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# **Animal Visual Culture in the Middle Ages.**

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Ustinov College

**PhD Thesis**

Department of Archaeology

University of Durham

2008

**Animal Visual Culture in the Middle Ages:**

An Archaeological Study of  
Animal Representations in Britain.

A thesis submitted for the degree of  
**Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)**

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2008



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## **Abstract.**

**Sarah Jane Fergusson Stowell Phillips.**

### **Animal Visual Culture in the Middle Ages:**

#### **An Archaeological Study of Animal Representations in Medieval Britain.**

This PhD thesis presents an investigation of animal visual culture in the Middle Ages. The term animal visual culture is most simply defined (and intended to be understood as), visual material culture which demonstrates animal/creature-related images or material which becomes circulated in animal/creature forms.

The thesis uses an archaeological approach to investigate visualisations of animals (as opposed to a purely zoo-archaeological, historical or art historical approach). Three main types of visual material culture were researched for the representation of animals: stained and painted glass, misericord carvings and portable material culture.

The representation of animals in each data source was investigated to explore the extent to which species, chronological, and either geographical or artefact patterns could be established within a 500 year period of the Middle Ages. A number of species, chronological, and either geographical or artefact patterns could be established.

It was concluded that the patterns of representations were linked to the ideas various organisations and individuals had about animals or wanted others to have about animals. Animal visual culture is a manifestation of medieval life and faith. It challenges our modern day understanding of the complex medieval issues influencing the creation and intended function of animal images in society.

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## **Declaration.**

This thesis is the result of my own work. None of the material contained within this thesis has been previously submitted for a degree in any other university. Some of the research presented within the thesis has been published by the author during the period under which the thesis was being prepared. The sections to which this applies to are predominantly parts of Chapters 4 and 7, as highlighted within the footnotes.

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# CHAPTER I

## 1.0 Introduction.

This chapter begins by presenting a definition of what is meant to be understood by the term animal visual culture in section 1.1. This will be followed by the research scope, aims, objectives, methods and approach of the thesis research in section 1.2, and an outline of the overall structure of the thesis will be clarified in section 1.3.

## 1.1 What is Animal Visual Culture ?

The term animal visual culture is most simply defined and intended to be understood as, visual material culture which demonstrates animal/creature-related images and/or forms. This research aims to make the first step in collating this type of material together in order that future syntheses can be prepared, and so that in future years the role and social function of animal visual culture in future years can be better appreciated.

A large number of medieval people would have been exposed to various creatures. The range of species would commonly be restricted to a limited number of domestic and wild animals characteristic of a geographical region. There are various methods that can be used to investigate animals in the medieval period and this thesis uses an archaeological approach to achieve this.

This archaeological approach involves the systematic classification and recording of animal material culture, techniques of quantification and graphical analysis to highlight any particular characteristics of the material researched, and use of contextual information to aid interpretation. This approach is further explored in section 1.2.4, and demonstrated in the discussion and results presented in chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. It differs from zoo-archaeological, historic, art historic and architectural approaches in the following ways:

An exclusively zoo-archaeological approach generally involves the archaeologist analysing the surviving skeletal remains of animals in the same manner in order to identify species, appreciate the life of those species and pinpoint the nature of the relationship between those species and humans. The limitation of this approach is that it often excludes analysis of