Bequests to his sons, William (chaplain) and James (monk). His lands in Clifton to wife Agnes. 2 tenements in Bootham. Residue to wife Agnes.

Monument at St. Olave (1473)

GYLLE, Mary (A)

Wife of Robert

Monument at St. Helen Stonegate c.1479

GYLLE, Robert (A)

Pewterer

Vicesheriff 1479

Wife Mary's monument at St. Helen Stonegate c.1479

GYSELAY, John (A)

Gentleman, son of William, *quaestor* (pardoner?)

Free 1451 (*Freemen* p.172)

Will 20 May 1459, pr. 9 Apr 1460 (BI Reg.2 f.427<sup>r</sup>): burial anywhere. Sons John and William. 55s 1d to city of York. Residue to executors, i.e. wife Marian and John Semer, to appoint a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of William Baumburght, John Neuton and William Neuton, chaplains, his parents etc for one year or for as long as he can afford if less than one year.

Window at St. Cuthbert with parents William and Alice (between 1446 and 1460)

#### **GYSELEY, Alice n<sup>è</sup>e Ross (A)**

Wife of William

Administration of goods to husband, 21 Apr 1440 (BI Reg.3 f.598v)

Window at St. Cuthbert with husband William and son John (between 1446 and 1460) (arms of Ross near Alice's effigy)

#### **GYSLAY, William (A)**

Scrivener & armiger (arms of Gyselay & Ross in window at St. Cuthbert)

Free 1408 (*Freemen* p. 113)

Will 1 June 1446, pr. 4 July 1446 (BI Reg.2 ff.128<sup>v</sup>-129<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in his parish church (unspecified). His best gown to rector for mortuary. 3s 4d for forgotten tithes. 6s 8d to church fabric for burial. Bequests to parish clergy. 3s 4d to York Minster fabric. 8 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to prisoners, lepers, paupers. 6s 8d to guild of St. Christopher. 3s 4d to fraternity of St. Katherine at Austin friars. 3s 4d to Corpus Christi shrine. Residue to executors, i.e. wife Alice, son John and John Aldfeld, for the good of his soul.

Window at St. Cuthbert with wife Alice and son John (between 1446 and 1460)

#### **HALTON, Robert**

Chaplain

Co-founder with chaplain Nicholas Swanland of chantry in St. Peter Willows for selves etc licensed for rent of houses and buildings in church cemetery 1396 during their lives (*CPR 1391-96* p.692)

#### **HAMERTON, Alan (A)**

Merchant/chapman, free 1374, chamberlain 1404 (*Freemen* pp.73, 108-9; *Reg. CC* p.31)

Will 16 Feb 1405, pr. 17 Feb 1405 (BI Reg.3 ff.244<sup>r</sup>-245<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Peter Little. His best gown for his mortuary. 40s to rector of St. Peter Little for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 20s to church fabric for his burial. 13s 4d to York Minster. 6s 8d to each order of friars to pray for his soul etc. £20 for funeral expenses. Bequests to paupers in hospitals, paupers in parishes of St. Mary Castlegate, St. Michael Spurriergate and St. Peter Little. 200s to chaplain John Morely to celebrate mass for his soul etc for one year after his death. £20 for 4 chaplains to celebrate mass for his soul etc for one year after his death, 2 chaplains in his parish church of St. Peter Little and 2 in church of All Saints Peaseholme. All his lands and tenements in city of York to executors for perpetual chantry in chapel of St. William Ousebridge.

Chantries in Fossbridge (?Ousebridge) chapel and in All Saints North St. (pre-1405)(*YCR III* p.28; *YCR IV* p.144)

(\*floor slab now at St. Michael Spurriergate) Monument at St. Peter Little with wife Isabel 1405 moved to St. Michael Spurriergate probably mid-16C

HAMERTON, Isabel (A)

Widow of Alan, merchant

Member of CC 1430-1 (*Reg. CC* p.31)

Will 15 May 1432, pr. 2 Jan 1432 (*TE II* pp.22-23): requests burial in church of St. Peter Little near husband Alan. 4d to parish chaplains to pray for her soul and souls of husband Alan, son John etc.

(\*floor slab now at St. Michael Spurriergate) Monument at St. Peter Little with husband Alan 1405 moved to St. Michael Spurriergate probably mid-16C

HAMERTON, Richard

Rector of church of St. Mary Bishophill Sr.

Will (?), pr.27 Feb 1464 (*TE II* pp.268-269): requests burial in choir of St. Mary. 3s 4d to repair books and ornaments in said church.

HANCOCK, Ellen (A)

(\*brass with rectangular plate) Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate with husband William 1485 (William died 1485, blanks for Ellen)

HANCOCK, Malde

Widow of Robert, grocer

Will 28 Mar 1508, no pr. (*BI Reg.7* ff.52r-53v, also *TE IV* pp.274-275): requests burial in her parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate next to burial of husband Robert. 6s 8d for her burial. Her best gown for her mortuary. 20 lbs wax for her funeral. £10 for a chaplain to celebrate mass for her soul and souls of her husband, parents etc for 2 years after her death *and that he say daly after he haith saide messe at my grave y<sup>e</sup> psalme deprofundis with collectis folowyng and cast holy water uppon my grave and y<sup>e</sup> said prest to syng at th alter of nomine Jesu callyd Jesu alter in my said parish kyrke*. Bequests to parish clergy. 6s 8d to each of 4 orders of friars for a trental of masses. Bequests to poor; prisoners. Bequests to abbot and convent of Kirkstall; abbot of Byland; prior and convent of Kirkby; prioress and convent of Nunmonkton for masses for her soul. Bequest to fraternity of Our Lady in church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey. Residue to executors.

HANCOCK, Robert

Grocer, free 1461 (*Freemen* p.181)

Sheriff 1478; mayor 1488 (*Drake* p.363)

HANCOCK, Robert

Spicer, free 1497; son of William, apothecary

Member of CC c.1497 with wife Matilda; members of Mercers' guild 1498 (*Reg. CC p.145*)

HANCOCK, William (A)

Apothecary

His widow Ellen married Robert Johnson and John Stockdale and died 1507 (*Reg. CC p.69*)

Will 2 July 1485, pr. 11 July 1485 (BI Reg.5 f. 257<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate in choir of BVM next to burial of his daughter. 10s to church for his burial. 13s 4d for forgotten tithes. 100s for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul at St. Michael for one year after his death. All his tenements in York and suburbs to wife Ellen for the rest of her life, and after her death to son Robert. If Robert dies without heirs, lands and tenements to daughters. Residue to executors, i.e. wife Ellen and brother Robert, for the good of his soul.

(\*brass with rectangular plate) Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate with wife Ellen 1485 (William died 1485, blanks for Ellen)

HARTYNG, John

Of St. Mary's Abbey (lay)

Will 1 July 1471, pr. 3 Dec 1471 (BI Reg.4 f.167<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in nave of St. Mary's Abbey. His best gown to high altar of St. Olave's. 5 candles of wax for his burial, led by his wife Helen from sacristy of Abbey. Bequests to parish clergy of St. Olave. Residue to wife Helen executrix.

HARWOD, Robert

Fletcher

Will 28 Jan 1474, pr. 10 Feb 1474 (BI Reg.4 f.223<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in choir of St. Nicholas (or Michael?) in his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate. 8 lbs wax for his funeral. His best gown with hood to high altar for his mortuary. 3s 4d to high altar for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 14 marks for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his wife, parents etc in church of St. Michael for 2 years after their death. 6s 8d for his burial.

HASTINGE, Walter

Merchant, free 1472 (*Freemen p.193*)

Will 26 March 1488, pr. 26 Jan 1488 (BI Reg.5 f.349<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in choir of BVM in church of St. Michael Spurriergate near burial of his sons. 3s 4d to church fabric for his burial. 12d for forgotten tithes. For his mortuary as is the custom (i.e. his best gown). 4 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to parish clergy. Residue to wife Agnes, son Robert, daughters Margaret and Alice.

HASTINGS, Anne n<sup>è</sup>e Gascoigne (HA)

Daughter of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe; wife of Sir Hugh Hastings; and sister of Joan, wife of Sir Henry Vavasour of Haslewood

(\*sII east window of south chancel aisle commemorative effigies, currently identified as Edmund Grey first Earl of Kent and his wife Katherine Percy) Window in W tower of St. Martin Micklegate showing arms of Hastings and Gascoigne with husband Hugh (pre-1489)

**HASTINGS, Sir Hugh (HA)**

**Knight**

**High sheriff of Yorkshire 1480 (Drake p.353)**

**Will 20 June 1482, pr. 16 Jan 1489 (BI Reg.5 f.337<sup>r</sup>, also *TE III* pp.237-278): burial anywhere. Prayers for 7 years in chapel of Northon, parish of Campsall. Bequests to friars of Pontefract, Doncaster and Tickhill. Wife Anne, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe.**

**(\*sII east window of south chancel aisle commemorative effigies, currently identified as Edmund Grey first Earl of Kent and his wife Katherine Percy) Window in W tower of St. Martin Micklegate with wife Anne (pre-1489)**

**HASTINGS, Sir Ralph Sr. (HA)**

**Knight**

**High sheriff of Yorkshire 1337-40 (Drake p.352)**

**Governor of York Castle**

**Married to Margaret daughter of William de Herle, one of Justices of Common Pleas; died of wounds received at battle of Neville's Cross 17 Oct 1346**

**Will next day after feast of St. Edmund king and martyr, pr. 2 Dec 1346 (*TE I* pp.19-20): requests burial in Abbey church of Sulby, Northants (whose advowson he had bought from William de Wyville in 1343).**

**(\*now in window I) Mid 14C arms in St. Michael-le-Belfrey**

**HASTINGS, Sir Ralph Jr.**

**Knight**

**High sheriff of Yorkshire 1377, 1381 (Drake p.352)**

**Governor of York Castle; married firstly Isabel daughter and co-heir of Sir Robert de Sadington and secondly Maud, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas Sutton of Sutton, Holderness.**

**Will Thursday before feast of St. Bartholomew (21 Sep) 1397, pr. 25 Feb 1397 (*TE I* pp.216-219): requests burial in S part of Sulby Abbey.**

**de HATHELSAYE, John**

**Free 1300 (*Freemen*, p.8)**

**Chamberlain 1317 (*Freemen*, p.17)**

**Chantry in St. Saviour at altar of St. John Evangelist licensed 1333 during his life (*CPR 1330-34*, 384-5)**

**HAUKESWORTH, Alice**

**Widow of Thomas**

Will 20 Jan 1429, pr. 30 Jan 1433 (BI Reg.3 f.373<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in choir of BVM in church of St. Denys next to monument of Thomas Haukesworth her late husband. 6s 8d for her burial and to fabric of choir of St. Katherine. Her best gown for her mortuary. 5 lbs wax for her funeral. (illegible) for forgotten tithes. 7 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for her soul for year. Half of her goods to her son Richard, the other half to executors for the good of her soul. 2s to her niece Isabel anchoress of Fishergate.

**HAUKESWORTH, Thomas**

Chamberlain 1404 (*Freemen* p.109)

..., HELEN (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with sisters Judith, Margaret, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Constance and Joan and brothers Robert, Henry, John, William and Nicholas (late 14C)

de HELMESLAY, Elizabeth

Wife of John Helmeslay

Will feast of Circumcision 1406, pr. 22 Sep 1407 (BI Reg.3 f.271<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in conventual church of St. Mary, Gisburn. Her best gown for her mortuary. 3s 4d for wax for her burial. Bequests to her brother-in-law Robert and to her step-son William. Residue to her husband John. Executors: husband John and chaplain Robert de Surflete.

Husband's chantry at St. Sampson.

de HELMESLEY, John

Son of William

Mercer, free 1396 (*Freemen*, p.98)

Chantry at altar of Holy Trinity in St. Sampson for self and souls of parents William and Alice etc licensed for 25 marks for 4 messuages and 14s yearly rent 1405 during his life. (*CPR 1405-1408* p.47)

..., HENRY (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with brothers Robert, John, William, Nicholas and sisters Judith, Margaret, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen, Constance and Joan (late 14C).

..., HENRY (A)

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court 1503

**HENRYESSON (HENRISON), Cecily (A)**

(\*now nIII, Prick of Conscience) Window at All Saints North St. with husband Roger, Abel de Hesil and wife, ? Wiloby and others, possibly including John & Alice Bolton (1st quarter 15C)



**HENRYESSON (HENRISON), Roger of Ulleskelf (A)**

Free 1400 (*Freemen* p.105)

(\*now nIII, Prick of Conscience) Window at All Saints North St. with wife Cecily, Abel de Hesil and wife, ? Wiloby and others, possibly including John & Alice Bolton (1st quarter 15C)

**de HESIL (HESYL), Abel (A)**

Active 1328 (*Freemen* p.25)

Chamberlain 1330; bailiff 1336 (Drake p.361)

(\*now nIII, Prick of Conscience) Window at All Saints North St. with (wife) Agnes, Roger Henrison and wife Cecily, ? Wiloby and others, possibly including John & Alice Bolton (1st quarter 15C)

**de HILL (HYLL), Alan (A)**

Vintner, free 1426 (*Freemen* p.139)

Chamberlain 1436 (*Freemen* p.150)

Window in Holy Trinity King's Court with William Bolton and (wife) Agnes (c.1440)

**HILL-BOLTON, Agnes (A)**

(?)Wife of Alan Hill/Hyll and William Bolton

An Agnes Bolton, widow living in North St., was member of CC 1440-1 (*Reg. CC* p.38)

Window in Holy Trinity King's Court with (husbands) Alan Hyll and William Bolton (c.1440)

**de HOLME, Anabilla**

Wife of William, vintner

Will (?) 1391, pr. 27 Aug 1391 (BI Reg.1 ff.31<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in her parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate before altar of St. Anne her patron saint. Her best gown for her mortuary. 26s 8d to rector for forgotten tithes. 15s to church fabric for her burial. Bequests to parish clergy. 20 lbs wax for her funeral. Missal to altar of St. Nicholas.

**HOLME, Joan**

Widow of Thomas of Monkgate

Will ... 1488, pr.4 Aug 1488 (BI Reg.5 ff.335<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in St. Maurice in Our Lady's choir. Her best gown for her mortuary. 1 lb wax for her funeral. To her sister's *madyn* an old mattress with a tester with an image of Our Lady. To Blakelde's wife a St. John Head (alabaster). To the church of St. Maurice an image of the Trinity and one other of St. Helen.

Husband Thomas's window at St. Maurice (with first wife) Mar(garet), Henry Meleton and wife Isabel, Roger Bradley and (wife) (post-1421)

HOLME, Margaret (A)

Window at St. Maurice with husband Thomas, Henry Meleton and wife Isabel, Roger Bradley and (wife) (post-1421)

HOLME, Thomas (A)

Attorney (his son Thomas, hosier, free 1528, *Freemen* p.249) or

Goldsmith, free 1405 (*Freemen* p.109) or

Girdler, free 1428 (*Freemen* p.142) or

*Gentilman*, free 1435 (*Freemen* p.151)

Window at St. Maurice with (first wife) Mar(garet), Henry Meleton and wife Isabel, Roger Bradley and wife (post-1421)

de HORNBY/HORNEBY, Joan

Chantry in St. Helen Stonegate for self, late husband Ralph etc licensed for 45 marks for 8 marks 6s 8d rent 1379 during her life to Joan Hornby, chaplain Thomas de Garton and William Savage of London. (*CPR 1377-81* p.375; *YCC I* p.71)

de HORNBY/HORNEBY, Ralph

Draper, free 1350 (*Freemen*, p.44)

Bailiff 1360; mayor 1375 (*Drake* p.360)

Wife Joan's chantry in St. Helen Stonegate 1379

HOPTON, John

Chaplain of chantry of St. Nicholas in church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate

Will 15 May 1394, pr. (?) (*TE I* p.196): to said chantry a whole new vestment, a portable breviary, a surplice, a glossed psalter, a book called Mirror of the Church (*Speculum Ecclesie*) and one book of Gospels in English.

HORNEBY, Thomas

Rector of church of SS. Peter and Paul of Stokeslay in Cleveland.

Will 20 Oct 1463, pr. ? (BI Reg.2 ff.597<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in the church within the walls of York at the monastery of St. Mary (St. Mary's Abbey) before image of St. Mary with high tabernacle with Jesse tree next to altar of St. Anne. His best gown for his mortuary. 6s 8d to sacrist for his burial. Bequests to St. Mary's Abbey. 7 marks a year for 10 years for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his parents, Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester etc in church of St. Olave near monastery. 5 marks silver to church of St. Olave if rebuilt within 2 years of his death. Altar cloth for high altar of St. Olave. Bequests to parish clergy. Altar cloths to: chapel of St. Mary near St. Olave's, St. Leonard's hospital church, and Stokeslay church. 53s 4d to 4 orders of friars, at 13s 4d each. 4 marks to paupers on day of his burial. Residue for the good of soul.

HOUME (de HOWOM), Thomas

Merchant

Mayor 1374 (Drake p.360)

Will 14 apr 1406, pr. 8 Nov 1406 (BI Reg.3 ff.254<sup>v</sup>-255<sup>v</sup>): request burial before altar of St. Mary before the step within the chapel of BVM in St. Mary Castlegate. His best gown for his mortuary. Bequests to parish clergy. 30 lbs wax for 5 candles for his burial. 20 lbs wax for 13 torches for his burial - 3 torches to remain at high altar of St. Mary, 2 for chapel of BVM at St. Mary, 2 to friars minor, 2 to friars preachers, 1 to Austin friars, 1 to Carmelite friars, 1 to St. Clement's nunnery, 1 to hospital church of St. Nicholas. 20s to each of 4 orders of friars. Bequests to St. Leonard's hospital, lepers, maison diex, prisoners. 6s 8d to York Minster. Bequests to (second) wife Katherine.

Chantry at altar of BVM in St. Mary Castlegate in augmentation of Andrew de Boshale's chantry for self, (first) wife Mary etc licensed for 5 marks for one messuage's rent 1377 during his life; augmented 1384 during his life for 6s 8d licence for a toft; augmented 1386 during his life for £4 licence for a messuage; augmented 1392 during his life for 40s licence for one toft. (CPR 1374-77 p.454; CPR 1381-85 pp.437-438; CPR 1385-89 p.205; CPR 1391-96 p.75)

de HOUOM (HOLME, HOWME), Robert

Mercer, free 1346 (*Freemen*, p.40)

Bailiff 1354; mayor 1368 (Drake p.361)

Chantry at altar of St. James Apostle in Holy Trinity Goodramgate for self and souls of wife Katherine, parents etc licensed for 20 marks for 6 marks rent during his life in 1361, augmented for licence of 100s for 23s rent during his life in 1368 and again for licence of 6 marks for 26s 8d rent during his life and after Katherine's death in 1395. (CPR 1361-1364 pp.101-102; CPR 1391-96 p.597; YCC I p.52)

de HOVYNGHAM, Roger

Mayor 1366 (*Freemen*, pp.61-2; Drake p.361)

Chantry at altar of St. Thomas Martyr in Holy Trinity King's Court for self and souls of wife Agnes, his late wife Juliana etc licensed for £12 for 6 marks rent 1359 during his life. Petition for 20 marks by chantry chaplain to receive rents 1370. (CPR 1358-61 p.200; CPR 1367-70 p.404)

HOWME, Robert, Jr.

Will 8 Jan 1405, pr. 29 Mar 1405 (BI Reg. 3 f.247<sup>v</sup>): burial where God wills. His best gown for his mortuary. £100 to wife Joan. 40s to chaplain of chantry of St. James within church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. Bequests to his son John, his brother Thomas and his relative Robert Howme, *magistro meo*. Residue to executors: Robert Howme, John Bedale (canon of York Minster, see *sub* Pynchebek) and wife Joan.

HOWME, Robert

Merchant

Son of Robert de Houom

Sheriff 1399; mayor 1412 (Drake p.362)

Will 1 Oct 1433, pr. 21 Oct 1433 (BI Reg.3 ff.365<sup>v</sup>-366<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in chapel of St. James in church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. 20s to church fabric. 100s to fabric of his parish church of St. Maurice. 5 candles before crucifix of St. Maurice and 2 torches at high altar of same church. 3 torches for his funeral - then one for high altar, one for altar of St. Mary and one for altar of St. James, all at Holy Trinity. Bequests to parish clergy of St. Maurice, paupers, recluses. £40 for his funeral, to feed friends and neighbours. 20s to friars minors, 13s 4d to Carmelites, 13s 4d to preachers, 26s 8d to Austins. 14 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for 2 years. 1 *portiphorium* (portable breviary) and 1 missal for the use of the chapel of St. Anne on Ousebridge. Augmentation of his father's chantry in Holy Trinity. Lands and tenements in Monkgate opposite St. Maurice to wife Margaret. Tenements in Davygate to daughter Katherine. Tenements in Ousegate and Coppergate abutting on to cemetery of All Saints Pavement. Tenements in Jubbergate and tenement in Peter Lane Little with a house in front of Ousegate to son Thomas. Tenements in Petergate and Aldwark. All lands and tenements in Goodramgate to wife Margaret. Residue half to wife Margaret and half to son Thomas on condition that he should be nice to said Margaret.

Chapel of St. James in Holy Trinity Goodramgate (1st quarter 15C)(\*arms on stonework pre-1433)

HUMPHREY, Duke of Gloucester (HA)

1399-1447

Fourth son of Henry IV, younger brother of Henry V

Arms in a south window at St. Cuthbert

HUTTERAM/ de FERIBY, Robert (A)

Rector of St. Martin Micklegate

Monument at St. Martin Micklegate 1375

IRRY, Robert (A)

Chaplain

Marshall of CC

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court 1503

JAMESON, Thomas (A)

Merchant, son of William

Free 1485 (*Freemen* p.211)

Member of CC 1489 with wife Isabel

Chamberlain 1492; sheriff 1497; mayor 1504 (*Reg. CC* p.126; *Drake* p.363)

Governor of York Mercers 1506 (*YM & MA* p.323)

Monument in Holy Trinity King's Court (1507)

..., JOAN (A)

Wife of tailor

Monument at St. Denys with husband (c.1450)

..., JOAN (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with sisters Judith, Margaret, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen, Constance and brothers Robert, Henry, John, William and Nicholas (late 14C)

..., JOHN (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with brothers Robert, Henry, William, Nicholas and sisters Judith, Margaret, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen, Constance and Joan (late 14C).

..., JOHN (A)

Merchant

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate with wife Reanalde post-1400

JOHNSON, Robert (A)

Grocer

Member of CC 1468

Chamberlain 1484; sheriff 1487; mayor 1496 (*Reg. CC* p.69; *Drake* p.363)

Will 20 Jan 1496, pr. 14 March 1497 (BI Reg.5 ff.510v-511v, also *TE IV* pp.120-121): requests burial in St. Michael Spurriergate before the middle of the altar in the chantry of the BVM. 10s to fabric of chantry for his burial. His best gown, tippet and hat for his mortuary. 10s for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 6s 8d to each order of friars for one *dirige* (morning funeral service) and one Requiem mass. £30 for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his late wife, his parents etc for 7 years after his death at altar of BVM in St. Michael Spurriergate and *whan that he hath saide messe that he stand affore my grave in his albe and ther to say the psalme of deprofundis with the coletts and then caste holy water upon my grave. 3s 4d for one dirige and one Requiem mass yearly during the 7 years. 20 lbs wax for his funeral. 12 torches, each weighing 12 lbs, for his funeral. Bequests to poor; maisonndieux; hospitals. Bequests to wife Ellen; daughters Malde and Janet; the children of the late William Hancock (Ellen's first husband) including son Robert. All lands and tenements with appurtenances in Ousegate, Nessgate and Cargate to wife Ellen for the rest of her life, then to daughters Malde and Janet and their heirs - if daughters die without heirs all lands and tenements to be sold for the good of his soul and souls of his wife, their parents etc. Lands and tenements in parish of St. Mary Castlegate. Residue to executors, i.e. wife Ellen and Sir John Fetherbard for the good of his soul.*

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate 1497

..., JUDITH (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with sisters Margaret, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Morton, Helen, Constance, Joan and brothers Robert, Henry, John, William and Nicholas.

K..., Margaret

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with husband William 1420

K..., William

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with wife Margaret 1420

KAPWYK, John (A)

Monument at St. Saviour

KARR (CARR), Thomas

Draper

Sheriff 1428 (Drake p.362)

Member of CC 1423-4 with wife and son John (*Reg. CC* p.23)

Will 28 Apr 1444, pr. 2 May 1444 (BI Reg.2 ff.79v-80v, also *TE II* p.92): requests burial in a church. 6 marks to rector of St. Sampson for forgotten tithes. 2 torches for his funeral. 2 torches at 20s each for high altar at elevation of host. 6 torches at 5s each for his exequies and mass, then 4 to 4 altars in his parish church and one for church of Carmelite Friars. 20s for lights before sacrament and 20s for lights of crucifix, St. Mary and St. Katherine in his parish church. Bequests to parish clergy. 7 marks a year for 3 years for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his wife etc. 20 marks for building north part of his parish church with gable (like south part) within 3 or 4 years of his death. 20 marks for his funeral and 20 marks for his eighth day. Bequests to guild of St. Chistopher; fraternity of Lord's Prayer and St. Anthony; fraternity of St. John Baptist. 20s to repair feretry of Corpus Christi. Bequests to lepers, infirm, paupers, prisoners.

de KELYNGWYK (KYLLYNGWYKE), Thomas (A)

Tanner

Free 1360 (*Freemen* p. 55)

Living 1381 (*York 3*, p.10, no ref.)

(\*floor slab) Monument at All Saints North St. with wife Juliana (post-1381)

KEMP, Thomas (HA)

Bishop of London (1450-89)

(\* window I) Arms in east window at Holy Trinity Goodramgate 1471

KENDALL, Richard/Robert (A)

Monk of St. Mary's Abbey

Monument at St. Olave

**KILBURN, John**

Gatekeeper of monastery of St. Mary's Abbey

Will 11 Dec 1436, pr. 26 May 1437 (*TE II* p.59): requests burial in monastery of St. Mary. 20d. to fabric of St. Olave.

**KILLINGHOLME, Joan, wife of Richard (A)**

Will 2 March 1435, pr. 4 May 1436 (BI Reg.3 f.432<sup>r</sup>, also Shaw p.93): requests burial in her parish church of All Saints North St. 3s 4d to fabric. 6s 8d to rector for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy.

(\*now sIII with original glazing probably in sV - St. James, BVM and Abp) Window with husband Richard and (second) wife Margaret and others (surviving window shows more than three commemorative figures) at All Saints North St. (pre-1451).

(\*floor slab) Monument with husband Richard and (second) wife Margaret at All Saints North St. (1451)

**KILLINGHOLME, Margaret (A)**

(\*now sIII with original glazing probably in sV - St. James, BVM and Abp) Window with husband Richard and (first) wife Joan and others (surviving window shows more than three commemorative figures) at All Saints North St. (pre-1451).

(\*floor slab) Monument with husband Richard and (first) wife Joan at All Saints North St. (1451).

**KILLINGHOLME, Richard (A)**

Tanner

Member of CC with wife Joan 1428-9 (*Reg. CC* p.28)

Will dated 29 Oct 1450, pr. 11 June 1451 (BI Reg. 2 f.223<sup>v</sup>, also Shaw p.96): request burial in his parish church of All Saints North St., 6s 8d for his burial. 6s 8d to rector for forgotten tithes. 4 lbs wax for his funeral. 12d to each chaplain in his parish church who comes to his exequies and to eighth day masses. 6s 8d to York Minster. 20d to each order of friars. 6d to parish clerk of All Saints'.

(\*now sIII with glazing probably in sV - St. James, BVM and Abp) Window with wives Joan and Margaret and others (surviving window shows more than three commemorative figures) at All Saints North St.(pre-1451).

(\*floor slab) Monument with wives Joan and Margaret at All Saints North St. (1451)

**KIRKBY, Katherine (A)**

Window at St. Cuthbert with husband Robert

**KIRKBY, Robert (A)**

Merchant; merchant of the Staple of Calais

Window at St. Cuthbert with wife Katherine

**KIRKE, Alice (A)**

Will 22 Jan 1445, pr. 4 Feb 1445 (BI Reg.2, f.121<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in Holy Trinity King's Court. Her best gown for burial. 10 lbs wax for her burial. Bequests to parish clergy. 5s to York Minster. 3s 4d to fabric of St. Saviour. 3s 4d to fabric of St. Sampson. 14 marks for a chaplain to celebrate mass for her and her late husband Thomas for 2 years. Bequests to sons John, Robert and Nicholas. Residue for the good of her soul to executors: sons John, Robert and Nicholas and Thomas Tutbag.

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with husband Thomas 1442-45

**KIRKE, Thomas (A)**

Mercer

Member of CC with wife Alice 1427-8

Chamberlain 1430, sheriff 1433, mayor 1441, constable of Mercers Company 1432 (*Reg. CC p.27; Drake p.362*)

Governor of Company of Mercers 1436-1441 (*YM & MA p.322*)

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with wife Alice 1442-45

**KIRKEBY, Joan (A)**

Window at Holy Trinity King's Court with husband John (pre-1428)

Window at St. Martin Coney St. with husband John (pre-1428)

**KYLLYNGWYKE, Juliana (A)**

(\*floor slab) Monument at All Saints North St. with husband Thomas (late 14C)

**KYRKEBY, John**

Gentleman

Will 2 Nov 1436, pr. 23 Aug (year?) (BI Reg.3 f.536<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in church of friars minors York. His best gown to rector of his parish church (unnamed). 3s 4d for forgotten tithes. 6 lbs wax for his funeral. 5s to each order of friars for a trental of masses. Bequests to parish clergy. Bequests to son John. Executors: son John and chaplain William Revetour. Residue to support son John.

**KYRKEBY (KIRKEBY), John (A)**

Litster (dyer)



Will 8 May 1428, pr. 16 May 1428 (BI Reg.2 ff.532<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in high choir of his parish church of St. Martin (Coney St.?). 20s for his burial. 8 lbs wax for his funeral. 2 torches for his funeral, subsequently to remain at high altar of St. Martin. Bequests to parish clergy of St. Martin and St. Sampson. 6s 8d to York Minster fabric. 6s 8d to each order of friars. Bequests to lepers, maison dieux, paupers. 13s 4d to repair 2 torches for high altar of St. Sampson. 7 marks a year for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his parents etc for 2 years in his parish church. Bequests to wife Joan, daughter Agnes, sons John and William - Agnes and William underage at time of writing. Residue to executors, i.e. wife Joan and Thomas Bussy, for the good of his soul.

Window at Holy Trinity King's Court with wife Joan (pre-1428)

Window at St. Martin Coney St. with wife Joan (pre-1428)

LAM (LAMBE), William (A)

Merchant, free 1442 (*Freemen* p.160)

Member of CC 1449 with wife Katherine

Chamberlain 1464; sheriff 1469; mayor 1475 (*Reg. CC* pp.47-8; *Drake* p.363)

Will 10 April 1481, pr. 2 July 1484 (BI Reg.5 ff.228<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Crux Fossgate. His best gown for his mortuary. 12 lbs wax for his funeral and eighth day, subsequently to remain at high altars of St. Crux and All Saints Pavement. 6s 8d to high altar of St. Crux for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy at St. Crux. 6s 8d to fabric of St. Crux. 14 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for 2 years. 20d to York Minster. 20s to 4 orders of friars for 4 trentals of masses. Bequests to maison dieux, leper houses, prisoners, paupers. Residue to wife Katherine for good of his soul.

(\*brass in St. Crux parish room) Monument at St. Crux with wife Katherine 1484

LAMBE, Katherine(A)

Monument at St. Crux with husband William 1484

de LANGETOFT/LANGTOFTE, William

Vicar choral of York Minster

Will feast of St. Michael Archangel 1321, pr. 3 day Nones Oct 1321 (YML L 2/4, f.1<sup>r</sup>): requests burial next to altar of St. Thomas Martyr at York Minster. 10 lbs wax for funeral. Altar cloths, chalice, coral beads, vestments and service books to altar of St. Thomas Martyr at York Minster. To altar of St. Mary in church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate an ivory image of St. Mary with tabernacle.

Chantry at altar of BVM in Holy Trinity Goodramgate licensed during his life 1315 (*Reg. Greenfield II* pp.223-224; *Reg. Greenfield V* p.253; *CPR 1313-17* pp.476-477; *YCC I* p.53)

de LANGETON, Nicholas, Jr.

Chantry at Holy Trinity King's Court 1328 (*CPR 1327-30*, p.231)

de LANGETON, Nicholas, Sr.

Bailiff 1285; mayor 1296, 1297 and 1305 (*Freemen*, pp. 6, 7, 10; Drake p.360)

Chantry in Holy Trinity King's Court for self and souls of wife Margaret etc licensed for 6 marks rent during his life 1314 (*CPR 1313-17* p.156)

de LANGETON, John

Mayor 1353-1361, and 1363 (Drake p.361)

Posthumous chantry at altar of St. Katharine in Holy Trinity King's Court for self, souls of wives Beatrice and Margaret, William de Garton, John's parents etc licensed for £20 for 10 marks rent 1378 to William Graa, merchant, and Robert Wyclyff, parson of St. Crux. (*CPR 1377-81* p.216; *YCC I* p.77)

LANGTON, William (A)

Priest (rector of St. Michael Spurriergate)

Bachelor of Canon and Civil Law from the University of Cambridge; canon of Hemingborough Yorkshire, prebendary of third prebend till death; rector of St. Michael Spurriergate York from 1450 till death (Emden, *Cambridge*, p.353)

Member of CC 1451 (*Reg. CC* p.51)

Will 13 Dec 1464, pr. 14 Aug 1466 (BI Reg. 4 ff.263<sup>v</sup>-266<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in choir of his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate between high altar and *lavatorium* (i.e. the piscina). 20d each to 100 priests to attend his funeral and to celebrate mass for his soul. 9 torches for his funeral, then 4 to high altar, 2 to altar of BVM, 3 to chapel in memory of Richard Scrope next to Clementhorpe nunnery. 12 lbs wax for his funeral. 7 marks a year for 8 years for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul in his parish church. His missal, manual, chalice and vestments to his parish church. 100s to fabric of new bells. Bequests to guild of Corpus Christi; guild of St. Christopher.

(\*brass with chalice and rectangular plate) Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate 1466

LATIMER, lord William (HA)

Knight

His only daughter and heir Elizabeth wife of John lord Neville of Raby; title of Latimer then passed on to Neville family.

Will 10 July 1380, pr. 31 May 1381 (*TE I* pp.113-116, also *TV I* p.108): requests burial in Gisburn Priory, Cleveland, before high altar of BVM between 2 pillars where he has already arranged, in alabaster tomb already devised. Reference to his house in parish of St. Mary (not specified - could be Castlegate, Bishophill Sr. or Bishophill Jr.) York. £10 to York Austin friars.

(\* window I) Mid 14C arms in St. Michael-le-Belfrey

LIGHTLAMPE, John (A)

Mercer, free 1462; member of CC 1470 with wife Margaret; chamberlain 1467; sheriff 1471 (*Freemen* pp.183, 186; *Reg. CC* p.77; Drake p.363)

Will 17 Nov 1485, pr. 7 Dec 1485 (BI Reg.5 f.268<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Crux Fossgate. 6s 8d to church fabric for burial. 6s 8d to high altar for forgotten tithes. 6 lbs wax for funeral. 7 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for one year for his soul and for souls of his wives, parents etc. Bequests to parish clergy. 5s to each order of friars for trental of masses. Bequests to maison dieux, leper houses, Carmelites in Northallerton, guild of Holy Trinity and St. Mary in Northallerton church, guild of Holy Trinity Fossgate, guild of Corpus Christi. 54s 4d for funeral expenses. Residue to wife Margaret.

Monument at St. Crux 1485

LITSTER (LISTAR), John (A)

Draper

Sheriff 1526 (Drake p.364)

Will 29 Apr 1541, pr.13 Oct 1541 (YML L.2/5 ff.199<sup>r</sup>-200<sup>d</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey. 10s for his mortuary. 3s 4d for tithes forgotten. An honest priest to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his friends for one year at 7 marks a year. Bequests to wife Margaret, son Tristram, sister Agnes Litster, grandson Henry Laurence and godson Thomas Lambe. His 3 tenements with appurtenances in All Saints Pavement to his wife Margaret, then to son Tristram after her death, to grandson Henry Laurence if Tristram dies without heirs, and to next of kin if Henry dies without heirs. Revenue of 3 tenements to be spent on perpetual obit in St. Michael-le-Belfrey on day of his death - if this is not done by whomever holds the tenements, the master and 4 wardens of the Taylors of the guild of St. John Baptist are to enter the said tenements and levy the sum of £20 yearly and cause the obit to be done. Bequests to parish clergy, poor, prisoners and city bellman. Residue to executors, i.e. wife Margaret and son Tristram, for the good of his soul. Supervisors: Sir John Collman (Coltman), subtreasurer of York Minster, and Sir William Phillopson, parson of St. Wilfrid.

(\*now nVI with modern inscription) Window in St. Michael-le-Belfrey with 3 wives 1535

LONDISDALL, Alice (A)

(\*floor slab) Monument at All Saints North St. with husband William and his (first) wife Ellen 1487

LONDISDALL, Ellen (A)

(\*floor slab) Monument at All Saints North St. with husband William and his (second) wife Alice 1487

LONNESDALE (LONDISDALL), William (A)

Tanner/barker, free 1454 (*Freemen* p.175)

Will dated 30 June 1487, pr. 4 March 1487 (BI Reg.5 f.325<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints North St. 5 lbs wax for his funeral and eighth day. 12d for forgotten tithes. 20s for 1-year prayers. 12d to guild of Corpus Christi. 6d to guild of St. Mary in church of Carmelite friars. Two tenements in North St., another in Pocklington. Residue for the good of his soul.

(\*floor slab) Monument at All Saints North St. with wives Ellen and Alice 1487

de LOUTHE, Robert

Mercer

Bailiff 1389; his widow Joan member of CC 1415-16 (*Reg. CC* p.17; Drake p.361)

Will 22 June 1407, pr. 30 June 1407 (BI Reg.3 ff.265<sup>r</sup>-266<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in church of St. Andrew (?St. Andrewgate, near St. Helen Aldwark and St. Sampson) in north part before altar of St. Mary and St. Anne. His best gown for his mortuary to high altar. 10 marks for forgotten tithes. 30 lbs wax for his funeral. 12 torches each weighing 30 lbs for his funeral mass, afterwards 4 torches to remain on high altar of St. Andrew, 2 at 2 other altars in same church; 1 torch for church of Carmelite friars, 1 for chapel there; 1 torch for church of St. Mary Layerthorpe; 1 torch for church of St. Cuthbert; 1 torch for church of St. Helen-on-the-walls (Aldwark); 1 torch for altar of St. Anne in church of St. Sampson. Cloth for 2 tunicles of red cloth of Cologne of silk and for one chasuble with fringes to high altar of church of St. Andrew. 6 marks to fabric of St. Andrew for a slate roof. 6s 8d to light of BVM and 6s 8d to light of Holy Cross in church of St. Andrew. Bequests to parish clergy. 5 marks to York Minster fabric. 40s to fabric of a glass window in south part of church of St. Sampson. Bequests to 4 orders of friars, Clementhorpe nuns, nuns of Monkton/Wilberfosse, hospitals, maisonndieux, lepers. A 20-year chantry at altar of St. Mary in church of St. Andrew. 10 marks to build a chapel on Fossbridge.

de LUDHAM, Thomas

Warden of fabric of York Minster, subtreasurer of York Minster and vicar of St. Martin Coney St.

As '*custos fabricae*' he appears in the indenture of 1338 relating to the aisle windows at the west end of York Minster (T. French and D. O'Connor, *York Minster. A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass. Fascicule 1. The West Windows of the Nave*, (Oxford 1987), p.85)

Chantry in St. Martin Coney St. 1335 during his life (*CPR 1334-38*, 121; Torre p.335)

MANERS (MANARS), Agnes (A)

Member of CC with husband Thomas 1441-2 (*Reg. CC* p.40)

Will 1 Oct 1494, pr. 11 Feb 1499 (BI Reg.3 ff.312<sup>r-v</sup>, also *TE IV* pp.97-98): requests burial in high choir of her parish church of St. Margaret Walmgate next to body of husband Thomas. Her best gown to parson of St. Margaret for her mortuary. 6 lbs wax for her funeral. Bequeathes most of her property to parson of St. Margaret and his successors including 10 tenements in Walmgate high street. (no children mentioned)

(\* black-letter inscription on S wall) Monument in St. Margaret 15... (1499)

MANERS, Thomas

Armiger, free 1441 (*Freemen* p.160)

Member of CC 1441-2 with wife Agnes (*Reg. CC* p.40)

MANFELD, John (A)

Rector of St. Mary Bishophill Sr.

Will 25 Apr 1394, pr. 29 Apr 1394 (BI Reg.1 f.65<sup>v</sup>): burial anywhere. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. 3s 4d to each order of friars. Bequests to nuns of St. Clement, parish clergy (of St. Mary), York clergy. Residue to his relatives Henry Manfeld, his wife Juliana and their daughter Alice for the good of his soul.

E Window of St. Mary Bishophill Sr. with Robert Savage (pre-1394)

..., MARGARET (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with sisters Judith, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen, Constance, Joan, and brothers Robert, Henry, John, William and Nicholas.

MARKETT, Henry

Merchant

Sheriff 1443 (Drake p.362)

Will 29 Oct 1443, pr. 6 Nov 1443 (BI Reg.2 ff.69<sup>v</sup>-70<sup>r</sup>, also *TE II* pp.88-89): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints Pavement in the choir of BVM. 5 marks for forgotten tithes and best gown for mortuary. 6s 8d for burial. Bequests to parish clergy. 20d to rector of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate) for forgotten tithes. 10s to York Minster. 4d to every chaplain in York to celebrate mass for his soul and the souls of his wife Mary, his parents, Henry Wyman, his wife Agnes, Nicholas Blackburn Sr. and his wife etc. 20s to each order of friars to celebrate 4 trental of masses each. £4 13s 4d for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul in his parish church for three years. Bequests to guild of Corpus Christi, guild of St. Christopher and fraternity of Holy Trinity Fossgate. £10 for making of one window and one battlement in his parish church.

MARSAR (MARSER), Thomas (A)

Warden of York Minster fabric and succentor of vicars choral; compose fabric rolls 1525-32 and 1535-6 during rebuilding of St. Michael-le-Belfrey; residentiary canon 1543-44 (*Fabric Rolls* pp.99-107)

Prebendary of Langetoft

Inventory 7 Jan 1546. Total sum of his goods: £161 8s 9d. (*YCW I* pp.69-76)

(\*now sVI with modern inscription) Window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey 1535

MARTON, John

*Alutarius* (leather-dresser), husband of Marion

MP 1460 (Drake p.357)

MARTON, Marion

Wife of John, leather-dresser (*alutarius*)

Will 25 Aug 1441, pr. 30 Sep 1441 (BI Reg.2 ff.27<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in her parish church of St. Crux Fossgate. 3s 4d for burial. 3s 4d for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 10 lbs wax for her funeral. Bequests to paupers, maison dieux, lepers. To high altar of her parish church one cope (*mappam*) and one *towell de twill*. 40s for making of glass window in same church. Residue to husband John.

MARTON, Roger (A)

Monument at St. Mary Castlegate

MASON, Thomas

Hosier and glover

Will 9 Feb 1528, pr. 9 Apr 1529 (*TE V* pp.269-271): requests burial in St. Nicholas Micklegate beside his wife Alison. 5s to each of 4 orders of friars. A house within the Bar (Micklegate Bar) and a windmill in *Grundalfield* for perpetual chantry of St. Thomas in his parish church.

de MAWLDYNGE, Joan (A)

Monument at St. Olave with husband John 1328

de MAWLDYNGE, John (A)

Monument at St. Olave with wife Joan 1328

de MAWLTURAS, Robert (A)

Monument at St. Olave

MEBURN, William

Litster

Will 18 Jan 1394, pr. 19 Jan 1394 (BI Reg.1 ff.75<sup>v</sup>-76<sup>r</sup>, also Shaw p.84): requests burial in his parish church of All Saints' North St. before altar of BVM in choir. His best gown for his mortuary. 12 lbs wax for his funeral. 6s 8d to rector for forgotten tithes. 6s 8d for his burial. 6s 8d to church fabric. Bequests to parish clergy. 14 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for two years. Residue for the good of his soul.

(\*14C indent) Possibly monument at All Saints North St. (1394)(see also Margaret Etton)

MEEK, Robert

Bailiff 1298; mayor 1310, 1317, 1320, 1321 (*Freemen*, pp.12, 16 and 18; Drake p.360)

Chantry at altar of BVM in St. Crux licensed for 100s for 6 marks rent 1316 during his life. (*CPR 1313-17* p.537; *YCC I* p.73)

**MELETON, Henry (A)**

Armiger

SE window at St. Maurice with wife Isabel, (Thomas) Holme and (wife) Mar(garet), Roger Bradley and (wife) (post-1421)

**MELETON, Isabel (A)**

SE window at St. Maurice with husband Henry, (Thomas) Holme and (wife) Mar(garet), Roger Bradley and (wife) (post-1421)

**MERN (MERWEN), Robert (A)**

Chaplain of CC

Monument at Holy Trinity Micklegate 1403 (*sic* -c.1408)

**MIDDLETON, Anthony**

Merchant

Will 15 Oct 1519, pr. 20 June 1520 (BI Reg.9 f.107<sup>D</sup>): requests burial in south side of choir of his parish church of St. Michael (Spurriergate) near body of his master Robert Johnson alderman (see will). His best garment for his mortuary. 3s for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 3s 4d for 2 chantry priests to pray for him. 13s 4d to church fabric. 2s to summer games light. 3s 4d to rood light. 2s to light of BVM in south part of church. 20d to light of St. Agnes. 20d to (illegible) light. £4 13s 4d for a priest to celebrate mass for his soul for a year after his death.

**MIDDLETON, Brian (A)**

Armiger

Member of CC 1516 (*Reg. CC* p.188)

(?)Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. showing arms of Middleton and Maleverer with wife Christiane 1492

**MIDDLETON, Christiane n<sup>è</sup>e Maleverer (A)**

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. showing arms of Middleton and Maleverer with husband Brian 1492

**MIDDLETON, Joan (A)**

Monument in St. Michael Spurriergate with husband Oliver and (first) wife Matilda 1504

**MIDDLETON (MIDILTON), John (A)**

Armiger

One of 6 keepers of CC in 1428, 1441 and 1449 (*Reg. CC* pp.27, 39, 45)

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. showing arms of Midilton and Thwaits with wife Matilda 1459

MIDDLETON, Matilda (A)

Monument in St. Michael Spurriergate with husband Oliver and (second) wife Joan 1504

MIDDLETON, Oliver (A)

Merchant, free 1497

Member of CC 1500

Chamberlain 1502; sheriff 1504 (*Reg. CC* p.150; *Drake* p.363)

Monument in St. Michael Spurriergate with wives Matilda and Joan 1504

MIDILTON, Matilda n<sup>èe</sup> Thwaits (A)

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. showing arms of Midilton and Thwaits with husband John 1459

MIDDLETON, Robert (A)

Armiger (arms in window)

Window at St. Sampson with wife and sons

MIERS, Nicholas (A)

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate 1439

MORETON, Isabel (A)

Wife of Roger

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with sisters Judith, Margaret, Alice, Helen, Constance, Joan and brothers Robert, Henry, John, William and Nicholas and (?)parents late 14C

(\*brass now at All Saints Pavement) Monument at St. Saviour with husband Roger 1382-1412

de MORETON, Roger (A)

Mercer, free 1350 (*Freemen* p.44)

Bailiff 1366, 1368; mayor 1373; MP 1380 (*Drake* pp.356, 361)

(\*brass now at All Saints Pavement) Monument at St. Saviour with wife Isabel 1382-1412

MORTON, John

Armiger



Will (?), pr. 5 Oct 1431 (*TE II* pp.13-15): requests burial in St. Michael-le-Belfrey. 2 tapers of 10 lbs each for his funeral. 6 torches of 15 lbs wax each for his funeral, then 2 for high altar of St. Michael. 20s to York Minster fabric. To Robert Semer rector of St. Michael one Latin book called *Policronica* by brother Ranulph monk of Chester (Higden's *Polichronicon*). Bequests to parish clergy. Bequests to abbot and monks of Jervaulx. To mistress Joan countess of Westmorland an English book called Gower.

**MOWBRAY, Sir John, of Easby in Cleveland**

Armiger

Member of CC 1433-35 with wife Margaret (*Reg. CC*, p.33)

Executor of the will of Sir John Conyers of Ormesby in 1438 and beneficiary of will of Hawisia Aske (of parish of St. Michael-le-Belfrey) in 1450 (*TE II*, pp.65, 142-145)

Chantry at altar of St. Michael at St. Michael-le-Belfrey (mid-15C) (*Valor Eccl.* p.28)

**MUSTON, William**

Fisher

Will 8 June 1418, pr.? (BI Reg.3 ff.605<sup>v</sup>-606<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Denys next to grave of his late wife Margaret, a marble slab of fair workmanship (*honeste sculture*) to be placed over grave. His best gown for his mortuary. 40s to fabric of chancel of St. Katherine in his parish church. Bequests to parish clergy. 13s 4d for 2 torches to high altar. 10s for one candle before crucifix. 13s 4d to York Minster fabric. 5s to each order of friars for trental of masses for his soul etc. Bequests to leper houses, paupers in St. Leonard's hospital, other hospitals. 20s to fabric of new chapel on Fossbridge. £20 for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his late wife Margaret etc in St. Denys. Bequests to guild of Corpus Christi and to guild of St. Christopher. All lands and tenements to wife Margaret. Residue for the good of his soul.

**de NAFFYNGTON, John**

Chantry at altar of BVM at St. Helen Stonegate c.1330 (Drake p.344; Torre p.299)

**NAYRON, Adam**

Chantry at altar of BVM at St. Crux 1307 (*Reg. Greenfield V*, pp.178, 249; Torre p.146)

**NELESON, Thomas**

Mercer, free 1432 (*Freemen*, p.147)

Sheriff 1448; MP 1453; mayor 1454 and 1465 (Drake pp.357, 362-3)

Member of CC with wife Joan 1488 (*Reg. CC*, p.123)

Will 4 Nov 1478, pr. 22 Mar 1483 (BI Reg.5, f.212<sup>v</sup>-213<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in church of priory of Holy Trinity before altar of St. Thomas martyr near body of wife Katherine. 100 lbs wax for 2 candles for altar of St. Thomas. Bequests to prior and monks. Bequests to clergy of his parish church of St. Mary Bishophill Senior. Bequests to daughters and grandchildren. All his lands and tenements to son and heir Thomas. Bequests to son William. Residue for the good of his soul to executors: sons Thomas and William and master Robert Wrangwissh.

Chantry in Holy Trinity Micklegate for 5 marks yearly 1474 (Solloway, *Alien Benedictines*, pp.286-7; *YCC I* p.83; *YCC II* p.463)

NEVILLE, George (1433?-1476) (HA)

Archbishop of York (1464-1476)

Co-founder with his brother the Earl of Warwick of St. William's College for the 23 chantry priests of York Minster - letters patent 11 May 1461 (*DNB 14* p.256)

Member of CC 1457 as bishop of Exeter; member of CC 1471 as archbishop of York (*Reg. CC*, pp.59, 79)

(\* window I) Arms in east window Holy Trinity Goodramgate 1471

NEVILLE, lord John of Raby Sr.

Knight. First wife Maud, daughter of Henry lord Percy; second wife Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of William Latimer, knight.

Fought at Battle of Neville's Cross 1346; knighted in France 1360; Admiral of the Fleet from the Thames northwards; Warden of East Marches Governor of Bamborough Castle 1377; Lieutenant of Duchy of Aquitaine and Seneschal of Bordeaux.

Will 31 Aug 1386 at Middleham, pr. London VI Kal. Mar 1388-9; at Richmond 12 Oct 1389; at York 9 Mar 1388-9 (*W&II* pp.38-42): requests burial in Durham monastery next to late wife Matilda. (Buried in Durham Cathedral S aisle near first wife)

(\* window I) Mid-14C arms in St. Michael-le-Belfrey

NEVILLE, lord John of Raby Jr.

Only son of John lord Neville of Raby and his second wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William lord Latimer. Born c.1382.

Will feast of Conception of BVM 1430, pr. 14 Dec 1430 (*TE II* p.7): requests burial in choir of St. Mary's Abbey York where he has chosen to be buried and where he has deposited his tombstone.

NEVILLE, Ralph (H)

Earl of Westmorland

Will 18 Oct 1424 at Raby Castle Durham, pr. 14 Nov 1425 (BI Reg.2 ff.495<sup>v</sup>-496<sup>r</sup>; also *W&II* pp.68-74): requests burial in monastery of St. Cuthbert Durham or in collegiate church of Staindrop (buried in the latter). Mentions unspecified possessions in York.

Advowson of chantry at altar of SE chancel at St. John Ousebridge. (\*arms in tracery of sII, SE window, pre-1425).(*YMB II* p.130)

..., NICHOLAS (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with brothers Robert, Henry, John, William and sisters Judith, Margaret, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen, Constance and Joan (late 14C).

**NORMAN, John**

Will 13 Nov 1525, pr. (?) (*TE V* pp.213-214): requests burial in All Saints Pavement near wife Jane. His best garment for his mortuary and 26s 8d for tithes. 14 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to parish clergy. 13s 4d to grey friars (Franciscans); 20s to other 3 orders. A marble stone to be laid upon his grave with images engraved on it of a man and 3 women with writing. Bequests to anchoress of Bishophill; poor men; prisoners; road repairs. £5 a year for 3 years for a priest to celebrate mass for his soul at altar of St. John in his parish church.

**NORTHEY, John (A)**

(Son of Margaret Northeby)

Merchant

Sheriff 1409; mayor 1416; MP 1415, 1420, 1424 (*Drake* pp.357, 362)

Co-licensee of William Vescy's chantry 1410 (*CPR 1408-1413* p.162)

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. of Margaret mother of John Northeby

**NORTHEY, Margaret (A)**

The only existing will of a Margaret Northeby is dated 12 Oct 1436, pr. 6 Nov 1436 (*BI Reg.3 f.473<sup>r</sup>*): requests burial in her parish church of St. Mary Bishophill Senior. Her best gown to rector. 8 lbs wax for her funeral. 6s 8d to fabric for her burial. 6s 8d to York Minster fabric. 7 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for her soul and souls of her parents etc for one year. Bequests to her mother, her brothers William (sheriff 1439; *Drake* p.362) and John. Residue to executors William Stockton, her mother Emmot and her brothers John and William for the good of her soul. (This is likely to be a relative of the commemorated - she is not married or widowed and mentions no children, she is probably still quite young)

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. of Margaret mother of John Northeby

**NORTHFOLKE, Thomas**

MP 1309 (*Drake* p.356)

Chantry of St. Thomas in St. Mary Castlegate licensed 1321 during his life (*CPR 1317-21*, p.396; *YCC I* p.46)

**ORINSHEAD, Richard (A)**

(\* *YM nXXII* either 1b or 5a) Window at St. John Ousebridge

**ORMESHEDE, Agnes (A)**

(first wife of William)

Monument in Holy Trinity King's Court with husband William, his third wife Helen and his (second) wife Joan (1437)

**ORMESHEDE, Helen (A)**

Third wife of William

Monument in Holy Trinity King's Court with husband William, his (second) wife Joan and his third wife Helen (1437)

**ORMESHEDE, Joan (A)**

(second wife of William)

Monument in Holy Trinity King's Court with husband William, his (first) wife Agnes and his third wife Helen (1437)

**ORMESHEDE, William (A)**

Merchant, free 1403 (*Freemen* p.107)

Member of CC 1414-15

Chamberlain 1411; sheriff 1415; mayor 1425 and 1433; MP 1421, 1425 and 1430 (*Reg. CC* p.16; *Drake* pp.357, 362)

Will 31 Oct 1435, pr. 28 Sep 1437 (BI Reg.3 ff.503<sup>r</sup>-504<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in church of Holy Trinity King's Court before altar of BVM next to body of wife Joan. 20s to church fabric for burial. His best gown to rector for mortuary. 35 lbs wax for his funeral. 12 torches for his funeral, then 4 for high altar of Holy Trinity, one to every other altar in Holy Trinity and 2 to high altar of St. Peter Little. 2 torches to high altar of Richmond church. £60 for 4 chaplains to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of wives etc. for 3 years. Bequests to parish clergy of Holy Trinity and to secular chaplains in York. 26s 8d to York Minster. 20s to each order of friars. Bequests to leper houses; maison dieux; prisoners; nuns; anchoresses; paupers; shrine of Corpus Christi; guild of Pater Noster; guild of St. Christophehr and St. George. Bequests to daughters of Alice (née Blackburne - his niece) and John Bolton; Joan Wyspington; the children of Nicholas Blackburne (Jr.?), Helen the wife of Thomas Gare et al. To wife Helen if she stays unmarried 2 tenements in Colliergate, 1 tenement with a garden in Peaseholme, 1 tenement in Stonegate. Tenement in Micklegate to daughter Joan. Another tenement in Micklegate to daughter Isabel. Residue to executors, i.e. wife Helen, Thomas Gare alderman, John Norton armourer, John Karre, Nicholas Wyspington, John Fell, for the good of his soul. Codicil 16 Sep 1437: £20 for vestment for chaplain, deacon and subdeacon and 3 capes for choir of Holy Trinity. Nicholas Wyspington is to take his place as executor to Nicholas Blackburne (Sr.)'s testament which is still not fully executed.

Monument in Holy Trinity King's Court with wives Helen, Joan and Agnes (1437)

**OSBALDWYKE (OSBALDWYCK), John (A)**

Merchant/mercator, free 1355 (*Freemen* p.51) or

Merchant, free 1386 (*Freemen* p.85)

Will 20 Sep 1397, pr. 10 Feb 1398 (BI Reg.3 f.15<sup>r</sup>):

burial where it pleases God. His best gown to his parish church for his mortuary. 5 marks for wax for his funeral. 6s 8d to fabric of his parish church. Bequests to parish clergy. Residue to wife Katherine and son Richard for the good of his soul. Executors: wife Katherine, his friend/partner Robert Kyrkeby and Richard Marshall.

Window at St. Martin Coney St. (pre-1398)

PERCY, Anne (A)

Untraced

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, Eleanor, daughter of lord Percy (i.e. Henry Percy, 3rd Earl of Northumberland) (A)

Married Lord de la Warr (*DNB 15*, p.852)

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, Eleanor, (née) de Poinings (d.1484) (A)

Daughter and heir of Sir Richard Poinings

Sister and heir of Robert, Lord Poinings

Granddaughter and heir of Robert lord Poinings (d.2 Oct 1446)

Married Henry Percy, 3rd Earl of Northumberland (*Complete Peerage 9*, p.716; J.M.W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family 1416-1537*, (Oxford 1958), p.4)

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, George (b.1424) (A)

One of the sons of Henry Percy, 2nd Earl of Northumberland

Prebendary of Beverley

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, George, lord Egremont (A)

Untraced

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, Henry (A)

Third baron Percy of Alnewick 1352-68

Married 1) Mary, daughter of Henry earl of Lancaster, and 2) Joan, daughter and sole heir of John, Lord Orreby who brought the Orreby inheritance into Percy hands (J.M.W. Bean, *The Estates of the Percy Family*, (Oxford 1958), p.9; *DNB 15*, p.840)

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, Henry (b.1421-d.1461) (A)

Third Earl of Northumberland (1455-61)

Lord de Poinings (1446-61)

Son of Henry Percy 2nd Earl of Northumberland (b.1394-d.1455)

Married Eleanor, daughter of Richard de Poynings, c. June 1435. Had livery of her inheritance from 16 Nov 1446 and was summoned to Parliament from 1446 to 1455 as *Henrico de Percy chr Domino de Ponynges* (*Complete Peerage* 9, p.716)

Monument at St. Denys with wife Eleanor (*DNB* 15, p.852)

Window at St. Denys with wife Eleanor Poinings, children, brothers and sisters (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, Henry (1446-1489)

Fourth Earl of Northumberland (1470-1489)

Son of Henry Percy third Earl of Northumberland

Buried in Percy chantry at Beverley Minster (*DNB* 15, pp.853-4; *Complete Peerage* 9, p.717)

(\*) Arms on bench-end at St. Denys (1470-1489)

PERCY, Henry, de Poinings (b.1446-d.1489)(A)

Probably one of the sons of Henry Percy, third Earl of Northumberland, who later became fourth Earl of Northumberland 1461-1489 (*DNB* 15, pp.852-3)

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, Joan (d.1369) (A)

Daughter and heir of John lord Orreby, second wife of Henry third baron Percy of Alnewick (1352-68) (*DNB* 15, p.840)

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, Margaret (A)

Untraced

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, Margaret, daughter of lord de Poinings (i.e. Henry Percy 3rd Earl of Northumberland) (A)

Married Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorp, Yorkshire (*DNB* 15, p.852)

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

PERCY, (Sir) Ralph (b.1425-d.1464) (A)

7th son of Henry Percy, 2nd Earl of Northumberland. Killed at Hedgely Moor. Unmarried (*DNB* 15, p.873)

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

**PERCY, (Sir) Richard (d. 29 March 1461) (A)**

One of the sons of Henry Percy 2nd Earl of Northumberland

Slain at Towton (*DNB 15*, p.851)

Window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

**PERCY, Thomas (b.1333-d.8 Aug 1369)**

5th son of Henry Percy 2nd Baron Percy of Alnewick (1299?-1352)

Bishop of Norwich from 1355 (*DNB 15*, p.840)

Possibly the figure of a bishop in the Percy window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

**PERCY, William (b.1428-d.1462)**

One of the sons of Henry Percy 2nd Earl of Northumberland

Graduated Doctor of Divinity from Cambridge

Chancellor of Cambridge University 1451-55

Bishop of Carlisle from 1451 (*DNB 15*, pp.851-2)

Possibly the figure of a bishop in the Percy window at St. Denys (pre-1461, taken down 1590)(Drake pp.306-7)

**PERSAY, Isabel**

Will 3 Sep 1400, pr. 30 July 1401 (*TE I* pp.270-272): requests burial in St. Mary Castlegate. Her best gown for her mortuary. 6s 8d to rector for burial in choir. To Henry chaplain of parish church of All Saints North St. one psalter in English. To chaplain William Flaxton one pyx of silver, an aired mattress and one small psalter. Other books bequeathed to individuals: a book of the Holy Spirit; a primer; a psalter in French. Bequest to prior of St.Andrew Fishergate. Residue for her soul.

**PERSON, Alice (A)**

Monument in St. Martin Micklegate with husband Nicholas and his other wife (?)Cecilia 1490

**PERSON, (?)Cecilia (A)**

Monument in St. Martin Micklegate with husband Nicholas and his other wife Alice 1490

**PERSON, Nicholas (A)**

Dyer, free 1456

Member of CC 1457

Chamberlain 1474; sheriff 1477 (*Reg. CC* p.61; Drake p.363)

Monument in St. Martin Micklegate with wives Alice and (?)Cecilia 1490

**PETON, John**

Mariner

Will 23 July 1465, pr. 9 Apr 1467 (BI Reg.4 ff.44<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate. His best gown for his mortuary. A gold noble (6s 8d) to fabric of a bell in church of St. Michael. Bequests to parish clergy.

**PETY, Robert**

Tapiter

Will 29 May 1527, pr. 10 Dec 1528 (*TE V* p.225): requests burial in his parish church of St. Denys before altar of St. John Baptist. 13 marks for priest to celebrate mass for his soul etc for 2 years. £13 6d 8d to parishioners of St. Denys to buy a silver cross for church.

**PLAYCE, William (Sir) (A)**

(Gentleman)

(Husband of Margaret Plays)

Window at St. Mary Bishophill Senior, north aisle (c.1400)

**PLAYS, Margaret**

Wife of Sir William

Will Monday after feast of Ascension 1400, pr. 25 Aug 1400 (*TE I* p.258): request burial in church of friars preachers on Tofts. Her furred gown for her burial. 6s 8d to York Minster. 6s 8d to (her parish) church of St. Gregory (Micklegate). To her chaplain John Ferrour (at St. Gregory?) all her books, chalice, ecclesiastical vestments and altarcloth. 6 lbs wax to burn around her body in church of St. Gregory. Bequests to poor.

Husband's window at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. (c.1400)

**POLLERNEHAM, William (A)**

(\*14C coffin lid) Monument at Holy Trinity Goodramgate 14C

**de POUNTFRACT, Avicia**

Wife of William, draper

Will 17 May 1404, pr. 12 July 1404 (BI Reg.3 ff.111<sup>r</sup>-112<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in the chapel of St. Katherine within her parish church of All Saints Pavement. Her best gown for her mortuary. Wax for funeral. 20s to church fabric for her burial. Bequests to parish clergy, each chaplain mentioned by name. 25s to celebrate mass for her soul after her death. Bequests to maisonndieux, anchoress at St. Cuthbert; anchoress at St. John Hungate. Bequests to John Thornton and wife Katherine, her faithful friend. Executors: her husband William, John Thornton and his wife Katherine.

Monument to William de Pontefract, John Thornton and Katherine Thornton at All Saints Pavement under same inscription (post-1401).



de POUNTFRAYT (POUNTFRATIE, de POUNTEFRACT), William (A)

Draper, free 1370 (*Freemen*, p.68)

Bailiff 1381 (Drake p.361)

The only will of a William de Pountfract, draper, is dated 1 Dec 1390, pr. 1390 (BI Reg.1, f.15<sup>r</sup>) and in it he requests to be buried in St. Helen Stonegate and makes bequests to his wife Agnes. The testator is probably a relative of the chantry founder.

Co-founder with John Thornton, draper, of chantry at altar of St. John Baptist and St. Katharine at All Saints Pavement licensed for 40s for a message's rent during their lives 1401 (*CPR 1399-1401* p.504; *YCC I* p.61)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with John Thornton and his wife Katherine (post-1401)

de PRESTON, John Sr.

Buckle-maker

Will 1400, pr. 27 Apr 1400 (*TE I* pp.269-270): requests burial in cemetery of his parish church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey near body of his late wife Alice. 13s 4d for a memorial stone. His best gown with hood for his mortuary. 15 lbs wax for 5 candles for his funeral. 3 other candles for his funeral, one to remain before crucifix on pulpit of said church, another before image of St. Mary at same altar and third before image of St. Thomas of Canterbury at same altar in said church. 2s to maintain 2 torches.

de PYKERYNG, John

Rector of church of St. Mary Castlegate

Will 20 Sep 1384, pr. 11 Mar 1394 (*TE I* pp.194-195): requests burial in choir of St. Mary Castlegate under monument of John de Pykeryng his uncle and predecessor in south part. 20 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests for funeral expenses. To high altar of his church: his best chalice; one vestment; a chasuble, alb and amice with stoles; maniples etc; a missal with music; a portable breviary in 2 volumes, one for winter, one for summer; one large book of antiphons (anthems) with music; one legend in 2 volumes, one for winter, one for summer; one new ordinal; 2 books with music for teaching boys; one book for matins and vespers; another book for mass in choir of said church. To altar of St. Anne his second best chalice and one vestment.

PYNCHBEK, Gilbert (A)

Free 1443 (*Freemen* p.162)

Administration of goods 10 Feb 1457 (BI Reg.2, f.359<sup>r</sup>) to widow Agnes, John Bedale, canon of York Minster, and chaplain Thomas Pynchebeke.

Monument at St. Michael-le-Belfrey with wife Margaret (1457)

PYNCHBEK, Margaret (A)

Monument at St. Michael-le-Belfrey with husband Gilbert (1457)

de QUENBY, John

Parchment-maker

Will Sunday of Passion of the Lord 1394, pr. 9 Apr 1394 (*TE I* pp.197-198): requests burial in church of St. Helen Aldwark between font and entrance to choir. 6 marks to fabric for burial. 10s for 60 masses for his soul between day of burial and eighth day. 40d to York Minster fabric. 12d to rector of St. Helen for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. 13s 4d to 4 orders of friars. Bequest to guild of Pater Noster. Residue for masses for his soul at St. Helen.

RADCLYFF, John

Merchant

Sheriff 1430 (Drake p.362)

Will 15 May 1444, pr. (?) (*TE II* pp.92-93): requests burial in his parish church of St. Crux Fossgate in choir of BVM. £10 to chaplain to go on pilgrimage for him to Rome and to celebrate one trental at *Scala Celi* for his soul and souls of his parents; his wife Katherine his son John and his wife Alice; his son Nicholas and his wife Anne; his brother Hugh and his wife Agnes; his son Thomas; and 22 other people including Nicholas Blackburne Sr. £15 to parish church to make 8 new glass windows.

RALMORD, John (A)

Monument at Holy Trinity Micklegate with wife

RANDEMAN, Joan, n<sup>èe</sup> Settrington (A)

(\*now at YM nXIX) Window at St. John Ousebridge with husband John (c.1340)

RANDEMAN (RANDMAN), John (A)

Bailiff 1340 (Drake p.361)

(\*now at YM nXIX) Window at St. John Ousebridge with wife Joan Settrington (c.1340)

RAVENTHORP, John

Priest of chapel of St. Martin Aldwark

Will 26 Jan 1432, pr. 27 July 1433 (*TE II* pp.28-29): requests burial in St. Saviour. 5 lbs wax for his funeral, then for the church. His best vestment to high altar of church. To St. Saviour: a psalter to be kept in the choir, a *Martilegio* (book of martyrs), and one alabaster *Pietà*. To church of St. John Hungate: a great portiphorium (breviary) with 2 sanctified cloths, a corporal (cloth) and a cover. Bequests to Thomas and Ineta Bracebrigg (Thomas: merchant; sheriff 1416; mayor 1424; Drake p.362) including chalice and paten; a retable depicting Crucifixion; 2 sanctified cloths, an over-altar, a corporal and a cover; a vestment with angels and a missal; an image of St. Anne. To chapel of St. Martin Aldwark, if it continues in priestly use, a vestment with wooden altar - if not, vestment to remain at altar of St. Mary in church of St. John Hungate. His manual to church of All Saints Fishergate. Other bequests to individuals include service books, Bible, books of grammar and retable depicting Coronation of BVM.

..., REANALDE (A)

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate with husband John post-1400

REDE, William

Merchant

Will 22 Oct 1522, pr. 16 Sep 1523 (*TE V* pp.158-159): requests burial in St. Crux. 6s 8d for his burial. 2s for forgotten tithes. 12d to Rood light in St. Crux. 12d to All Hallows light. To St. Crux a house in Whitby so that they shall pray for his soul and sing Our Lady's mass every Wednesday.

REVETOUR, William

Chaplain

Will 2 Aug 1446, pr. (?) (*TE II* pp.116-118): to Alice Bolton (daughter of Nicholas Blackburne Sr. and wife of John Bolton) one book of Sunday Prayers and one book of Prick of Conscience in English. To chantry of Richard Toller founded in chapel of St. William (either at St. John Ousebridge or at St. Martin Micklegate) one vestment and a gradual. To fraternity of Corpus Christi a book called Le Crede Play with books and banners pertaining to it. To guild of St. Christopher a book of St. James Apostle compiled in 6 pages. To Katherine Tutbag an alabaster crucifix. To his goddaughter Isabel Bolton, daughter of John Bolton, one large primer with images within, written in Flemish manner. To John Bolton a large roll with the Bible in Latin with images in one part and a table of Sunday Prayers on the other.

RICH, William

Pewterer

Will 25 Sep 1465, pr. (?) (*TE II* p.270): requests burial before image of BVM in his parish church of St. Helen Stonegate. 20s to paint image of BVM standing within choir of St. John. All money from tools of his trade for use and maintenace of his chantry chapel in his parish church.

RICHARDSON, William

Vicar Choral of York Minster

Introduced members to guild of Corpus Christi 1498 and 1513 (*Reg. CC* pp.149, 180)

Owned YML MS. XVI.D.13 Bible 15C, and donated it to church of St. Martin Coney St. on Christmas Day 1510 (f.325<sup>v</sup>):

*'Iste liber dedit dominus Willelmus Rycherdson Ad Ecclesiam sancti Martini in Connyngstret in Ebor Qui quidem Willelmus quondam fuit Persona in Choro sancti Petri Voluit tamen ut sit Cathenatus in Choro sancti Martini predicti ad seruiendum ibi imperpetuum Qui vero hunc alienauerit anathema sit Dat' Anno domini M<sup>l</sup> CCCC<sup>mo</sup> X<sup>o</sup> ad festum Nat' domini'*)

(Ker and Piper p.701)

RIPLEY, Richard

Chaplain, free 1480, son of Philip, clerk (*Freemen* p.202)

Will 15 Nov 1485, pr. 14 Feb 1485 (YML L.2/4 ff.364<sup>v</sup>-365<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in St. Sampson before image of BVM in north part of church. Bequests to York Minster clergy. 7 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his parents in church of St. Mary Bishophill (?) for one year. Bequests to sister Agnes Cole. Residue to executors, i.e. *dominus* John Ripley his brother, chaplain John Tanfeld and John Potter, for the good of his soul.

..., ROBERT (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with brothers Henry, John, William, Nicholas and sisters, Judith, Margaret, Alice. Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen, Constance and Joan (late 14C).

ROBSON, Thomas

Priest

Will 8 Aug 1519, pr. (?) (*TE V* p.101): requests burial in church of Holy Trinity Micklegate before image of Lady of Pity. To church: *a payntede cloth of th'ymage of our Lady with her Son sowkyn on hir breste with a similitude of a preste knelyng to be honge in the churche of the Holy Trinitie.*

de ROSTON, Roger

Goldsmith, free 1304 (*Freemen*, p.10)

Bailiff 1307 (Drake p.360)

Chantry at altar of St. James in Holy Trinity King's Court for self and souls of wife Dionisia (Denise) etc licensed for 6 marks rent 1321 during his life. (*CPR 1317-21* p.587)

ROTHUM (ROTHAN/CROTHURNE), John (A)

Will proved 1 May 1390 according to Shaw p.45. Will not found in York registers.

(\*floor slab) Monument at All Saints North St. (1390)

RUMBY, John

Saucemaker

Will 30 July 1427, pr. 4 Aug 1427 (BI Reg.2 f.513<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Martin Coney St. before the font. His best gown for his mortuary. 3s 4d to rector for forgotten tithes. 6s 8d for burial. Bequests to parish clergy. 6s 8d to York Minster. 6s 8d to Carmelite friars. Bequests to leper houses. £4 to fabric of bell tower in his parish church. 14 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul etc for 2 years. 8 lbs wax for his funeral. Tenements in Coney St. where he lives to wife Matilda. Residue for masses and pious works of mercy.

RUMLAY, William

Merchant

Will Tuesday next before feast of St. Michael Archangel 1391, pr. 29 Sep 1391 (BI Reg.1 f.37<sup>r</sup>, also *TE I* p.158): requests burial in his parish church of St. Saviour. His best gown for his mortuary. 20s for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy and prisoners. His wife to ensure that the panel of a glass window which Geoffrey Spencer (see will) has already begun for his parish church is finished. Residue to support wife and daughters.

(\*late 14C glass in wI, W window, no commemorative figures left) Possibly commemorated in window at St. Saviour (1391-2)

RUSSELL, Richard

Merchant

Sheriff 1412; mayor 1421, 1430; MP 1422, 1425 (Drake pp.357, 362)

Member of CC with wife Petronilla 1426-27 (*Reg. CC*, p.25)

Will 1 Dec 1435, pr. 10 Dec 1435 (BI Reg.3 ff.439<sup>r</sup>-441<sup>r</sup>, also *TE II* pp.52-57): commends soul to God, BVM, St. Anne, St. John Baptist, St. Katherine. Requests burial in his parish church of St. John Hungate. His best gown for his mortuary. 100s to rector to pray for his soul. Extensive bequests to St. John: stonework and woodwork for belltower; retables in north part of church before images of St. Mary and St. Anne; cupboard for books and vestments; bequests to altars; vestments; service books; chalice, paten, silver spoon and silver phials; bequests to images of St. Mary and St. Anne in north part and to images of St. Katherine and St. Mary Magdalen in south part. 3 windows to be glazed by the following summer. 100s. to wardens of St. Saviour. £8 for fabric of new glass window above door to vestibule of York Minster. Bequests to parish clergy; lepers; maison dieux; paupers in parishes of St. John Hungate, St. Saviour and All Saints Peaseholme; anchoresses; monasteries. All his lands and tenements in Davygate and on corner of Davygate and Stonegate to be sold for chantry at altar of BVM and St. Anne in his parish church. Out of capital and messuages, revenue for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and soul of his wife in his parish church for 30 years. Residue for the good of his soul. Codicil 1 Dec 1435: marble slab for himself and wife Petronilla. One chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul etc in his parish church for 30 years. (no mention of any children)

Posthumous chantry in St. John Hungate for self and souls of wife Pernell, parents, ancestors, benefactors, John Thirske, Guy Fairfax, John Shirwod (see individual entries) etc licensed for 8 marks rent 1460 to executors John Thirske, Guy Fairfax and John Shirwod. (*CPR 1452-61* p.632; *YCC I* p.50)

de SALLAY, Robert

*Pistor* (miller), free 1309 (*Freemen*, p.13)

Chamberlain 1331 (*Freemen*, p.26)

Chantry of BVM in St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate) licensed 1336 during his life and augmented posthumously for licence of 40s for 2 messuages' rent in 1385. (*CPR 1334-8* p.468; *CPR 1348-50* pp.458-9, 523; *CPR 1381-85* p.519; *YCC I* p.51)

SANTON, Beatrix (A)

Wife of Thomas, draper

Will 10 March 1405, pr. 15 March 1405 (BI Reg.3 ff.246<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in her parish church of All Saints Pavement. Her best gown to rector for mortuary. Wax for her funeral at husband's disposition. 40s to church fabric. Bequests to parish clergy, individually named. 2 marks a year to chantry chaplain William Gryssop for 6 years after her death to augment his chantry. 6s 8d to York Minster fabric. 6s 8d to each of 4 orders of friars. Bequests to paupers, lepers. To image of St. Mary in All Saints P. 6s 8d to paint its tabernacle.

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband Thomas and (second) wife Joan (post-1418)

SANTON, Joan (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband Thomas and (first) wife Beatrix (post-1418)

SANTON, John

Merchant

Son of Thomas, draper

Free 1436 (*Freemen* p.152)

SANTON, Thomas (A)

Mercer

Free 1369 (*Freemen* p. 67)

(?)Sheriff 1403; mayor 1414; MP 1413, 1418 (Drake pp.357, 362)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wives Beatrice and Joan (post-1418)

de SANTON (SAMPTON), William

Son of Richard de Santon

Merchant/drapers, free 1337 (*Freemen* p.32)

Chamberlain 1349 (*Freemen* p.42)

Chantry of BVM in St. Helen Stonegate 1371 or 3 Edward III (the latter year would be 1330, which is unlikely as Santon did not have the freedom of the city then and must have been very young) (*YCC I* p.72)

Posthumous chantry at St. Helen Stonegate for souls of William de Grantham, his wife Maud and William de Santon licensed for £20 for 4 messuages worth 100s rent in 1371 to executors of William de Grantham, William de Santon and his wife Ellen. (*CPR 1370-74* pp.41-42)

SANTORE, William (A)

Merchant (merchant's mark on window)

Window at St. Mary Bishophill Sr.

**SAVAGE, Robert (A)**

*Dominus*, i.e. priest (rector of St. Mary Bishophill Sr.)

Window in St. Mary Bishophill Sr. with John Manfeld (pre-1394)

**SAVAGE, Robert**

Merchant

Contemporaneous to and possibly related to Robert Savage, priest

Bailiff 1376; mayor 1385, 1392, 1393; MP 1387 (Drake pp.356, 361-2; *Reg. CC* p.259)

Will 21 Aug 1391, pr. 21 Mar 1398 (BI Reg. 3 ff.17<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>, also Shaw p.84): requests burial in All Saints North St. before altar of St. Nicholas where body of William Savage (mayor 1369, Drake p.361) is buried. His best gown for his mortuary. 6s 8d for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 20s to church fabric. 100 lbs wax for his funeral. 13s 4d to each of 4 orders of friars. Bequests to prisoners, paupers. Bequests to sons William and John, wife Emma. Tenement with appurtenances where he lives in parish of All Saints North St. to wife Emma then to son John after her death.

**SAVEGE, Alice (A)**

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate with husband Richard 1544

**SAVEGE, Richard (A)**

Sheriff 1540 (Drake p.364)

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate with wife Alice 1544

**SCROPE, Henry**

Grandfather of Henry and Geoffrey Scrope, founders of the two branches of the Scrope family (Vale I p.10)

(\*coffin lid late 13C) Possibly buried at St. Martin Micklegate late 13C (see *sub* Scrope, Simon)(*Scrope & Grosvenor I*, p.99)

**SCROPE, John (1388-1455) (HA)**

4th Baron Scrope of Masham; 4th son of Stephen Scrope 2nd baron Scrope of Masham

Member of CC 1416-17 with his brother Stephen, archdeacon of Richmond. (*Reg. CC* p.18)

Will 1 July 1441, codicil 14 Mar 1453, sequitur 18 Mar 1453, pr. 18 Nov 1455 (*TE II* pp.184-193): requests burial in south part of St. Stephen's chapel (the Scrope chapel) in York Minster. Bequests to St. John del Pyke (Ogleforth): cope of blue satin with velvet workmanship, orphray of *chekty* velvet. To St. Martin Micklegate of his patronage: one whole vestment of red damask, for priest, deacon and subdeacon with chasuble and tunics and 2 copes of red damask. 3s 4d to each anchoress, one at All Saints Fishergate, one at St. Clement's nunnery and one at St. Margaret Walmgate. Bequests to wife Elizabeth, daughter Alianor, brother William, and Henry (sic - John son of Henry) Scrope of Bolton. Codicil 14 Mar 1453: to his brother William Scrope 'j cross upon a fote of silver and gilt with Mary and John and iiij Evangelistis aboute it'. Executors: wife Elizabeth, son and heir John, son Thomas, brother William and priests William Caleys and William Newsom.

Patron of living of St. Martin Micklegate - rebuild chancel, N and S chancel aisles.

(\*window I) Arms in E window of St. Denys (pre-1461)

SCROPE, John lord of Upsall

Will 1 July 1451, codicil 18 March 1453, pr.? (*TV I* pp.270-271): requests burial in new tomb made for him and wife Lady Elizabeth (daughter of Ralph lord Greystock) in chapel of St. Stephen commonly called Scrope chapel in York Minster. To altar in chapel of St. Mary at York a jewel with a bone of St. Margaret.

SCROPE, Simon

Alive 1225

Great-grandfather of Henry and Geoffrey Scrope, founders of the two branches of the Scrope family (*Vale I* p.10)

(\*coffin lid late 13C) Possibly buried at St. Martin Micklegate late 13C (see *sub* Scrope, Henry)(*Scrope & Grosvenor I*, p.99)

SCROPE, William (d.22 May 1463) (HA)

5th son of Stephen 2nd baron Scrope of Masham, younger brother of John Scrope 4th baron Scrope of Masham.

Canon residentiary of Ripon and Beverley, archdeacon of Durham.

Younger brother of John Scrope, 4th baron Scrope of Masham

Master of St. Leonard's Hospital (1431-1456)

(\*window I) Arms in E window of St. Denys (pre-1461)

de SEIZEVAUX, Elena

Widow of Nicholas

Chantry at St. Martin Coney St. 1334 (*CPR 1330-4*, p.562)

de SEIZEVAUX, Nicholas

M.P. 1313, 1314 and 1327 (Drake p.356)



**SELBY, Elizabeth (A)**

(\*YM nXXII) Window at St. John Ousebridge with husband Roger, his (second) wife Alice and her second husband William Stockton (1430s)

**SELBY (SYLBY), Roger (A)**

Spicer, free 1401 (*Freemen* p.105)

Member of CC 1416-17 with (second) wife Alice (later remarried William Stockton)

Chamberlain 1422 (*Reg. CC* p.19)

(\*YM nXXII) Window at St. John Ousebridge with (first) wife Elizabeth, (second) wife Alice and her second husband William Stockton (1430s)

**SELBY, William**

Son of Nicholas (bailiff 1276, 1277, 1328; Drake p.360)

Walker (cloth-fuller), free 1333 (*Freemen*, p.29)

Posthumous chantry in St. Michael-le-Belfrey for self etc licensed for 79s rent 1339 to executors. (*CPR 1338-40* p.249; *YMB II* p.215)

**SELBY, William**

Son of Roger

Pouchmaker, free 1378 (*Freemen* p.76)

Bailiff 1374; mayor 1386, 1388, 1389; MP 1383, 1384, 1390, 1395, 1397; sheriff 1398 (Drake pp.356-7, 361, 362)

Will 16 July 1438, pr. 21 July 1438 (BI Reg.3 f.528<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in St. John Ousebridge next to body of his father Roger. His best gown to rector of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate) for his mortuary. His second best gown to rector of St. John for his mortuary. 3s 4d to fabric of St. John for his burial. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. 20d to rector of St. Michael for forgotten tithes Bequests to parish clergy of St. Michael. 7 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his father etc for one year after his death in church of St. John at altar of St. John Baptist. Residue to executors, i.e. Thomas Barton his teacher and his mother Alice, for the good of his soul.

**SELBY-STOCKTON, Alice (A)**

(Second) wife of Roger Selby and (first) wife of William Stockton

(\*YM nXXII) Window at St. John Ousebridge with (first) husband Roger Selby, his (first) wife Elizabeth, and her second husband William (1430s)

**SEMAR, Robert**

Subtreasurer of York Minster and vicar of St. Michael-le-Belfrey

Member of CC (no date); CC obituary 1432-3 (*Reg. CC* p.246)

Will dated 20 Aug 1432, pr. 23 Nov 1432 (YML L.2/5 f.236<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in York Minster at door of vestibule. Bequeathes book called *Summa summarum* to Robert Semar, vicar of St. Martin.

SEMAR, Robert (A)

Vicar of St. Martin Coney St.

Will 1 Jan 1442, pr.7 June 1443 (YML L.2/4 ff.254<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in west part of St. Martin Coney St. under marble slab prepared for his burial. 8 lbs wax for his funeral, subsequently for high altar of St. Martin. Bequests to parish clergy. Bequests to John Appilton subtreasurer of York Minster, vicar choral of York Minster. Books: to York Minster library *De Regimine Principum*, Higden's *Polichronicon* to Whitby Abbey. Residue to fabric of St. Martin Coney St. to rebuild church and chancel within 7 years of his death. £40 to augment chantry of BVM in St. Martin.

(\*formerly wI, now nII) W window of St. Martin Coney St. (containing cycle of life of St. Martin) 1437 and rebuilding of church.

SETRYNGTON, John

Chantry of BVM at altar of St. Margaret in St. Peter Little founded 1335. (*YCC I* p.48)

SETRYNGTON, Stephen

Chamberlain 1327 (*Freemen*, p.23)

Bailiff 1330; MP 1335 (Drake pp.356, 360)

Chantry at altar of BVM in St. Peter Little for self and souls of wife Agnes (living), their parents etc licensed for 12 marks licence for 3 messuages and 41s 8d rent 1349 during his life. (*CPR 1348-50* p.408)

SHAW, John (A)

Merchant, free 1519

Member of CC 1519

Chamberlain 1525; sheriff 1528; Governor of Merchants Company 1533-5; mayor 1510, 1538 (*sic* - died in office 1537) (*Reg. CC* p.195; *YM & MA* p.323; Drake p.364)

Indenture with Prior and Augustinian convent of York for yearly obit with Requiem Mass, bell-ringing and inscription of John Shaw's name in convent's martyrology (YCA, G 28A; and Dobson 1984 p.117)

Monument at St. Crux with wife Agnes 1537

SHAW, William

Living in Coney St.

Administration of goods to wife Joan 21 Aug 1460 (BI Reg.2 f.432v)

de SHIRBURN, Nicholas

Chaplain

Will Vigil of St. Andrew Apostle 1392, pr.13 Dec 1392 (*TE I* pp.172-173): requests burial in church of St. Sampson. 3s 4d to church fabric for his burial. 3s 4d to buy a tabernacle of image of BVM in alabaster for choir of same church. To altar of St. Anne one small manual to be tied with a chain. 16 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to parish clergy.

SHIRWOD, John

Common Clerk of city of York, elected 3 Feb 1441-2

Member of CC with wife Agnes 1441 (*Reg. CC*, p.40)

Will 20 March 1472, pr. 27 Feb 1474 (*BI Reg.4* ff.118<sup>r-v</sup>, also *TE III* pp.206-8): burial in church of St. Leonard's Hospital near body of wife. Bequests to son John, archdeacon of Richmond (later bishop of Durham), daughters Margaret and Matilda (the latter married to John Coupeland, tanner, commemorated at All Saints North St.), grandson Thomas Bolton. Executors son John and wife Agnes.

Co-licensee of chantry of Richard Russell at St. John Hungate 1460 (*CPR 1452-61* p.632; *YCC I* p.50)

de SHUPTON, John

Bailiff 1297 (*Drake* p.360)

Chantry at altar of St. John Baptist in St. John Ousebridge for self and souls of wife Agnes, his father Geoffrey, his mother Jvetta, former wives Agnes de Acum and Emma etc licensed for 6 marks rent 1319 during his life. (*CPR 1317-1321* p.312)

SKELTON, Joan (A)

(\*nIV) Window at St. Denys with husband Robert and son John (c.1350)

SKELTON, John (A)

(\*nIV) Window at St. Denys with parents Robert and Joan (c.1350)

SKELTON, Robert

Chaplain and warden of chantry of St. Peter in All Saints Pavement for soul of Robert de Ampylford

Will 20 Apr 1429, pr.22 Apr 1429 (*BI Reg.2* ff.550<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial within choir of All Saints Pavement next to place where he used to sit. 6 lbs wax for funeral. Bequests to parish clergy. 6s 8d for repair of one window in choir of St. Peter in All Saints Pavement. Bequest for annual obit (illegible). Revenue from lands and tenements in Aldburgh near Boroughbridge, Rawcliffe and Minskipp for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for 10 years in Skelton chapel for 6 marks a year.

de SKELTON, Robert (A)

Mercer

Free 1325 (*Freemen* p.23)

Chamberlain 1335, 1353; bailiff 1356 (Drake p.361)

(\*nIV) Window at St. Denys with wife Joan and son John (1350s)

SMITH, Catherine

Will 6 July 1522, pr. 12 June 1522 (*TE V* pp.146-147): requests burial in her parish church of St. Nicholas (Micklegate?). Her best garment for her mortuary. 4 lbs wax and 2 torches for her funeral. To church: a long cloth and a kerchief to be a *corporax* (linen cloth). 1½ lbs wax for 3 candles, one to burn before Trinity, one for St. Dominic, one for St. Katherine. 4d to rowell in her parish church. 12d to each order of friars.

SMYTH, Thomas

Merchant

Mayor 1390 and 1391 (Drake pp.361-2)

Will 28 Sep 1399, pr. 22 Oct 1399 (BI Reg.3 f.27<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in choir of St. Martin Coney St. His best gown for his mortuary. 40s to vicar for forgotten tithes. 20s to church fabric. Bequests to parish clergy. 50 lbs wax for his burial. 10 marks for expenses on day of burial and eighth day. 10 marks to be distributed among paupers on day of burial. 20s to fabric of York Minster. 20s to friars minors. 13s 4d each to friars preachers, Austin friars and Carmelite friars. Bequests to maison dieux and leper houses. Bequests to relatives Thomas Bowland, William Barby and his wife Alice, and John Bolthorp; his daughter Katherine; chaplains William Wath and Robert Otteley (executor), Thomas de Alta Ripa (executor); Alice, widow of Thomas Setrington; and his son Thomas (who must have been underage at the time as all bequests to be held by executors). Residue to executors for the good of his soul. Executors: his wife (no name). chaplain *dominus* Robert de Otteley, *magister* Thomas de Alta Ripa and cleric Richard Marshall.

Posthumous chantry at altar of St. Peter at St. Martin Coney St. with wife Katherine and John Braithwaite 1417 (*CPR 1416-22* p.89 has augmentation by 5 marks a year for a 20 mark licence paid by chaplains Robert Otley and William Nunyngton; F. Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, (London 1952), p.16)

SMYTH, William

Notary

Will 22 June 1525, pr. 21 Aug 1525 (*TE V* pp.207-208): requests burial in York Minster near wife Isabel. His best horse for his mortuary to his parish church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey. £8 6s 8d for 21 years for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his wife etc. Altar cloths to churches of Skelton, Crake and St. Michael-le-Belfrey.

SNAUGWELL, Philip (A)

*Magister* (priest)

Monument at St. Helen Stonegate

SOZA, Ellen (A)

(\*now nV with modern inscription) Window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey with husband Martin, 7 sons and 3 daughters (c.1545)

SOZA, Martin (A)

Goldsmith

Sheriff 1545 (Drake p.364)

Will 10 Sep 1560, pr. 1 Feb 1560 (BI Dean and Chapter of York Wills Vol.5 ff.34<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in York Minster on the east side of the choir ... (illegible). £10 for his burial. Bequests to daughter Anne Crawfurthe. To his wife Ellen all his lands in the city of York - house in Petergate, house in Stonegate, house in Coney St. against St. Martin's church, lands and tenements in Coney St. To daughter Margaret Clarke a house in Stonegate and the lease of a house next to it appertaining to the vicars choral. To daughter Anne Crawfurthe houses in Stonegate. Residue to wife Ellen executrix for the good of his soul. Supervisors of will: sons-in-law Percivall Crawfurth (sheriff 1550; mayor 1561; Drake p.364) and Thomas Clerke.

(\*now nV with modern inscription) Window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey with wife Ellen, 7 sons and 3 daughters (c.1545)

Monument at York Minster 1560

SPARRY, Isabel (A)

Monument at St. Olave

de SPAULDINGE, Alice (A)

Monument at St. Olave with husband John 1394

de SPAULDINGE, John (A)

Monument at St. Olave with wife Alice 1394

SPENCER, Geoffrey

(Glazier)

Will 4 Aug 1396, pr. 6 Aug 1396 (BI Reg.1 f.98<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in cemetery of St. Saviour. 7 lbs wax for his funeral. 4 trentals of masses to be celebrated between day of his burial and one year of his death. 30s for funeral expenses. 6s 8d to church of St. Peter (York Minster?). 40d to Carmelite friars. Bequests to Rickall church fabric, guild of Pater Noster, parish clergy of St. Saviour. 26s 8d to St. Saviour church fabric. His best gown to rector for his mortuary. Bequests to son (unnamed). Residue for the good of his soul.

Glazier of window at St. Saviour (see will of William Rumlay)

de SPIRIDENE, Adam

Rector of St. Saviour

Chantry in St. Saviour licensed 1332 (*CPR 1330-4* p.379; *Reg. Greenfield II* p.54; *YCC I* p.63)

STANES, Roger

Living in Marygate.

Not recorded in Freemens Register

Will 1 Jan 1458, pr. 1 Mar 1458 (BI Reg.2 ff.395<sup>v</sup>-396<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in cemetery of St. Olave. His best gown for his mortuary. 12d for wax for his funeral. 1 torch price 6s 8d for Easter Day and for high altar at elevation of the host. Bequests to parish clergy. 6s 8d to glaze a window over door of church of St. Olave. 6s 8d to fabric. Bequests to abbot and convent of St. Mary and to St. Clement's convent church. 6s 8d to 4 orders of friars. Residue to wife Agnes .

STAPILTON, Agnes

Widow of Sir Brian

Will 27 March 1448, pr. 1 Apr 1448 (*NCW*, pp.48-49): requests burial in church of friars preachers near her husband. Bequeathes books: a book with orisons; a large psalter; a primer; a book in French of the Lives of the Saints; a book of Bonaventure; a book called Prick of Conscience to the nuns of Arthington; a book called The Chastising of Good Children; and a book called Vices and Virtues.

STAYNTON, Richard

Chaplain and rector of church of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate)

Will 19 June 1442, pr. 19 June 1442 (BI Reg.2 ff.41<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in St. Michael Spurriergate at end of high altar at feet of (image of) St. Michael archangel. 20s to repair stalls in choir. 8s 4d to church fabric. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to parish clergy, guild of Corpus Christi, guild of St. Christopher.

STOCKTON, William (A)

Merchant, free 1420

Member of CC with (first) wife Alice (widow of Roger Selby) 1432-3; sheriff 1438; mayor 1446; MP 1447. Second wife Isabel widow of Robert Colynson. (*Reg. CC* pp.19, 32; *Drake* pp.357, 362)

Administration of goods 21 Nov 1471 (BI Reg.4 f.173<sup>v</sup>)

(\*brass set into floor slab of John de Wardalle) Monument at All Saints North St. with Robert Colynson and wife Isabel (1471)

(\*YM nXXII) Window at St. John Ousebridge with (first) wife Alice, (her first husband) Roger Selby and (his first) wife Elizabeth (1430s)

STOCKTON-COLYNSON, Isabel (A)

Wife of Robert Colynson and William Stockton

Monument at All Saints North St. with husbands Robert and William (1471)

SULLYNGELNE, John (A)

Monument at St. Mary Castlegate 1403

de SUTTON, Hugh

Bailiff 1284 (Drake p.360)

Posthumous chantry at St. George for self and souls of wife Matilda etc licensed for 20s for 6 marks rent 1312 to son Nicholas. (*CPR 1307-1313* p.496)

SWANLAND, Nicholas

Chaplain

Co-founder with chaplain Robert Halton of chantry in St. Peter Willows for selves etc licensed for rent of houses and buildings in church cemetery 1396 during their lives. (*CPR 1391-96* p.692)

SWETEMOUTH, Robert

Tanner

Co-founder with brother William of chantry in St. Peter Little for selves and souls of parents etc licensed for 60s for 2 messuages 1350 during their lives. (*CPR 1350-54* p.5; *YCC I* p.49)

SWETEMOUTH, William

Chamberlain 1347; bailiff 1351 (*Freemen*, p.40; Drake p.361)

Co-founder with brother Robert of chantry in St. Peter Little for selves and souls of parents etc licensed for 60s for 2 messuages 1350 during their lives. (*CPR 1350-54* p.5; *YCC I* p.49)

SYLBY, Elizabeth (A)

Window at St. John Ousebridge with husband Roger (1430s)

SYTHER, John

Potter

Will Vigil of St. Mathew 1398, pr. 16 Nov 1402 (*TE I* pp.250-251): burial anywhere. To his parish church of St. Peter Little: his best gown for his mortuary. 20s in wax for his funeral. 40s to rector for forgotten tithes. £3 13s 4d for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for one year.

TALKAN, Richard

Possible chantry at altar of St. Lawrence at St. Martin Coney St. 1402 - evidence of inquisition regarding alienation of land (*YCC II* p.559)

TESEDALE, William

*Alutarius* (leather-dresser)

Will 4 Aug 1446, pr. 9 Aug 1446 (BI Reg.2 f.134<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate. 3s 4d for his burial. His best gown for his mortuary. 3s 4d for forgotten tithes. Bequests to *maisondieux* (including special bequest for *maisondieu* of leather-dressers) and leper houses. Bequests to parish clergy. 4 lbs wax for his funeral. Residue to wife Agnes to support his sons and his mother.

THIRSKE, John

Merchant; merchant of the Staple of Calais

Sheriff 1436; Mayor 1442, 1462; MP 1449, 1451; (Drake pp.357, 362-3)

Co-licensee of chantry of Richard Russell at St. John Hungate 1460 (*CPR 1452-61* p.632; *YCC I* p.50)

..., THOMAS (A)

Merchant

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. with wife Alice 1429

THOMPSON (TOMSON), William (A)

Glazier, free 1496 (*Freemen* p.221)

Will 11 April (?), pr. 20 Feb 1539 (YML L.2/5 f.184<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in St. Michael-le-Belfrey. 3s 4d to high altar for forgotten tithes. 12d to church of St. Martin (Coney St.?). To Richard Pille his book of *portitour* and his glazier's tools.

SE window at St. Michael-le-Belfrey with others (1527-35)

THORNTON, John (A)

Draper

Bailiff 1385 (Drake p.361)

The only will by a John Thornton in the testamentary evidence was made 10 Aug 1427, pr. 18 Aug 1427 (BI Reg. 2, f.514<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Andrew. His best gown for his mortuary. 4 lbs wax for his burial. Residue to wife Joan and sons John and William. (because of the late date, the different parish church, and the different name of the wife, this is likely to be the will of another John Thornton)

Co-founder with William de Pountefract of chantry at altar of St. John Baptist and St. Katherine in All Saints Pavement licensed during their lives 1401 (*CPR 1399-1401* p.504)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Katherine and William de Pountfrayt (post-1401)



**THORNTON, Katherine (A)**

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband John Thornton and William de Pountfrayt (post-1401)

**THORP (THORPP/THORPE), William (A)**

Mercer, free 1442

Member of CC 1470 with wife Isabel (*Reg. CC* p.76)

Chamberlain 1458; sheriff 1463 (*Drake* p.363)

Will 21 Mar 1477, pr. 22 Apr 1478 (BI Reg.5 f.121<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in Holy Trinity Goodramgate. His best gown to high altar for mortuary. Bequests to parish clergy (13 chaplains altogether). 6 lbs wax for his funeral. 2s to high altar for forgotten tithes. 6s 8d to church fabric for his burial. 3s 4d to York Minster fabric. Messuage without tenements in Goodramgate where he lives to wife Isabel. Residue to wife.

Panel in E window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate with wife Isabel (c.1471)

**THORPPE, Isabel (A)**

Panel in E window of Holy Trinity Goodramgate with husband William (c.1471)

**TOD, William**

Woolman

Governor of York Mercers 1477-78 (*YM & MA* p.322)

Will 4 Nov 1485, pr. 19 Jan 1485 (BI Reg.5 f.272<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in St. Sampson. 3s 4d for his burial. 20d to high altar for forgotten tithes. 20d to Richard Ripley (see will above) to pray for his soul. 46s for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for 1½ years. 3s 4d to fabric of bell tower. 20s to each order of friars. Residue to his sons. Executors: wife Felicia, chaplain Richard Ripley.

**TODD, Agnes (A)**

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband William (1479 - monument dated Agnes 1479, blanks for William)

**TODE (TODD), Sir William (A)**

Merchant, free 1462

Chamberlain 1471; sheriff 1477; mayor 1487; knighted 1487 by Henry VII; MP 1488 and 1490

Three wives: Agnes (died 1472), Margaret (died 1483) and Elizabeth (survived him) (*Reg. CC* p.65; *Drake* p.363)

Will 11 March 1502, pr. 20 April 1503 (BI Reg.6 ff.59<sup>r-v</sup>, also *TE IV* pp.212-213): requests burial in Our Lady's choir in All Saints Pavement. 20s to church for his funeral. For his mortuary as is custom (i.e. his best gown) to the curate of St. Peter Little. 5s to the latter for forgotten tithes. 20d to parish priest of St. Peter to pray for him. 10 serges of wax, each weighing 1 lb for his funeral, subsequently to be shared between All Saints and St. Peter. 5s each to 4 orders to say a trental of masses for his soul. Bequests to maison dieux, leper houses, St. Christopher's guild. Residue to his wife Elizabeth executrix.

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Agnes (1479 - monument dated Agnes 1479, blanks for William)

TOLLER, Andrew

Chantry in St. Martin Micklegate mentioned 1367 (founded late 13C?). (*CCR 1364-68* pp.332-333)

TOLLER, Isabel (A)

According to RCHM, *York 3*, p.19 (no ref.) she died 1336

(\*now at YM nXIX) Window at St. John Ousebridge with husband Richard and a priest (1320s)

le TOLLER, Richard (A)

Merchant (merchant's marks on his window at St. Martin Micklegate)

Bailiff 1316 (Drake p.360)

2 servants of his mentioned 1329 and 1335 (*Freemen* pp.26, 30)

Chantry at altar of BVM in St. John Ousebridge licensed 1320 during his life. (*CPR 1317-21* p.420; *YCC I* p.70 has chantry of St. William 1328)

Chantry at altar of St. John Baptist in St. John Ousebridge licensed for 6 marks rent 1320 (*YCC I* p.79)

Chantry in St. Martin Micklegate licensed 1326 during his life; in 1367 it was mentioned that the chantry received an annuity from 2 messuages, 2 shops and 9 marks 4d rent. (*YMB I* pp.251-251; *CCR 1364-1368* pp.332-333)

(\*now at YM nXIX) Window at St. John Ousebridge with wife Isabel and a priest (1320s)

(\*now nII and nIII) Window at St. Martin Micklegate (1320s)

Monument at St. Martin Micklegate with Anglo-French inscription (c.1335-40)

TOPHAM, John (A)

One of wardens of hospital of St. Thomas without Micklegate Bar 1478 (*Reg. CC* p.270)

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Jr. c.1491

TOUTHORP (TOWTHORP), William (A)

Butcher

Will 22 July 1463, pr. 28 Oct 1464 (BI Reg.2 ff.485<sup>r</sup>-486<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in choir of Holy Cross before crucifix within his parish church of Holy Trinity King's Court. His best gown for his mortuary. 26s to high altar for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy. 4 torches for his funeral then to high altar for elevation of host. 4 marks to church for his burial. 14 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul etc for 2 years. 6s 8d to York Minster. 20s to friars minors, Carmelites and preachers for 3 trentals of masses. Bequests to anchorites in Fishergate and Clementhorpe; guild of Corpus Christi, confraternity of St. Mary in chapel near St. Olave; confraternity of St. Mary at Carmelite friars; guild of St. Mary and St. Martin; guild of St. Christopher; confraternity of St. Katherine at Austin friars; maisonndieux, lepers, prisoners and paupers. Lands and tenements to wife Joan. Residue to wife Joan and sons Robert and John.

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with (first) wife Isabel, brother John Towthorpe and wife Margaret 1481

**TOWTHORP, Isabel (A)**

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with husband William, brother-in-law John Towthorpe and his wife Margaret 1481

**TOWTHORP (TOWTHORPE), John (A)**

Butcher

Sheriff 1467 (Drake p.363)

Will 20 Aug 1481, pr. 27 Nov 1481 (BI Reg.5 ff.50<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in Holy Trinity King's Court in the choir of crucifix before image of crucifix. 13s 4d to fabric of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. His best gown to Holy Trinity G for his mortuary. 13s 4d to Holy Trinity KC for burial. 20s to high altar of Holy Trinity G for forgotten tithes. Bequests to parish clergy of Holy Trinity G. 6 torches for his funeral, then half to high altar of Holy Trinity G and half to high altar of Holy Trinity KC. £4 13s 4d a year for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his wife Margaret, his brother William Towthorp and his wife Isabel etc for 6 years. 13s 4d to fabric of one silver lance(?) for crucifix of Holy Trinity KC from goods of late John Towthorp. 5s to each order of friars for a trental of masses. 13s 4d to York Minster. Bequests to paupers; recluses; guild of Corpus Christi; guild of St. Mary in Carmelite house; guild of St. Anthony; guild of St. Helen Grymston. Tenement in the Shambles in which he lives to wife Alice. £20 for funeral. Residue to executors for the good of his soul.

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with (first) wife Margaret, (brother) William Towthorp and wife Isabel 1481

**TOWTHORPE, Margaret (A)**

Monument at Holy Trinity King's Court with husband John, brother-in-law William Towthorp and wife Isabel 1481

**TUNDEW, Agnes**

Widow of William Tunedieu of Beverley

Obituary in register of CC guild 1413-14 (*Reg. CC*, p.240)

**TUNDU (TUNEDIEU/TUNDEW), William**

Of Beverley, free 1351 (*Freemen*, p.46)

Chamberlain 1364; bailiff 1371 (*Freemen*, p.61; Drake p.361)

Will 26 Dec 1398, pr. 20 Jan 1398 (BI reg.3 ff.13<sup>v</sup>-14<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Mary Castlegate. To rector of St. Mary his best gown for his mortuary. 10 lbs wax for his burial. Bequests to parish clergy. Residue to wife Agnes. Executors: wife Agnes and chaplain John de Horselay. 40s to fabric of St. Mary Castlegate.

Augmentation of chantry of Hugh de Sutton at St. George Fishergate 1377 (*CPR 1374-77*, p.462)

**UPSALL, Alyson (A)**

Monument at St. Crux with parents Thomas and Alyson Curtas (1460)

**UPSTALL, Alice**

Widow of Peter, merchant

Will 27 Dec 1430, pr. 5 Jan 1430 (*TE II*, pp.8-9): requests burial in choir of St. Mary next to her sons in her parish church of St. Martin Coney St. 20s to church fabric for her burial. 20s to altar cloth. 20s to Carmelite friars. Bequests to prisoners and shrine of Corpus Christi.

**VAVASOUR, Sir Henry of Haslewood (HA)**

Knight

High sheriff of Yorkshire 1470 (Drake p.353)

Member of CC 1479 (*Reg. CC* p.104)

Will 8 Sep 1499, codicil 4 Apr 11 Henry VII, pr. 15 Apr 1500 (BI Reg.3 f.316<sup>r</sup>; also *TE IV* pp.164-7): requests burial in chapel of St. Leonard Haslewood where his wife (Joan, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne) lies. (no mention of York churches)

Income of appurtenances at altar of St. William in York Minster (*YMB I* p.218)

Chantry at altar of St. Blaise in York Minster; 3 chantries in Tadcaster (*YCC* pp.40, 228, 229)

Arms of Vavasour and Gascoigne on buttresses of S aisle of St. Martin Micklegate (pre-1500)

**VAVASOUR, Joan n<sup>è</sup>e Gascoigne (HA)**

Daughter of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe; wife of Sir Henry Vavasour of Haslewood; and sister of Anne, wife of Sir Hugh Hastings

Arms of Vavasour and Gascoigne on buttresses of S aisle of St. Martin Micklegate (pre-1500)

**VENDER (VENDOR), William (A)**

Yeoman, free 1479 (*Freemen* p.201)

Probate act 4 Feb 1485 (BI Reg. 5 f. 274<sup>r</sup>)

Monument at St. Olave with (wife) Agnes (1485)

VENDOR, Agnes (A)

Monument at St. Olave with (husband) William (1485)

VERDENEL, John

Son of Robert(?)

Chamberlain 1289 (*Freemen* p.4)

VERDENEL, Mariot

Widow of Robert

Presentation of priest Michael of St. Bees to chantry of BVM in St. Saviour 1281 (*Reg. Wickwane* p.41)

VERDENEL, Robert (A)

Chantry in church of St. Saviour late 13C

Monument at St Saviour (\*coffin lid at St. Saviour) (pre-1281)

VERDENEL, Vincent

Son of Robert (?)

Bailiff 1303 (*Drake* p.360)

VERDENELL, Thomas

Son of Robert de Verdenell

Will Tuesday before feast of St. George Mar 1333, no pr. (YML L 2/4 f.16<sup>v</sup>): burial wherever God wills. To church of St. Sampson for his mortuary his best ring. To church of St. Margaret Walmgate his best gown for his mortuary. 5 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul for one year in church of St. Sampson. 3s for 13 masses for his soul in church of St. Margaret. Bequests to wife Margaret.

VESCY, William

Mercer

Will 21 July 1407, pr. 28 July 1407 (BI Reg.3 ff.266<sup>v</sup>-268<sup>v</sup>, also Shaw p.87): requests burial in choir of All Saints North St. 6 lbs wax for his funeral. 8 lbs wax for a candle before sepulchre of Christ at Easter. Bequests to parish clergy of All Saints North St. and of St. John Ousebridge. £37 6s 8d for 7 chaplains to celebrate mass for his soul for 1 year in All Saints North St. £21 for 4 chaplains to celebrate mass for his soul for a further year. Chantry in All Saints North St. from messuage in Micklegate.

Posthumous chantry in All Saints North St. for souls of William, wife Marion etc. licensed for £20 to John de Northeby, merchant, and John Hamerton, clerk, to grant in mortmain to one chaplain 5 messuages, 1410. (*CPR 1408-1413* p.162)

VICARS, Nicholas (A)

Grocer, free 1470 (*Freemen* p.191)

Member of CC 1473

Sheriff 1486 (*Reg. CC* p.93)

Will 21 Jan 1488, pr. 10 May 1489 (BI Reg.5 ff.355<sup>v</sup>-356<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in choir of his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate near lectern. To rector 6s 8d for his burial and his best gown for his mortuary. 5 marks to church fabric to repair 2 books. 10s for forgotten tithes. 15 lbs wax for candles for his funeral. 24 lbs wax for 4 torches for his funeral, then to high altar of St. Michael. Bequests to parish clergy. 7 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his parents and sons etc in his parish church for one year. 20d to light of St. Sithe. 12d for a candle to burn before St. Michael. 10s to friars minors and 5s to other orders. Bequests to guild of St. Christopher and St. George; Guild of St. Anthony; guild of Corpus Christi; fabric of church of St. John of Beverley (Beverley Minster). 20d to York Minster.

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate 1488

VICARS, Thomas (A)

Grocer, free 1487 (*Freemen* p.213)

Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate (sometime between 1490 and 1499)

WAGHEN, Ellen (A)

Wife of John Woghen/Waghen

Member of CC with husband John 1409-10 (*Reg. CC* p.12)

CC obituary 1421-22 (*Reg. CC* pp.12, 242, 246)

Ellen's separate monument at St. Crux 1421

WALKAR (WALCAR/WALKER), John (A)

Rector of Holy Trinity Goodramgate

Member of CC 1462-3, keeper in 1471 (*Reg. CC*, pp.64, 79)

Will 25 Apr 1481, pr. 25 June 1481 (BI Reg.5 ff.108<sup>r-v</sup>): requests burial in cemetery of parish church of All Saints Berkyn (Barking) near Tower of London near S door of cemetery. One chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and soul of Thomas Broune in Holy Trinity G. for one year. 12d to York Minster. Bequests to guild of Corpus Christi and to guild of St. Christopher and St. George. Residue to executors.

(\*windows I, nII, sII) East window of Holy Trinity G. 1471

WALTON, Jannet (A)

Monument at St. Olave

de WANDESFORD, Elias

Clerk

Chantry at altar of St. Nicholas and St. Katherine in Holy Trinity Goodramgate licensed for 2 messuages' rent during his life 1323 (*CPR 1321-24* p.347; *YMB II* p.215; *YCC I* p.53)

WARDALE (de WARDALLE), John (A)

Tanner

Will Saturday before feast of St. Andrew 1395, pr. 30 Dec 1395 (BI Reg.1, f.90<sup>r</sup>, also Shaw p.84): requests burial in All Saints North St. His best gown for his mortuary. 20s for wax for his burial. Bequests to parish clergy. £15 and 7 marks for a chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul. 6s 8d to friars preachers. 6s 8d to York Minster. Bequests to churches in Lindsey. Bequests to wife Helen. Residue to executors: wife Helen, chaplain John de Grimston, butcher Robert de Rolley and tanner Thomas de Burton.

(\*floor slab reused for Stockton brass) Monument at All Saints North St. with wife (Helen) (1395)

WARDE, Robert (A)

Merchant

MP 1402 (Drake p.357)

Administration of goods 9 May 1405 (BI Reg.3 f.234r)

(\*floor slab) Monument at St. Denys (1405)

WARDE, Thomas

Parish clerk of St. Michael Ousebridge

Will 20 May 1447, pr. 3 June 1447 (BI Reg.2 ff.156<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in high choir of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate) near burial of his wife Marion. His best gown for his mortuary. 6s 8d for his burial and forgotten tithes. 6 lbs wax for his funeral, 26s 8d to church fabric. Bequests to parish clergy. 7 marks for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his wife etc for one year. Bequests to guild of St. Christopher, church of All Saints Pocklington. 2s to York Minster. Residue for the good of his soul.

WARTERE, Richard

Goldsmith and merchant, free 1415 (*Freemen* p.124)

Member of CC 1423-4 with wife Alice and daughter Katherine (*Reg. CC*, p.23)

Chamberlain 1426; sheriff 1431; MP 1434; mayor 1436 and 1451 (*Freemen*, pp.150, 170; *Reg. CC* p.23; Drake pp.357, 362-3)

Will 21 May 1458, pr. ... March 1465 (BI Reg.4 ff.115<sup>V</sup>-116B<sup>V</sup>, also *TE II* pp.273-274): requests burial in south aisle of church of St. Saviour next to body of wife Alice under a sarcophagus. 20s for burial. His best gown for his mortuary. 100s for forgotten tithes. 66s 8d to York Minster fabric. 20s to each order of friars and to St. Andrew's priory (Fishergate) for *placebo* (evening funeral service), *dirige* (morning funeral service) and Requiem mass. 100s for one chaplain to celebrate mass for soul of Robert Semer former subtreasurer of York Minster and soul of William Gate for one year. £14 for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of his wives, parents, brothers, sisters etc in Bugthorpe church at altar of St. Mary. Bequests to parish clergy of St. Saviour. 100s each to St. Andrew's priory, Carmelite friars, Franciscan friars, Augustinian friars and friars preachers. Bequests to nunneries, including Clementhorpe, anchoresses, maison dieux. Vestments for St. Saviour. £40 to roof south part of St. Saviour with tiles of lead or more if necessary. 5 marks for perpetual chantry in an aisle of St. Saviour for one chaplain to celebrate at altar of St. Thomas. 25 lbs wax for his funeral, also 10 torches, 5 to remain at high altar of St. Saviour, 5 for other altars. £20 for building of Guildhall if not finished before his death. Residue to chaplain in All Saints Fishergate to celebrate mass for 3 years. (Total bequests worth well over £500)

Posthumous chantry at altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury at St. Saviour for self, wives Alice and Alice etc licensed 1466 to executors. (*CPR 1461-67* p.520; *YCC I* p.62)

WARTRE, Alice

(Second) wife of Richard Wartre, goldsmith

Member of CC 1429-30 (*Reg. CC*, p.29)

de WATEBY, Richard

Chamberlain 1350; mayor 1363 and 1364 (*Freemen*, pp.45, 59-61)

Posthumous chantry at altar of St. Katherine in St. John Ousebridge licensed 1379 to daughter Joan and son-in-law Richard de Hebden. (*YMB I* p.37; *YMB II* p.273)

WELLES, Avice (A)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with husband Richard (1426)

WELLES, Richard (A)

Chandler

Administration of goods to son John 30 May 1426 (BI Reg.2 f.492r)

Monument at All Saints Pavement with wife Avice (1426)

WESTBE, Matilda (A)

Wife of William

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. 1486



WIGAN, Adam

Rector of St. Saviour.

Will 20 Apr 1433, pr. 11 Oct 1433 (BI Reg.3 ff.363<sup>f-v</sup>, also *TE II* pp.25-26): requests burial in cemetery of St. Saviour. 10 lbs wax for his funeral. A gradual to St. Saviour. 5 marks to roof vestry and for aumbry in said vestry to store vestments and books. Bequests to parish clergy. 7 marks for master Richard Stapilton of Balliol College Oxford to celebrate mass for his soul and souls of parents etc for one year. 6s 8d to each order of friars. Bequests to lepers; prisoners; recluses; anchoresses in Thorganby, Beston and York (at All Saints Fishergate, St. Margaret, and All Saints North St.); the poor of his parish. Executors chaplains John Maltster and Elias Young, residue to executors for the good of his soul.

..., WILFRID (A)

Priest

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Jr.

..., WILLIAM (A)

Window at St. Martin Micklegate with brothers Robert, Henry, John, Nicholas and sisters Judith, Margaret, Alice, Isabel wife of Roger Moreton, Helen, Constance and Joan (late 14C).

..., WILLIAM (A)

(\*limestone slab with Lombardic inscription: + *Williamus gist icy dev de sa alme eiy mercy amen+*) Monument at St. Mary Castlegate 14C (pre-1340)

..., WILLIAM (A)

Armiger

Monument at Holy Trinity Micklegate with wife

de ..., WILLIAM (A)

Priest

Monument at Holy Trinity Micklegate 1482

WILOBY, ? (A)

(\* now nIII, Prick of Conscience) Window in N aisle, All Saints North St., with Roger & Cecily Henrison, Abel & Agnes Hesyl and others, possibly including John & Alice Bolton. (1st quarter 15C)

WILTON, Ellen (A)

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. with husband Thomas 1425

WILTON, Thomas (A)

Monument at St. Mary Bishophill Sr. with wife Ellen 1425

WOGHEN (WAGHEN), John (A)

Mercer

Member of CC 1409-10 with wife Ellen; CC obituary for John 1431-32

Chamberlain 1413, sheriff 1417 (*Reg. CC* pp.12, 242, 246; Drake p.362)

Monument at St. Crux (1421 according to antiquarian notes, 1431 according to CC evidence)

WOLVENDEN, Robert

Treasurer of York Minster

Will 4 Sep 1432, pr. 23 Nov 1432 (*TE III* p.91): bequest of £6 13s. 4d. to Robert Semer subtreasurer of York Minster (and vicar of St. Michael-le-Belfrey); bequest of book called *Summa summarum* to Robert Semer vicar of church of St. Martin Coney St.

WYLSO (WILSON), William (A)

Harman and goldsmith, free 1490

Member of CC 1492

Chamberlain 1504; sheriff 1505; mayor 1513 (*Reg. CC* p.135; Drake pp.363-4)

Will 10 Sep 1517, pr. (?) 1518 (BI Reg.9 f.52<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in choir of St. John Baptist in south choir in his parish church of St. Michael Ousebridge (Spurriergate).

(\*brass with rectangular plate) Monument at St. Michael Spurriergate (1518)

WYMAN, Agnes (A)

Widow of Henry, goldsmith and merchant; daughter of John Barden

Member of CC (? no date) obituary 1413-14

Bequeathed to CC a large bowl of maple wood with silver gilt binding known as Scrope indulgence cup (*Reg. CC* pp.240-292)

(\*brass in St. Crux parish room) Monument at St. Crux with husband Henry 1411-13

WYMAN, Henry (A)

Goldsmith and merchant, free 1386 (*Freemen* p. 85)

Bailiff 1388; mayor 1407-09 (Drake pp.361-2)

Member of CC (?no date) obituary 1411-12 (*Reg. CC* p.239)

(\*brass in St. Crux parish room) Monument at St. Crux with wife Agnes 1411-13

YAROM, William

Mercer

Will 31 Aug 1436, pr. 8 Sep 1436 (BI Reg.3 ff.466<sup>v</sup>-467<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in south choir of his parish church of St. Michael Spurriergate near burial of his sons. His best gown for his mortuary. 20s for forgotten tithes. 8 lbs wax for his funeral. Bequests to parish chaplains. 6s 8d to York Minster. 6s 8d to each order of friars. Bequests to maison dieux; blind and infirm; road repairs; St. Clement's nunnery; St. Andrew's priory (Fishergate); prisoners. 6s 8d to fabric of St. Sampson. Tenements on corner of Ousegate and Nessgate; outside Monk Bar, with a garden; on corner of Ousegate and Coney St. Residue: one half to wife Katherine and son Richard equally, other half for the good of his soul.

YHOLE (YOULE), John (A)

Merchant/mercier

Bailiff 1367 (Drake p.361)

Will 13 Dec 1390, pr. 8 Jan 1391 (BI Reg.1 ff.43<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>r</sup>): requests burial in St. Leonard's hospital under a marble stone placed there during his life. 13s 4d to sacristy for his mortuary. 50 lbs wax for his funeral, then half to St. Leonard's and half to his parish church of St. Wilfrid. 8 torches for his funeral, then 2 to St. Wilfrid, 2 to St. Leonard, 2 to Northallerton parish church, and 2 to Carmelite friars in Northallerton. Bequests to St. Leonard's hospital. Bequests to St. Wilfrid's parish clergy (28 chaplains). 40s to altar of St. Nicholas in church of St. Wilfrid; £6 for priest's vestments and his missal.

(\*coffin lid now at Holy Trinity Goodramgate) Monument at St. Leonard's moved to Holy Trinity Goodramgate by 1691 (1391) (Torre p.30)

YOLE (JOLE), Laurence (A)

Mason, living in Bootham

Free 1473 (*Freemen* p.194)

Will 4 July 1485, pr. 4 Feb 1485 (BI Reg.5 f.273<sup>v</sup>): requests burial in his parish church of St. Olave. 26s 8d for his funeral (to gather friends and neighbours). For his mortuary as is the custom (i.e. his best gown). 3 stone windows for the building of the bell tower in his parish church. 13s 4d to fabric of said bell tower. 12d to guild of BVM. 6s 8d for forgotten tithes. 5s to each order of friars. 20s for one chaplain to celebrate mass for his soul etc for 24 years. 66s 8d to wife Alice. Residue to executors, i.e. wife Alice and chaplain John Rudby, for the good of his soul.

Monument at St. Olave (1485)

YORKE, Joan n<sup>è</sup>e Maleverer (A)

(\* now in YM nXIX and nXX) Window at St. John Ousebridge with husband Richard and his other wife Joan, 7 sons and 4 daughters pre-1498

YORKE, Joan (A)

(\* now in YM nXIX and nXX) Window at St. John Ousebridge with husband Richard and his other wife Joan, 7 sons and 4 daughters pre-1498

YORK (YORKE), Sir Richard (A)

Mercer

Member of CC 1489 (*Reg. CC*, p.126)

Sheriff 1466; Mayor of the Staple of Calais 1467; mayor 1469, 1482; MP 1473 (Drake p.357); knighted 1487 (*Reg. CC* p.72; Drake p.363)

Governor of York Mercers 1475 (*YM & MA* p.322)

Will 8 Apr 1498, pr. 17 July 1498 (*TE IV* pp.134-137): requests burial in church of St. John Ousebridge before image of Trinity in his own tomb built there. His executors to found a chantry he had wanted to found at St. John Hungate at their discretion. Repairs to tiles and roof of choir of St. John to be carried out according to indenture between himself and carpenters. To church of St. John: 20 ulns of purple velvet for copes and one orfray of cloth woven with gold thread containing the image of the Passion of the Lord upon condition that parishioners undertake to buy of their own costs one cope worth £100 - otherwise orfray etc is bequeathed to St. Mary's Abbey.

His son Thomas (died 1515, *TE IV*, p.135) owned YML MS.XVI.M.4 *Manuale cum Notis* 15C (p.vii: '*Thomas Zorke haw Thys Bwke*', 15C/16C) (Ker and Piper pp.743-744)

(Posthumous) chantry at altar of BVM in St. John Ousebridge (*YCC I* p.78)

(\* now in YM nXIX and nXX) Window at St. John Ousebridge with 2 wives Joan and Joan, 7 sons and 4 daughters 1498

(\*altar tomb with modern brass) Monument at St. John Ousebridge 1498

(\*Roof bosses at St. John Ousebridge (pre-1498)

(\* (?)late 15C lectern with unidentified merchant's mark at St. John Ousebridge, now in church at Upper Poppleton (pre-1498)

## List of Abbreviations

- AASRP = Associated Architectural Society Reports and Papers ·
- Add. = London, British Library, Add. MS.
- Age of Chivalry = Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, (London 1987)
- Art in Nuremberg = Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg eds., *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550*, (New York and Munich 1986)
- AJ = Antiquaries Journal
- BAACT = British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions
- Benson 1914 = G. Benson, 'The Ancient Painted Glass Windows in the Minster and Churches of the City of York', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society for 1914* (1915)
- BIHR = Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (York)
- BI Reg. = Borthwick Institute, York Probate Register
- BJRL = Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
- BL = London, British Library
- BMF = *Beverley Minster Fasti*, ed. Richard T.W.McDermid, YASRS 149 for 1990, (Huddersfield 1993)
- Brooke = London, College of Arms, MS. Five notebooks in a slipcase by John Charles Brooke, *Somerset Herald*, 1785, vol.'20'
- BSMG-PJ = British Society of Master Glass-Painters Journal
- Burke = Sir Bernard Burke, *The General Armory*, (London 1884)
- CC = Guild of Corpus Christi
- CCR = Calendar of Close Rolls
- C of A = London, College of Arms
- Complete Peerage = *The Complete Peerage*, ed. G. E. Cockayne, rev. and eds. V. Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday, Lord Howard de Walden, G. H. White and R. S. Lea, (12 vols. London 1910-53)
- CPR = Calendar of Patent Rolls
- CVMA = *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevii*
- C&W = Hubert Chesshyre and Thomas Woodcock, *Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary Vol.1*, Society of Antiquaries, (London 1992)
- D&O'C = C. Davidson and D.E.O'Connor, *York Art. A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art including Items Relevant to Early Drama*, Early Drama, Art and Music Reference Series 1, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1978)
- DNB = *Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, (21 vols., London 1917-50)

- Dobson 1984 = Barrie Dobson, 'Mendicant Ideal and Practice in Late Medieval York', in *Archaeological Papers from York presented to M.W.Barley*, eds. P.V.Addyman and V.E.Black, (York 1984), 109-122
- Dodsworth 157 = Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Dodsworth 157, 1618-19
- Dodsworth 161 = Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Dodsworth 161, 1618-19
- Domesday = D.M.Palliser, *Domesday York*, Borthwick Paper no.78, (York 1990)
- Drake = F. Drake, *Eboracum*, (London 1736)
- EcHR = Economic History Review
- Emden *Cambridge* = A.B.Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, (Cambridge 1953)
- Emden *Oxford II* = A.B.Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500. Vol.II*, (Oxford 1958)
- EnHR = English Historical Review
- EYC I-III = *Early Yorkshire Charters I-III*, ed. William Farrer, (Edinburgh 1914-16)
- EYC IV = *Early Yorkshire Charters IV. The Honour of Richmond. Part I*, ed. Charles Travis Clay, YASRS Extra Series Vol.I 1935
- EYC VI = *Early Yorkshire Charters VI The Paynel Fee*, ed. C.T.Clay, YASRS Extra Series Vol.III, (Wakefield 1939)
- Fabric Rolls = *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, ed. J. Raine, SS 35 (1859)
- Freemen = *Register of the Freemen of the City of York 1272-1558*, ed. Francis Collins, SS 96 (1896)
- Gent = T. Gent, *The Antient and Modern History of the Famous City of York*, (London 1730)
- Glover = *The Visitation of Yorkshire made in the Years 1584-5 by Robert Glover Somerset Herald...*, Ed. Joseph Foster, (London 1875)
- Glover Add.18011 = London, British Library, Add. MS. 18011, Robert Glover, 'Book of Entrances, 1584-5
- Glover CA = London, College of Arms, Robert Glover, 'Book of Entrances' 1584-5
- Glover Harley 1394 = London, British Library, MS. Harley 1394, Robert Glover, 'The Visitation of Yorkshire by Robert Glover', 1584-5
- Glover Harley 1420 = London, British Library, MS. Harley 1420, 'The Visitation of Yorkshire by Robert Glover' 1584-5
- Harrison 1927 = F. Harrison, *The Painted Glass of York*, (London 1927)
- Harley = London, British Library, Harley MS.
- Hutton York Minster = York Minster Library, MS. XVI.L.14, Matthew Hutton, 'Antiquities of Yorkshire'
- Hutton Lansdown = London, British Library, MS. Lansdown 919, 'A collection of armorial ensigns and monumental and other inscriptions in various churches in the counties of York etc.'

- JBAA = Journal of the British Archaeological Association
- JEH = Journal of Ecclesiastical History
- Johnston = Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Henry Johnston
- Keep = Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O.4.33, Henry Keep, '*Monumenta Eboracensia*', 1680
- Ker and Piper = N.R.Ker and A.J.Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries IV*, (Oxford 1992)
- Knowles 1936 = J.A.Knowles, *Essays in the History of the York School of Glass-Painting*, (London 1936)
- NCW = *North Country Wills 1383-1558*, ed. John W.Clay, SS 116 (1908)
- OED = *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. C.T.Onions, (2 vols. Oxford 1974)
- Palliser 1979 = D.M.Palliser, *Tudor York*, (Oxford 1979)
- Papworth = John W.Papworth and Alfred J.Morant, *Ordinary of Armorial*, (London 1874)
- PMLA = Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
- PYAYAS = Proceedings of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society
- RCHM York 3 = RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York vol.III. South-West of the Ouse*, (London 1972)
- RCHM York 4 = RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York vol.IV. Outside the City Walls East of the Ouse*, (London 1975)
- RCHM York 5 = RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York vol.V. Central Area*, (London 1981)
- Reg. CC = *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, ed. R. H. Skaife, SS 57 (1871)
- Reg. Corbridge = *The Register of Thomas Corbridge Archbishop of York 1300-1304*, Vol.I, ed. William Brown SS 138 1925; Vol.II eds. William Brown and A.Hamilton Thompson, SS 141 1928
- Reg. Giffard = *The Register of Walter Giffard Lord Archbishop of York 1266-1279*, ed. William Brown, SS 109 (1904)
- Reg. Gray = *The Register or Rolls of Walter Gray Lord Archbishop of York*, ed. J. Raine, SS 56 (1872)
- Reg. Greenfield II = *The Register of William Greenfield Lord Archbishop of York 1306-1315 II*, eds. W. Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson. SS 149 (1934)
- Reg. Greenfield V = *The Register of William Greenfield Lord Archbishop of York 1306-1315 V*, eds. W. Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson, SS 153 (1938)
- Reg. Romeyn = *The Register of John le Romeyn Lord Archbishop of York 1286-1296. Vol.I*, ed. William Brown SS 123 (1913)

- Reg. Wickwane = *The Register of William Wickwane Lord Archbishop of York 1279-1285*, ed. William Brown, SS 114 (1907)
- Scrope and Grosvenor = *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry 1385-1390*, ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas, (2 vols., London 1832)
- Shaw = P.J.Shaw, *An Old York Church. All Hallows in North Street*, (York 1908)
- SS = Surtees Society
- Stephenson = Mill Stephenson, 'Monumental Brasses in the City of York', *YAJ* 18 (1905), 1-67
- TBGAS = Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
- TBGRS = Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Record Society
- TE I-VI = *Testamenta Eboracensia I-VI*, SS 4 (1836); 30 (1860); 45 (1864); 53 (1868); 79 (1884); 106 (1902)
- THSLC = Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire
- Torre = York Minster Library MS. L I/8, J. Torre, 'Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York concerning Churches Parochiall', 1691
- TRHS = Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
- TVI = *Testamenta Vetusta I*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, (London 1826)
- Vale I = Brigitte Pamela Vale, 'The Scropes of Bolton and Masham c.1300-c.1450', York D.Phil.1988 vol.I
- Valor Ecclesiasticus* = *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henrici VIII. Vol. V*, ed. J. Caley, Record Commission (1825)
- VCHY = *The City of York*, ed. P.M.Tillot, Victoria County History, ed. R.B.Pugh, (London 1961)
- W&I I = *Wills and Inventories I*, ed. J. Raine, SS 2 (1835)
- YAJ = Yorkshire Archaeological Journal
- YASRS = Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series
- YCA = York City Archives
- YCC = *The Certificates of the Commissioners appointed to survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals etc. in the county of York vols. I and II*, ed. W. Page, SS 91 (1892) and 92 (1893) (continuous pagination)
- YCGI = *The Inventories of Church Goods for the Counties of York, Durham and Northumberland*, ed. W.Page, SS 97 (1896)
- YCR III = *York Civic Records III*, ed.A.Raine YASRS 107 (1942)
- YCR IV = *York Civic Records IV*, ed.A.Raine, YASRS 108 (1943)
- YCR V = *York Civic Records V*, (ed.A.Raine), YASRS 110 (1944)
- YCR VII = *York Civic Records VII*, (ed.A.Raine), YASRS 115 (1949)



- YCWI = *York Clergy Wills 1520-1600. Vol.I Minster Clergy*, (ed. Claire Cross), Borthwick Texts and Calendars, (York 1984)
- YMB I = *The York Memorandum Book I*, (ed.M.Sellers), SS 120 (1911)
- YMB II = *The York Memorandum Book II*, (ed.M.Sellers), SS 125 (1914)
- YMB III = *The York Memorandum Book III*, (ed.Joyce W.Percy), SS 186 (1969)
- YML = York Minster Library
- YM & MA = *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917*, (ed. Maud Sellers), SS 129 (1917)

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### Manuscripts

- Antwerp (Belgium), Museum Plantin-Moretus MS 83 (formerly Lat.67), Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, (13C)
- Cambridge Trinity College MS. O.4.33. Henry Keep, '*Monumenta Eboracensia*', (1680)
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 6747, Sketches in pen and ink of windows
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 6752, Note- and sketch-books
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 18011, 'The Book of Entrances made in the tyme of the Visitation of Yorkshire begon 1584 and continued Anno domini 1585 by Robert Glover alias Somerset Herald'
- London, British Library, Add. MS. 18193, *Horae BVM*, Spanish work (post-1461)
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 24469, Copy of pedigrees from Dugdale's Yorkshire Visitation 1665-6
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 29644, William Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire 1665-6
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 29929, John Carter, 'Architectural and Monumental Drawings', 1790
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 29941, John Carter, 'Architectural and Monumental Drawings', 1806
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 38017, Dugdale's Yorkshire Pedigrees
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 32481, Rev G. Rowe brass rubbings
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 37139, C.A. Buckler drawings
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 39912, George Rowe, *Memorial Floor Slabs in England and Wales vol.I*, (York 1879)
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 39913, George Rowe, *Memorial Slabs in England and Wales vol. II*, (York 1880)
- London, British Library MS. Add. 39914, George Rowe, *Memorial Slabs in England and Wales vol. III*, (York 1881)
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 39915, George Rowe, *Memorial Slabs in England and Wales vol. IV*, (York 1882)
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 39916, George Rowe, *Memorial Slabs in England and Wales vol. V*, (unpublished)
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 42003, Edward Blore drawings vol. 6
- London, British Library, MS. Add. 42006, Edward Blore drawings vol. 7
- London, British Library, MS. Harley 1394, 'The Visitation of Yorkshire by Robert Glover Somerset Herald' 1584-5
- London, British Library, MS. Harley 1415, 'The Visitation of Yorkshire 1585, the book of entrances by Robert Glover'
- London, British Library, MS. Harley 1420, 'The Visitation of Yorkshire by Robert Glover Somerset Herald' 1584-5
- London, British Library, MS. Harley 1487, 'The Visitation of Yorkshire by Robert Glover Somerset Herald' 1584-5
- London, British Library, MS. Lansdowne 919, A collection of armorial ensigns and monumental and other inscriptions in various churches in the counties of York etc. 1659
- London, College of Arms, MS. 'The Book of Entrances made in the tyme of the Visitation of Yorkshire begon 1584 and continued Anno domini 1585 by Robert Glover alias Somerset Herald'
- London, College of Arms, MS. Dugdale's Yorkshire Arms, (1641-1667)

London, College of Arms, MS. 'Armes etc. in the churches of Yorkeshire, Northumberland and  
 Bishoprick of Durham' (William Dugdale's field notebook 1665)  
 London, College of Arms, MS. Five Notebooks by John Charles Brooke Somerset Herald 1785  
 Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Dodsworth 157, (1618-19)  
 Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Dodsworth 161, (1618-19)  
 Oxford Bodleian Library MS. Topographical Yorkshire C14, Henry Johnston, (1669-70)  
 York, BIHR, Dean and Chapter Wills Vol.5 (1557-1638)  
 York, BIHR, PR Y/MS.3 St. Michael's Spurriergate churchwardens draft account book (1537-  
 1548)  
 York, BIHR, PR Y/MS.4 St. Michael's Spurriergate churchwardens accounts (1518-1547)  
 York BIHR, York Probate Registers 1-10, 13B, 15B  
 York City Archives, G 24B, Indenture between Prior and Augustinian Convent of York and Thomas  
 del Gare senior, (17 August 1425)  
 York City Archives, G 28A, Indenture between Prior and Augustinian Convent of York and John  
 Shaw, merchant of York, (10 June 1502)  
 York Minster Library MS.L 2/4 Wills I (1321-1493)  
 York Minster Library MS.L 2/5 Wills II (1493-1543)  
 York Minster Library MS.LI/6 James Torre, 'Archdeaconry of York'  
 York Minster Library MS.LI/7 James Torre 'York Minster' (1690-91)  
 York Minster Library MS.LI/8 James Torre, 'Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York  
 concerning Churches Parochiall' (1691)  
 York Minster Library MS.XVI.D.13 '*Biblia*', (15C)  
 York Minster Library MS.XVI.K.6 '*Horae*', (15C)  
 York Minster Library. MS.XVI.L.14. Matthew Hutton, 'Antiquities of Yorkshire', (1659)  
 York Minster Library MS.XVI.M.4 '*Manuale cum Notis*', (15C)  
 York Minster Library MS.Add.2 'Bolton Hours', (15C)  
 York Minster Library MS.Add.115 '*Breviarium*' (mid-15C)  
 York Minster Library MS.Add.220/1, E.Brunskill, 'Collections relating to the Church and Parish of  
 St. Michael's Ousebridge alias Spurriergate', (c.1950)

### Printed Sources

*Beverley Minster Fasti*, (ed.) Richard T. W. McDermid, YASRS 149 for 1990, (Huddersfield  
 1993)  
*CCR 1279-1288*, (London 1902)  
*CCR 1349-1354*, (London 1972)  
*CCR 1364-1368*, (London 1910)  
*CCR 1381-1385*, (London 1920)  
*CPR 1307-1313*, (London 1894)  
*CPR 1313-1317*, (London 1898)  
*CPR 1317-1321*, (London 1903)  
*CPR 1321-1324*, (London 1904)  
*CPR 1324-1327*, (London 1904)  
*CPR 1327-1330*, (London 1904)  
*CPR 1330-1334*, (London 1972)  
*CPR 1334-1338*, (London 1972)  
*CPR 1338-1340*, (London 1898)  
*CPR 1348-1350*, (London 1905)  
*CPR 1350-1354*, (London 1907)  
*CPR 1358-1361*, (London 1911)  
*CPR 1361-1364*, (London 1912)  
*CPR 1364-1367*, (London 1912)  
*CPR 1367-1370*, (London 1913)

CPR 1370-1374, (London 1914)  
 CPR 1374-1377, (London 1916)  
 CPR 1377-1381, (London 1971)  
 CPR 1381-1385, (London 1971)  
 CPR 1385-1389, (London 1971)  
 CPR 1391-1396, (London 1971)  
 CPR 1399-1401, (London 1903)  
 CPR 1401-1405, (London 1905)  
 CPR 1405-1408, (London 1907)  
 CPR 1408-1413, (London 1909)  
 CPR 1416-1422, (London 1911)  
 CPR 1452-1461, (London 1910)  
 CPR 1461-1467, (London 1897)  
 CPR 1485-1494, (London 1914)  
 Drake, F., *Eboracum*, (London 1736)  
*Early Lincoln Wills 1280-1547*, (ed.) Alfred Gibbons, (Lincoln 1888)  
*Early Yorkshire Charters I*, (ed.) William Farrar, (Edinburgh 1914)  
*Early Yorkshire Charters II*, (ed.) William Farrar, (Edinburgh 1915)  
*Early Yorkshire Charters III*, (ed.) William Farrar, (Edinburgh 1916)  
*Early Yorkshire Charters IV. The Honour of Richmond. Part I*, (ed.) Charles Travis Clay, YASRS  
 Extra Series Vol.I (1935)  
*Early Yorkshire Charters VI The Paynel Fee*, (ed.) Charles Travis Clay, YASRS Extra Series  
 vol.III, (Wakefield 1939)  
*Early Yorkshire Families*, (ed.) Sir Charles Clay, YASRS 135 (1973)  
 Gent, T., *The Antient and Modern History of the Famous City of York*, (London 1730)  
 Halfpenny, Joseph, *Fragmenta Vetusta*, (York 1807)  
 Henry, Avril, *Biblia Pauperum*, (London 1987)  
*Memorials of Beverley Minster: The Chapter Act Book of the Collegiate Church of St. John of  
 Beverley AD 1286-1347*, (ed.) Arthur F. Leach, Vol.I SS 98 (1897), Vol.II SS 108 (1903)  
*North Country Wills 1383-1558*, (ed.) John W. Clay, SS 116 (1908)  
*Register of the Freemen of the City of York. Vol. I. 1272-1558*, (ed.) F. Collins, SS 96 (1896)  
 'Subsidy Roll for York and the Ainsty' (ed.) E. Peacock, YAJ 4 (1875-6), 170-201  
*Testamenta Eboracensia I*, (ed.) J. Raine, SS 4 (1836)  
*Testamenta Eboracensia II*, (ed.) J. Raine, SS 30 (1860)  
*Testamenta Eboracensia III*, (ed.) J. Raine, SS 45 (1864)  
*Testamenta Eboracensia IV*, (ed.) J. Raine, SS 53 (1868)  
*Testamenta Eboracensia V*, (ed.) J. Raine, SS 79 (1884)  
*Testamenta Eboracensia VI*, (ed.) J. W. Clay, SS 106 (1902)  
*Testamenta Vetusta I*, (ed.) N. H. Nicolas, (London 1826)  
*The Certificates of the Commissioners appointed to survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals, etc.  
 in the County of York I and II*, (ed.) W. Page, SS 91 (1892) and SS 92 (1893)  
*The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry  
 1385-1390*, (ed.) Sir N. H. Nicolas, (2 vols., London 1832)  
*The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, (ed.) J. Raine, SS 35 (1859)  
*The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, (ed.) F.S.Ellis, (7  
 vols., London 1922)  
*The Inventories of Church Goods for the Counties of York, Durham and Northumberland*, (ed.)  
 W. Page, SS 97 (1896)  
*The Percy Chartulary*, (ed.) M. T. Martin, SS 117 (1909)  
*The Pricke of Conscience*, (ed.) R. Morris, (Berlin 1863)  
*The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, (ed.) R. H. Skaife, SS 57 (1871)  
*The Register of John le Romeyn Lord Archbishop of York 1286-1296 Vol.I*, (ed.) William Brown  
 SS 123 (1913)

- The Register of Thomas Corbridge Archbishop of York 1300-1304 Vol.I*, (ed.) William Brown, SS 138 (1925)
- The Register of Thomas Corbridge Archbishop of York 1300-1304 Vol.II*, eds. William Brown and A.Hamilton Thompson, SS 141 (1928)
- The Register of Walter Giffard Lord Archbishop of York 1266-1279*, (ed.) William Brown, SS 109 (1904)
- The Register or Rolls of Walter Gray Lord Archbishop of York 1215-1255*, (ed.) J. Raine, SS 56 (1872)
- The Register of William Greenfield Lord Archbishop of York 1306-1315 II*, eds. W. Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson, SS 149 (1934)
- The Register of William Greenfield Lord Archbishop of York 1306-1315 V*, eds. W. Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson, SS 153 (1938)
- The Register of William Wickwane Lord archbishop of York 1279-1285*, (ed.) W. Brown, SS 114 (1904)
- The Visitation of Yorkshire made in the Year 1584/5 by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald...*, (ed.) Joseph Foster, (London 1875)
- The York Memorandum Book I*, (ed.) M. Sellers, SS 120 (1912)
- The York Memorandum Book II*, (ed.) M. Sellers, SS 125 (1914)
- The York Memorandum Book III*, (ed.) J.W.Percy, SS 186 (1969)
- The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917*, (ed.) Maud Sellers, SS 129 (1917)
- The York Missal*, (ed.) W. Henderson, SS 59 (1872)
- Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henrici VIII, Vol.V*, eds. J.Caley and J.Hunter, Record Commission (1825)
- Wills and Inventories I*, (ed.) J. Raine, SS 2 (1835)
- York Civic Records III*, (ed.) A.Raine, YASRS 107 (1942)
- York Civic Records IV*, (ed.) A.Raine, YASRS 108 (1943)
- York Civic Records V*, (ed.) A.Raine, YASRS 110 (1944)
- York Civic Records VII*, (ed.) A.Raine, YASRS 115 (1949)
- York Clergy Wills 1520-1600 Vol.I Minster Clergy*, (ed.) Claire Cross, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, (York 1984)

## Secondary Sources

(in alphabetical order by author and in chronological order for each author)

- Anonymous, *Views of the Parish Churches in York* (York 1831)
- Addyman, P.V., and V.E.Black, eds., *Archaeological Papers from York presented to M.W.Barley*, York Archaeological Trust, (York 1984)
- Alexander, Jonathan and Binski, Paul eds., *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, (London 1987)
- Almond, Richard Lewis, 'Nicholas Blackburn, a Medieval Conundrum', York M.A. essay 1990
- Almond, Richard, 'All Saints' Church, York, the Blackburn Window: a Medieval Conundrum', *Medieval Life* 1 (1995), 26-30
- Anderson, M.D., *Misericords. Medieval Life in English Woodcarvings*, (Harmondsworth 1956)
- Anderson, M. D., *The Imagery of British Churches*, (London 1955)
- Anderson, M. D., *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches*, (Cambridge 1963)
- Andrews, Gill, 'Archaeology in York: An Assessment', in *Archaeological Papers presented to M.W.Barley*, eds. P.V.Addyman and V.E.Black, (York 1984), 173-208
- Ashley, Kathleen, and Sheingorn, Pamela eds., *Interpreting Cultural Symbols. Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, (Athens, Georgia, and London 1990)
- Aveling, S.T. (ed.), *Boutell's Heraldry*, (London 1898)

- Badham, Sally, 'Monumental Brasses: the Development of the York Workshops in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, (ed.) C. Wilson, BAACT for 1983, (Leeds 1989), 165-185
- Baker, Timothy, *Medieval London*, (London 1970)
- Barnett, C., 'The St. Cuthbert Window of York Minster and the Iconography of St. Cuthbert in the Late Middle Ages', York M.A. diss. (1991)
- Bartlett, J.N., 'The Expansion and Decline of York in the Later Middle Ages', *EcHR* second series 12 (1959-60), 17-33
- Beadle, Richard and King, Pamela eds., *York Mystery Plays*, (Oxford 1984)
- Bean, J. W., *The Estates of the Percy Family 1416-1537*, (Oxford 1958)
- Bean, J. M. W., 'Henry IV and the Percies', *History* 44 (1959), 212-227
- Benson, G., 'The Church and Parish of St. Martin-cum-Gregory', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society* (1904), 37-48
- Benson, G., 'The Ancient Painted Glass Windows in the Minster and Churches of the City of York', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society* for 1914 (1915)
- Bentham, James, *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely*, (Cambridge 1771)
- Betjeman, John (ed.), *Collins Guide to English Parish Churches*, (London 1958)
- Biggins, James M., *Historians of York*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications no.10, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, (London and York 1956)
- Bilson, John, 'St. Mary's Church Beverley', *YAJ* 25 (1920), 357-436
- Blair, John (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition 950-1200*, (Oxford 1988)
- Blair, John, 'Purbeck Marble', in *English Medieval Industries*, (eds.) John Blair and Nigel Ramsay, (London 1991), 41-56
- Blair, John and Ramsay, Nigel, *English Medieval Industries*, (London 1991)
- Blair, John and Sharpe, Richard, eds., *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, (Leicester 1992)
- Blum, Shirley Neilsen, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs. A Study in Patronage*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969)
- Bomford, D.; Dunkerton J.; Gordon D.; and Roy A., *Art in the Making: Italian Painting Before 1400*, (London 1989)
- Bond, F., *Fonts and Font Covers*, (London New York and Toronto 1908)
- Bond, F., *Wood Carvings in English Churches I. Misericords*, (London 1910)
- Bond, F., *The Chancel of English Churches*, (Oxford 1916)
- Bond, Hallie Elizabeth, 'Life in the Urban Parish on the Eve of the Reformation - St. Michael Spurriergate 1500-1550', York M.A. diss. (1979)
- Borenius, Tancred, *St. Thomas Becket in Art*, (London 1932)
- Boutell, Charles, *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, revised by A.C. Fox-Davies, (London 1914)
- Bowens, B.G., *Wills and Their Whereabouts*, (Bridge Place near Canterbury 1963)
- Brandenburg, Ton, 'St. Anne and Her Family', in *Saints and She-Devils*, (ed.) Lène Dresen-Coenders, (London 1987), 101-127
- Brooke, Iris, *English Costume of the Later Middle Ages. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, (London 1935)
- Browne, J., 'Notices on the Painted Glass of the Churches of York', *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute* (1846)
- Brucker, Gene Adam, 'Monasteries, Friaries and Nunneries in Quattrocento Florence', in *Christianity and the Renaissance*, eds. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, (Syracuse N.Y. 1990), pp.41-62
- Brunskill, E., 'Two Hundred Years of Parish Life in York', *PYAYAS* (1950-51), 17-58
- Burgess, Clive, "'For the Increase of Divine Service": Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol', *JEH* 36 (1985), 46-65
- Burgess, Clive, "'By Quick and By Dead": Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol', *EnHR* 102 (1987), 837-858

- Burke, Sir Bernard, *The General Armory*, (London 1884)
- Camille, Michael, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History* 8 (1985), 26-49
- Camille, Michael, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, (Cambridge 1989)
- Camille, Michael, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art*, (London 1992)
- Campbell, Lorne, *Van Der Weyden*, (London 1979)
- Cave, C.J.P., *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches*, (Cambridge 1948)
- Caviness, Madeline, 'Fifteenth-Century Stained Glass from the Chapel of Hampton Court, Herefordshire: the Apostles' Creed and Other Subjects', *Walpole Society* 42 (1968-70), 35-60
- Caviness, Madeline, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral c.1175-1220*, (Princeton NJ 1977)
- Caviness, Madeline H., 'Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?', in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, (ed.) Bernard S. Levy, (Binghamton New York 1992), 103-147
- Centre National des Recherches Primitifs Flamands and Detroit Institute of Arts, *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, (Detroit 1960)
- Cheetham, Francis, *English Medieval Alabasters*, (Oxford 1984)
- Chesshyre, Hubert and Woodcock, Thomas, *Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary Vol.1*, Society of Antiquaries, (London 1992)
- Clanchy, M.T., *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066-1307*, 2nd. (ed.), (Oxford 1993)
- Clark, Peter, 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns 1580-1640', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, eds. Peter Clark and Paul Slack, (London 1972), 117-163
- Clark, Peter and Slack, Paul, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, (London 1972)
- Clough, C.H. (ed.), *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England*, (Liverpool 1982)
- Cockayne, G. E. et al., *The Complete Peerage*, (13 vols., London 1910-59)
- Coldstream, Nicola, 'The Kingdom of Heaven: Its Architectural Setting', in *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, (London 1987), pp.92-97
- Coldstream, Nicola and Draper, Peter, eds., *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, BAACT 3 for 1977, (Leeds 1980)
- Collingwood, W. G. 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture at York', *YAJ* 20 (1909), 149-213
- Collins, F. (ed.), *Index of Wills in the York Registry 1389 to 1514*, YASRS 6 (1888)
- Collins, F., *Index of Wills in the York Registry 1514-1553*, YASRS 11 (1891)
- Collins, F., *Index of Wills from the Dean and Chapter's Court at York AD 1321 to 1626*, YASRS 38 (1907)
- Colvin, H. M., *The White Canons in England*, (Oxford 1951)
- Cook, G. H., *The English Medieval Parish Church*, (London 1961)
- Cook, G.H., *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, (London 1968)
- Councer, C.R., *Lost Glass from Kent Churches*, Kent Archaeological Society, (Maidstone 1980)
- Cox, J.C., *Bench-Ends in English Churches*, (Oxford 1916)
- Cox, J.C., *English Church Fittings. Furniture and Accessories*, (London 1922)
- Cox, J. Charles and Harvey, Alfred, *English Church Furniture*, (London 1907)
- Cox, J. Charles, and Ford, Charles Bradley, *The Parish Churches of England*, (London 1947)
- Crewe, Sarah, 'The Nine Orders of Angels in the Fifteenth-Century Painted Glass of Yorkshire', York M.A. diss. (1980)
- Crewe, Sarah, *Stained Glass in England c.1180-c.1540*, (London 1987)
- Crook, J. Mordaunt, *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival*, vol.17 of occasional papers from the Society of Antiquaries, (London 1995)
- Cullum, P.H., 'Hospitals and Charitable Provision in Medieval Yorkshire 936-1547', York D.Phil. (1990)

- Cullum, P.H., *Cremetts and Corrodies: Care of the Poor and Sick at St. Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages*, Borthwick Papers no.79, (York 1991)
- Cullum, P.H., and Goldberg, P.J.P., 'Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: To The Praise of God and the Use of the Poor', *Northern History* 29 (1993), 24-39
- Cussans, John H., *Handbook of Heraldry*, (London 1882)
- Davidson, C., 'The Realism of the York Realist and the York Passion', *Speculum* 50 (1975), 270-283
- Davidson, C., and O'Connor, D.E., *York Art. A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art including Items Relevant to Early Drama*, Early Drama, Art and Music Reference Series 1, Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1978)
- Dawes, Jean D. and Magilton, J.R., *The Cemetery of St. Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark, The Archaeology of York* 12/1, (York Archaeological Trust 1980)
- Dawton, Nicholas, 'The Percy Tomb at Beverley Minster: the Style of the Sculpture', in *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, (ed.) F. H. Thompson, Society of Antiquaries Occasional Papers New Series III (1983), 122-150
- Dawton, Nicholas, 'The Percy Tomb Workshop', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, (ed.) Christopher Wilson, BAACT for 1983, (Leeds 1989), 121-132
- Denucé, J., *Museum Plantin-Moretus. Catalogue des Manuscrits - Catalogus der Handschriften*, (Antwerp 1927)
- Dhanens, Elizabeth, *Van Eyck: The Ghent Altarpiece*, (London 1973)
- Dinn, Robert, 'Baptism, Spiritual Kinship and Popular Religion in Late Medieval Bury St. Edmunds', *BJRL* 72 no.3 (1990), 93-106
- Dobson, R.B., 'The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries by the Citizens of Medieval York', *Studies in Church History* 4 (1967), (ed.) G.J.Cuming, 22-38
- Dobson, R.B., 'Admissions to the Freedom of the City of York in the Later Middle Ages', *ECHR* second series 26 no.1 (1973), 1-21
- Dobson, R.B., 'Urban Decline in Late Medieval England', *TRHS* fifth series 27 (1977), 1-22
- Dobson, R.B., 'Cathedral Chapters and Cathedral Cities: York, Durham and Carlisle in the Fifteenth Century', *Northern History* 19 (1983), 15-44
- Dobson, R.B., 'Mendicant Ideal and Practice in Late Medieval York', in *Archaeological Papers from York presented to M.W.Barley*, eds. P.V.Addyman and V.E.Black, York Archaeological Trust, (York 1984), 109-122
- Dobson, R.B. (ed.), *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, (Gloucester and New York 1984)
- Dobson, R.B., 'Beverley in Conflict: Archbishop Alexander Neville and the Minster Clergy 1381-8', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, (ed.) C. Wilson, BAACT for 1983, (Leeds 1989), 149-164
- Dobson, R.B., 'The City of York', in *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain. Vol.2. Medieval Britain*, (ed.) Boris Ford, (Cambridge 1992), 201-213
- Dobson, R.B. and Donaghey, Sara, *The History of Clementhorpe Nunnery, The Archaeology of York, Historical Sources for York Archaeology after AD 1100*, York Archaeological Trust (York 1984)
- Dodwell, C.R. (ed.), *Theophilus, De Diuersis Artibus*, (London 1961)
- Donaldson, Christopher, *Martin of Tours. Parish Priest, Mystic and Exorcist*, (London 1980)
- Drake, Maurice and Wilfred, *Saints and their Emblems*, (London 1916)
- Draper, Peter, 'Architecture and Liturgy', in *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, (London 1987), 83-91
- Dresen-Coenders, Lène (ed.), *Saints and She-Devils*, (London 1987)
- Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, (New Haven and London 1992)
- Eastlake, Charles L., *A History of the Gothic Revival*, (1872, repr. Leicester 1978)
- Emden, A. B., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, Vols.I-III, (Oxford 1957-1959)



- Emden, A. B., *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, (Cambridge 1963)
- Evans, Joan, *Art in Medieval France 987-1498. A Study in Patronage*, (London 1948)
- Evans, Joan, *English Art 1307-1461*, (Oxford 1949)
- Evans, Joan, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, (Oxford 1956)
- Farmer, D. H., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, (Oxford 1987)
- Ford, Boris (ed.), *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain. Vol.2. Medieval Britain*, (Cambridge 1992)
- Ford, Judy Ann, 'Art and Identity in the Parish Communities of Late Medieval Kent', in *The Church and the Arts. Studies in Church History*, (ed.) D.Wood, 28 (1992), 225-237
- Foreville, Raymonde (ed.), *Thomas Becket. Actes du Colloque de Sédieres 19-24 Août 1973*, (Paris 1975)
- Foster, Joseph, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire. Vol.I West Riding, Vol.II East Riding. Vol.III North Riding*, (London 1874)
- Fowler, J., 'On a Window Representing the Life and Miracles of S. William of York, at the North End of the Eastern Transept, York Minster', *YAJ* 3 (1873-4), 198-348
- Fowler, J., 'On the Painted Glass at Methley', *YAJ* 1 (1869-70), 215-220
- Fowler, J., 'On the Painted Glass at Thornhill', *YAJ* 1 (1869-70), 69-78, 107-109
- Fowler, J., 'On Medieval Representations of the Months and Seasons', *Archaeologia* 44 (1873), 137-224
- Fowler, J.T., 'The Fifteen Last Days of the World in Medieval Art and Literature', *YAJ* 23 (1915), 313-337
- Freeman, Margaret B., *The St. Martin Embroideries*, (New York 1968)
- French, Katherine, 'Local Identity and the Late Medieval Parish: the Communities of Bath and Wells', University of Minnesota Ph.D. (1993)
- French, T.W., 'The Advowson of St. Martin's Church in Micklegate, York', *YAJ* 40 (1962), 496-505
- French, T.W., 'The Glazing of the St. William Window in York Minster', *JBAA* 140 (1987), 175-181
- French, T. W., 'The Tomb of Archbishop Scrope in York Minster', *YAJ* 61 (1989), 95-102
- French, T.W., 'St. Anthony's Hall: an Architectural and Functional Reconsideration', *York Historian* 11 (1994), 2-8
- French, T. and O'Connor, D., *York Minster. A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass. Fascicule 1. The West Windows of the Nave*, (Oxford 1987)
- Friedman, J.B., 'Books, Owners and Makers in Fifteenth-Century Yorkshire: the Evidence from some Wills and Extant Manuscripts', in *Latin and Vernacular. Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, (ed.) A.J.Minnis, York Manuscript Conferences: Proceedings Series vol.I, (Cambridge 1989), 111-127
- Fryer, A.C., 'On Fonts with Representations of the Seven Sacraments', *Archaeological Journal* 59 (1902), 17-66; *Archaeological Journal* 87 (1930), 24-59; *Archaeological Journal* supplement 90 (1933), 98-105
- Fryer, Alfred C., 'Theophilus the Penitent as Represented in Art', *Archaeological Journal* 92 (1935), part II, 287-333
- Gee, E. A., 'The Painted Glass of All Saints', North Street, York', *Archaeologia* 102 (1969), 151-202
- Gee, E. A., 'The Roofs of All Saints, North Street, York', *York Historian* 3 (1980), 3-6
- Gibson, J.S.W., *Wills and Where to Find Them*, (Salisbury 1974)
- Giles Arthur, Kathleen, 'Cult Objects and Artistic Patronage of the Fourteenth-Century Flagellant Confraternity of Gesù Pellegrino', in *Christianity and the Renaissance*, eds. T.Verdon and J.Henderson, (Syracuse N.Y. 1990), 336-360
- Girling, F.A., *English Merchants' Marks*, (London 1964)
- Given-Wilson, Chris, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages*, (London 1987)
- Goldberg, P.J.P., 'Women in Late Medieval Society: Some Demographic Evidence from the York Region', York M.A. (1982)
- Goldberg, P.J.P., 'The Percy Tomb in Beverley Minster', *YAJ* 56 (1984), 65-74

- Goldberg, P.J.P., 'Female labour, Service and Marriage in the Late Medieval Urban North', *Northern History* 22 (1986), 18-38
- Goldberg, P.J.P., 'Female Labour, Status and Marriage in Late Medieval York and Other English Towns', Cambridge Ph.D. (1987)
- Goldberg, P.J.P., 'Mortality and Economic Change in the Diocese of York, 1390-1514', *Northern History* 24 (1988), 38-55
- Goldberg, P.J.P., 'Women in Fifteenth Century Town Life', in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, (ed.) J.A.F.Thomson, (Gloucester 1988), 107-128
- Goldberg, P.J.P., *Women, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300-1520*, (Oxford 1992)
- Goldberg, P.J.P. (ed.), *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c.1200-1500*, (Stroud 1992)
- Gottfried, Robert S., *Bury St. Edmunds and the Urban Crisis 1290-1539*, (Princeton N.J. 1982)
- Grant, Sir Francis J. (ed.), *The Manual of Heraldry*, (Edinburgh 1937)
- Greenhill, F.A., *Incised Effigial Slabs*, (2 vols., London 1976)
- Greenhill, F.A., *Monumental Incised Slabs in the County of Lincoln*, (Newport Pagnell 1986)
- Grössinger, Christa, 'Misericords', in *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, (London 1987), 122-124
- Hall, James, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, (London 1974)
- Hale, John R.(ed.), *Renaissance Venice*, (London 1973)
- Happé, Peter (ed.), *English Mystery Plays*, (London 1975)
- Harrison, Christopher, 'The Valor Ecclesiasticus: a Re-appraisal', (August 1994) (unpublished paper)
- Harrison, F., 'The West Choir Clerestory Windows in York Minster', *YAJ* 26 (1922), 353-373
- Harrison, F., *The Painted Glass of York*, (York 1927)
- Harrison, F., *Life in a Medieval College*, (London 1952)
- Heath, Peter, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*, (London 1969)
- Heath, Peter, 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: the Evidence of Hull Wills', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, (ed.) R.B.Dobson, (Gloucester and New York 1984), 209-234
- Heath, Peter, 'Between Reform and Reformation: the English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *JEH* 41 (1990), 647-678
- Henry, Avril, *The Mirour of Mans Saluacioun. A Middle English Translation of Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, (Aldershot 1986)
- Henry, Avril, *Biblia Pauperum*, (Aldershot 1987)
- Henry, Avril, *The Eton Roundels. Eton College MS. 177 'Figurae Bibliorum'*, (Aldershot 1990)
- Heslop, T.A., 'The Construction and Furnishing of the Parish Church of Salle, Norfolk', in *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain. Vol.2. Medieval Britain*, (ed.) Boris Ford, (Cambridge 1992), 194-199
- Hicks, Michael A., *Who's Who in Medieval England 1272-1485*, (London 1991)
- Hildburgh, 'Notes on Some English Alabaster Carvings', *Antiquaries Journal* 4 (1924), 374-381
- Hildburgh, 'Some Further Notes on the Crucifix of the Lily', *Antiquaries Journal* 12 (1932), 24-26
- Hildburgh, W. L., 'Iconographical Peculiarities in English Medieval Alabaster Carvings', *Folk-Lore* 44 (March 1933) No.I, 32-56, and *Folk-Lore* 44 (June 1933) No.II, 123-150
- Hill, Sir Francis, *Medieval Lincoln*, (Cambridge 1965)
- Hofmann, Friedhelm, *Wiedererstandene Romanische Kirchen in Köln*, (Munich 1988)
- Hogarth, Sylvia, 'Ecclesiastical Vestments and Vestmentmakers in York 1300-1600', *York Historian* 7 (1986), 2-11
- Holmes, George, *The Later Middle Ages 1272-1485*, (New York & London 1962)
- Hope, W. H. St. John, 'On the Praemonstratensian Abbey of St. Agatha juxta Richmond', *YAJ* 10 (1889), 117-158
- Hope, W. H. St. John, 'On Sculptural Alabaster Tablets called Saint John's Heads', *Archaeologia* 52 (1890), 669-708

- Hoskins, W.G., 'English Provincial Towns in the Early Sixteenth Century', *TRHS* 5th series 6 (1956), 1-19
- Howard, F.E. and Crossley, F.H., *English Church Woodwork. A Study in Craftsmanship During the Medieval Period AD 1250-1550*, (New York 1927)
- Hughes, Jonathan, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, (Woodbridge 1988)
- Hughes, Jonathan, 'The Administration of Confession in the Diocese of York in the Fourteenth Century', in *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, (ed.) David M. Smith, Borthwick Studies in History 1, (York 1991), 87-163
- Hunter, Joseph, *Three Catalogues; describing the contents of the Red Book of the Exchequer, of the Dodsworth Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and of the Manuscript Library of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, (London 1838)
- Jack, R.I., 'The Greys of Ruthin 1325 to 1490: A Study of the Lesser Baronage', London Ph.D. (1961)
- James, M. R., 'On the Paintings Formerly in the Choir at Peterborough' *Proc. Cambr. Antiq. Soc.* 9 (1897), 178-194
- James, M. R., 'On Two Series of Paintings Formerly at Worcester Priory', *Proc. Cambr. Antiq. Soc.* 10 NS IV (1898-1903), 99-115
- James, M. R., *The Verses Formerly Inscribed on 12 Windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral*, *Cambr. Antiq. Soc.* 8th ser. No. 38 (1901), 1-42
- James, M.R., *Suffolk and Norfolk*, (London and Toronto 1930)
- James, M. R., 'Pictor in Carmine', *Archaeologia* 94 (1951), 141-166
- Kahsnitz, Rainer, 'Sculpture in Stone, Terracotta and Wood', in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg eds., *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550*, (New York and Munich 1986), 61-74
- Kahsnitz, Rainer, 'Stained Glass in Nuremberg', in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg eds., *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550*, (New York and Munich 1986), 87-92
- Keen, Laurence, 'Late Anglo-Saxon Finds from the Site of St. Edmund's Abbey' *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 35 Part 1 (1981), 1-30
- Keen, Laurence, 'Pre-Conquest Glazed Relief Tiles from All Saints Church, Pavement, York', *JBAA* 146 (1993), 67-86
- Keene, Derek, *Survey of Medieval Winchester. Part I*, (Oxford 1985)
- Kent, F.W., and Simons, Patricia eds., *Patronage, Art and Society in Renaissance Italy*, (Oxford 1987)
- Ker, N.R., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd (ed.), supplement (ed.) by A.G. Watson, (London 1987)
- Ker, N.R. and Piper, A.J., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries IV*, (Oxford 1992)
- Kermode, Jennifer I., 'The Merchants of Three Northern Towns', in *Profession, Vocation and Culture in Later Medieval England*, (ed.) C. H. Clough, (Liverpool 1982), 7-48
- Kermode, Jennifer I., 'Urban Decline? The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York', *ECHR* second series 35 (1982), 179-198
- Kermode, Jennifer I., 'Merchants, Overseas Trade and Urban Decline: York, Beverley and Hull c.1380-1500', *Northern History* 23 (1987), 51-73
- King, Donald, 'Embroidery and Textiles', in *The Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds. J. Alexander and P. Binski, (London 1987), 157-161
- Knowles, J.A., 'Glass Painters of York', *Notes and Queries*, 12th series 8 (Jan-June 1921), 127-128; 323-325; 364-366; 406-407; 442-443; 485-487
- Knowles, J.A., 'Stained Glass at St. Saviour's, York', *The Builder* 113 (1922), 553
- Knowles, J. A., 'The East Window of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York', *YAJ* 28 (1924), 1-24
- Knowles, J. A., 'Medieval Methods of Employing Cartoons for Stained Glass', *BSMG-PJ* 1 no.3 (1925), 35-44

- Knowles, J.A., 'Additional Notes on the St. William Window in York Minster, *PYAYAS* 1 no.2 (1934), 5-55
- Knowles, J. A., *Essays in the History of the York School of Glass-Painting*, (London 1936)
- Knowles, J. A., 'The Church of the Glass-painters, St. Helen's Church, York', *BSMG-PJ* 7 (1939), 156-159
- Knowles, J.A., 'Technical Notes on the St. William Window in York Minster', *YAJ* 37 (1951), 148-161
- Knowles, J. A., 'The West Window, St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York', *YAJ* 38 (1955), 148-84
- Knowles, J. A., 'John Thornton of Coventry and the East Window of Great Malvern Priory', *Antiquaries Journal* 39 (1959), 274-282
- Knowles, J.A., 'The East Window of St. Michael-le-Belfrey Church, York', *YAJ* 40 (1962), 145-159
- de Laborde, Alexandre, *La Bible Moralisée...*, (5 vols., Paris 1911-27)
- Lafond, Jean, 'The Stained Glass Decoration of Lincoln Cathedral in the Thirteenth Century', *Archaeological Journal* 103 (1946), 119-156
- Lander, J.R., *Crown and Nobility 1450-1509*, (London 1976)
- Lander, J. R., *Government and Community. England 1450-1509*, (London 1980)
- Lankester, Philip J., 'Two Lost Effigial Monuments in Yorkshire and the Evidence of Church Notes', *Church Monuments* 8 (1993), 25-44
- Lasko, P., and Morgan, N.J. eds., *Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1520*, (Norwich 1973)
- Lennon, D. F. 'The Fifteenth-Century Glass in St. Michael's Spurriergate, York', York M.A. diss. (1973)
- Levy, Bernard S.(ed.), *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, (Binghamton New York 1992), 103-147
- Madan, Falconer, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Vol.V*, (Oxford 1905)
- Madan, Falconer; Craster, H.H.E.; and Denholm-Young, N., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Vol.II Part II*, (Oxford 1937)
- Maddison, F., Styles, D., and Wood, A., *Sir William Dugdale 1605-1686*, (Warwick 1953)
- Magilton, J.R., *The Church of St. Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark*, *The Archaeology of York* 10/1, (York Archaeological Trust 1980)
- Marcouse, Renee, *Figure Sculpture in St. Mary's Abbey York*, (York 1951)
- Marks, Richard, *The Stained Glass of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity, Tattershall, Lincs.*, (New York and London 1984)
- Marks, Richard, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages*, (London 1993)
- Marks, Richard and Payne, Ann, *British Heraldry from its Origins to c.1800*, (London 1978)
- Martens, Maximiliaan P.J., 'Artistic Patronage in Bruges Institutions c.1440-1482', University of California Ph.D. (1992)
- Maué, Hermann, 'Nuremberg's Cityscape and Architecture', in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg eds., *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550*, (New York and Munich 1986), pp.27-50
- McFarlane, K.B., *Hans Memling*, (Oxford 1971)
- McFarlane, K. B., *The Nobility of Later Medieval England*, (Oxford 1973)
- McGrath, Patrick V., 'The Wills of Bristol Merchants in the Great Orphan Books', *TBGRS* 68 (1949), 91-109
- McHardy, A.K., 'Some Late Medieval Eton College Wills', *JEH* 28 no.4 (1977), 387-395
- McKenna, J. W., 'Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: the Cult of Archbishop Scrope', *Speculum* 45 (1970), 608-623
- McKenna, J. W., 'Piety and Propaganda: the Cult of King Henry VI', in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of Rossel Hope Robbins*, (ed.) Beryl Rowland, (London 1974), 72-88
- McNiven, P., 'The Betrayal of Archbishop Scrope', *BJRL* 54 (1971), 171-213
- Mersmann, Witrus, *Der Schmerzensmann*, (Düsseldorf 1952)

- Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg eds., *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550*, (New York and Munich 1986)
- Mezey, Nicole, 'Creed and Prophets Series in the Visual Arts with a Note on Examples in York', *EDAM Newsletter* 2 no.1 (1979), 7-10
- Milburn, R.L.P., *Saints and Their Emblems in English Churches*, (Oxford 1961)
- Milner-White, E., 'Ancient Glass from St. John's Micklegate', *Friends of York Minster 17th Annual Report* (1945), 14-21
- Milner-White, E., *The Ancient Glass of St. Michael's Spurriergate, York*, (York 1948)
- Milner-White, E., 'A Discovery of Ancient Glass', *Friends of York Minster 31th Annual Report* (1959), 28-37
- Minnis, A.J. (ed.), *Latin and Vernacular. Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, York Manuscripts Conferences: Proceedings Series Vol.I, (Cambridge 1989)
- Moeller, Bernd, 'Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation', in *Pre-Reformation Germany*, (ed.) Gerald Strauss, (London 1972), pp.13-42
- Molho, A., 'The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in its Iconography and History', *JWCI* 40 (1977), 55-98
- Moran, Joann H., *Education and Learning in the City of York 1300-1560*, Borthwick Papers no.55, (York 1979)
- Morgan, Nigel J., *The Medieval Painted Glass of Lincoln Cathedral*, (London 1983)
- Morgan, Nigel, 'Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century England', in *England in the Thirteenth Century*, (ed.) W. M. Ormrod, (Stamford 1991), 69-103
- Morris, Joseph, *The North Riding of Yorkshire*, (London 1904)
- Morris, Joseph, *The East Riding of Yorkshire*, (London 1906)
- Morris, Joseph, *The West Riding of Yorkshire*, (London 1923)
- Morris, Joseph E., *York*, (London 1924)
- Morris, Richard K., 'Churches in York and its Hinterland: Building Patterns and Stone Sources in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition 950-1200*, (ed.) John Blair, (Oxford 1988), 191-199
- Murray, Peter, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, (London 1981)
- Murray, Hugh, 'The Scrope Tapestries', *YAJ* 64 (1992), 145-156
- Murray, John, *Durham and Northumberland*, (London 1873)
- National Gallery, London, (ed.), *Late Gothic Art from Cologne*, (London 1977)
- Nelson, Philip, 'Some Unusual English Alabaster Panels', *THSLC* 69 (1918), 80-96
- Nelson, Philip, 'A Doom Reredos', *THSLC* 70 (1919) 67-71
- Nelson, Philip, 'The Virgin Triptych at Danzig', *Archaeological Journal* 76 (1919), 139-42
- Newton, Peter A., 'Schools of Glass Painting in the Midlands 1275-1430', 3 vols., London Ph.D. (1961)
- Newton, Peter A., 'Some New Material for the Study of the Iconography of St. Thomas Becket', in *Thomas Becket. Actes du Colloque International de Sédières 19-24 Août 1973*, (ed.) Raymonde Foreville, (Paris 1975), 255-263
- Newton, R., 'Medieval Methods for Attaching "Jewels" to Stained Glass', *Stained Glass* 76 no.1 (Spring 1981), 50-53
- Newton, S.M., *Fashion in the Age of the Black Price: a study of the years 1340-1365*, (London 1980)
- Nichols, Ann Eljenholm, *Seeable Signs: the Iconography of the Seven Sacraments 1350-1544*, (Woodbridge 1993)
- Norris, Malcolm, *Brass Rubbing*, (London 1965)
- Norris, Malcolm, *Monumental Brasses. The Memorials*, (2 vols., London 1977)
- Norris, Malcolm, *Monumental Brasses. The Craft*, (London 1978)
- Norris, Malcolm (introduction to), *Monumental Brasses. The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society 1894-1984*, (Woodbridge 1988)
- Norton, E.C., Park, D. and Binski, P., *Dominican Painting in East Anglia: the Thornham Parva Retable and the Musée de Cluny Frontal*, (Woodbridge 1987)

- Norton, Christopher, 'The Buildings of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and their Destruction', *AJ* 74 (1994), 256-288
- Oman, C., *The Great Revolt of 1381*, (Oxford 1906)
- Onions, C.T. (ed.), *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, (2 vols., Oxford 1974)
- Ormrod, W. M. (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century*, Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium, (Stamford 1991)
- Owst, G.R., *Preaching in Medieval England*, (Cambridge 1926)
- Owst, G.R., *Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England*, (Oxford 1961)
- Palliser, D.M., *The Reformation in York 1534-1553*, Borthwick Papers no.40, (York 1971)
- Palliser, D.M., 'The Unions of Parishes at York 1547-1586', *YAJ* 46 (1974), 87-102
- Palliser, D.M., 'A Crisis in English Towns? The Case of York 1460-1640', *Northern History* 14 (1978), 108-125
- Palliser, D.M., *Tudor York*, (Oxford 1979)
- Palliser, D.M., 'Civic Mentality and the Environment in Tudor York', *Northern History* 18 (1982), 78-115
- Palliser, D.M., 'A Regional Capital as a Magnet: Immigrants to York 1477-1560' *YAJ* 57 (1985), 111-123
- Palliser, D.M., 'Urban Decay Revisited', in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, (ed.) J.A.F. Thomson, (Gloucester 1988), 1-21
- Palliser, D.M., *Domesday York*, Borthwick Paper no.78, (York 1990)
- Palliser, D.M., 'The York Freeman's Register 1273-1540: Amendments and Additions', *York Historian* 12 (1995), 21-27
- Pape, T., *Medieval Newcastle-under-Lyme*, (Manchester 1928)
- Papworth, John W., and Morant, Alfred J., *Ordinary of Armorial*, (London 1874)
- Parry, Graham, *The trophies of time: English Antiquarians of the seventeenth Century*, (Oxford 1995)
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, (London 1972)
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, rev. by Elizabeth Williamson, *The Buildings of England. County Durham*, (London 1990)
- Pevsner, Nikolaus and Neave, David, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 2nd. ed., (London 1995)
- Pfaff, R. W., *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, (Oxford 1970)
- Phillips, John, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973)
- Piggott, Stuart, *Antiquaries*, (London 1974)
- Piggott, Stuart, *Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism*, (Edinburgh 1976)
- Piggott, Stuart, *William Stukeley: an eighteenth century Antiquary*, (rev. ed. London 1985)
- Pope-Hennessy, John, *Sienese Quattrocento Painting*, (Oxford 1947)
- Prodi, Paolo, 'The Structure and Organization of the Church in Renaissance Venice: Suggestions for Research', in *Renaissance Venice*, (ed.) John R.Hale, (London 1973), 409-432
- Purey-Cust, A.P., *The Heraldry of York Minster*, (Vol.I, Leeds 1890), (Vol.II, Leeds 1896)
- Raine, A., *Mediaeval York*, (London 1955)
- Raine, James, *The Founding of St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital York*, (York 1898)
- Ramm, H.G., 'The Church of St. Mary Bishophill Senior, York: excavations 1964', *YAJ* 48 (1976), 35-68
- RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. Vol. III. South-West of the Ouse*, (Oxford 1972)
- RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. Vol. IV. Outside the City Walls East of the Ouse*, (London 1975)
- RCHM, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York. Vol. V. Central Area*, (London 1981)
- Rees Jones, Sarah Ruth, 'Property, Tenure and Rents: Some Aspects of the Topography and Economy of Medieval York', *York D.Phil.* (1988)

- Riches, S., ' "The Pot of Oure Hope": the Image of St. Anne in the late Medieval World', York M.A. diss. (1991)
- Robinson, J. W., 'The Late Medieval Cult of Jesus and the Mystery Plays', *PMLA* 80 (1965), 508-514
- Rollason, L., 'English Alabasters in the Fifteenth Century', in *England in the Fifteenth Century*, (ed.) D. Williams, (Woodbridge 1987), 245-254
- Ronan, Myles V., *S. Anne Her Cult Her Shrines*, (London 1927)
- Roques, R., Heil, G. and Gandillac M. eds., *Denys L'Aéropagite. La Hiérarchie Celeste*, (Paris 1958)
- Ross, C. D., 'The Yorkshire Baronage 1399-1435', Oxford D.Phil. (1950)
- Rossi, Joan, and Rossi, Michael, *Index to York Art*, Medieval Institute Publications, (Kalamazoo Michigan 1985)
- Routh, Pauline E. Sheppard, *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire*, (Ipswich 1976)
- Routh, Pauline E. Sheppard, 'A Gift and its Giver: John Walker and the East Window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York', *YAJ* 58 (1986), 109-121
- Routh, P. Sheppard, 'Henry Johnston', *Church Monuments Society Newsletter* II no.2 (Winter 1987), 11-13
- Routh, Pauline and Knowles, Richard, *The Medieval Monuments of Harewood*, (Wakefield 1983)
- Rowe, G., 'On Stained Glass in the West Window of St. Martin's Church, Coney Street, York', *AASRP* 12 (1873), 95-100
- Rowland, Beryl (ed.), *Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of Rossel Hope Robbins*, (London 1974)
- Rubin, Miri, 'Corpus Christi Fraternities and Late Medieval Piety', *Studies in Church History* 23 (1986), 97-109
- Rubin, Miri, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist In Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge 1992)
- Rushforth, G. McN., 'The Kirkham Monument in Paignton Church. Devon', *Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archaeological Society* (1927), 1-37
- Rushforth, G. McN., *Medieval Christian Imagery*, (Oxford 1936)
- Russell, Josiah Cox, *Medieval Regions and Their Cities*, (Newton Abbot 1972)
- Sandler, Lucy F., 'Peterborough Abbey and the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels', *JBAA* 3rd ser. 33 (1970), 36-49
- Sandler, Lucy F., *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts*, (London 1974)
- Salter, Rev.H.E., *Medieval Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society 100 (1936)
- Scott-Giles, C.W. (rev.), *Boutell's Heraldry*, (London 1950)
- Shaw, P.J., *An Old York Church: All Hallows in North Street*, (York 1908)
- Sheehan, Michael M., *The Will in Medieval England*, (Toronto 1963)
- Sheehan, Michael M., 'English Wills and Their Records of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Jurisdictions', *Journal of Medieval History* 4 no.1 (March 1988), 3-12
- Sheingorn, Pamela, *The Easter Sepulchre in England*, Medieval Institute Publications, (Kalamazoo Michigan 1987)
- Shields, Elizabeth L., 'The Members of Parliament for the City of York 1485-1515', *York Historian* 11 (1994), 9-22
- Smalley, Beryl, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford 1952)
- Smith, David M. (ed.), *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, Borthwick Studies in History 1, (York 1991)
- Solloway, John, *The Alien Benedictines of York, being a Complete History of Holy Trinity Priory, York*, (Leeds 1910)
- Sommer, H., 'The Medieval Glass in St. Michael's Spurriergate', York M.A. diss. (1973)
- Stephen, Sir Leslie and Lee, Sir Sidney eds., *Dictionary of National Biography*, 21 vols., (London 1917-50)
- Stephenson, Mill, 'Monumental Brasses in the East Riding', *YAJ* 12 (1893), 195-229
- Stephenson, Mill, 'Monumental Brasses in the West Riding', *YAJ* 15 (1900), 1-60

- Stephenson, Mill, 'Monumental Brasses in the North Riding', *YAJ* 17 (1903), 261-339
- Stephenson, Mill, 'Monumental Brasses in the City of York', *YAJ* 18 (1905), 1-67
- Stratford, Neil, 'Three enamelled ciboria' and 'Verses originally painted in the Chapter House at Worcester', in *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200*, eds. George Zarnecki, Janey Holt and Tristram Holland, (London 1984), 263-266
- Strauss, G., *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth-Century*, (New York 1966)
- Strauss, G. (ed.), *Pre-Reformation Germany*, (London 1972)
- Stroud, G. and Kemp, R.L., *Cemeteries of the Church and Priory of St. Andrew, Fishergate, The Archaeology of York, The Medieval Cemeteries, 12/2*, York Archaeological Trust, (York 1993)
- Strutt, Joseph, *The Dress and Habits of the People of England*, (2 vols., first printed 1842, repr. London 1970)
- Swanson, H.C., 'Craftsmen and Industry in Late Medieval York', York D.Phil (1981)
- Swanson, H.C., 'The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns', *Past and Present* 121 (1988), 29-48
- Swanson, H.C., *Medieval Artisans*, (Oxford 1989)
- Swanson, R.N., 'Thomas Holme and his Chantries', *York Historian* 5 (1984), 3-7
- Swanson, R.N., *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, (Oxford 1989)
- Swanson, R.N., 'Medieval Liturgy as Theatre: the Props', in *The Church and the Arts. Studies in Church History*, (ed.) D.Wood, 28 (1992), 239-253
- Tanner, Norman P., *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, (Toronto 1984)
- Tanner, Norman P., 'Further Reflections on the Church in Late Medieval Norwich', in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, (ed.) John A.F.Thomson, (Gloucester 1988), 129-147
- The Royal Museums of Fine Arts Brussels, Belgium, *Old Masters*, (Brussels 1986)
- Thompson, A. H., *Easby Abbey Yorkshire*, (London 1948)
- Thompson, F. H. (ed.), *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, Society of Antiquaries Occasional Papers New Series III (1983)
- Thomson, J.A.F., 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *JEH* 16 (1965), 178-195
- Thomson, J.A.F. (ed.), *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, (Gloucester 1988)
- Thrupp, S.L., *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*, (Chicago 1948)
- Tillott, P. M. (ed.), *The City of York*, Victoria History of The Counties of England, (ed.) R. B. Pugh, (London 1961)
- Toussaert, Jacques, *Le Sentiment Religieux en Flandre à la Fin du Moyen Age*, (Paris 1960)
- Toy, J., *The Windows of York Minster*, (York 1985)
- Tracy, Charles, 'Woodwork', in *Age of Chivalry. Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400*, eds. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, (London 1987), 118-121
- Tranter, S., 'Relationships and Responsibilities: the World View of a Late Medieval Merchant Family', York M.A. diss. (1989)
- Tringhan, Nigel J., 'A Redundant Church in Medieval York: a Note on St. Benet's', *YAJ* 65 (1993), 173-4
- Tuck, J. A., 'Richard II and the Border Magnates', *Northern History* 3 (1968), 27-52
- Tuck, J. A., 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility 1250-1400', *Northern History* 22 (1986), 1-17
- Vale, Brigitte Pamela, 'The Scropes of Bolton and of Masham c.1300-c.1450', York D.Phil. (1988)
- Vallance, Aymer, *Greater English Church Screens*, (London 1947)
- Verdon, Timothy and Henderson, John eds., *Christianity and the Renaissance. Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, (Syracuse N.Y. 1990)
- Wackernagel, Martin, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist*, translated by Alison Luchs, (Princeton N.J. 1938, 1981)
- Wadley, T.P., *The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills in the Council House at Bristol*, TBGAS, Bristol (1886)
- Wagner, Sir Anthony, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford 1956)
- Wagner, Sir Anthony, *Heralds and Ancestors*, London 1978



- Wall, John, 'The Medieval Stained and Painted Glass in the Church of St. Martin-cum-Gregory, Micklegate, York', York M.A. diss. (1985)
- Warner, Marina, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*, (London 1990)
- Weir, Y. E., *Heraldry in York Minster*, (York 1986)
- Wenham, L.P., Hall, R.A., Briden, C.M., and Stocker, D.A., *St. Mary Bishophill Junior and St. Mary Castlegate, The Archaeology of York 8/2*, (York Archaeological Trust 1987)
- Whaite, W. H., *St. Christopher in English Medieval Wallpainting*, (London 1929)
- Whinney, Margaret, *Early Flemish Painting*, (London 1968)
- Williams, D. (ed.), *England in The Fifteenth Century*, Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium, (Woodbridge 1987)
- Wilmot, G.F., 'A Discovery at York', *The Museums Journal* 57 no.2 (May 1957), 35-36
- Wilson, Christopher, 'The Neville Screen', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, eds. Nicola Coldstream and Peter Draper, BAACT 3 for 1977, (Leeds 1980), 90-104
- Wilson, Christopher (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, BAACT for 1983, (Leeds 1989)
- Wilson, Christopher and Burton, Janet Elizabeth, *St. Mary's Abbey York*, (York 1988)
- Winston, C., *Memoirs Illustrative of the Art of Glass Painting*, (London 1865)
- Woodcock, Thomas, and Robinson, John Martin, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, (Oxford 1988)
- Woodforde, Christopher, *The Medieval Glass of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich*, (Norwich 1934)
- Woodforde, Christopher, *Stained Glass in Somerset 1250-1830*, (Bath 1946)
- Woodforde, Christopher, *The Norwich School of Glass Painting in the Fifteenth Century*, (London 1950)
- Zarnecki, George, Holt, Janey and Holland, Tristram eds., *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200*, (London 1984)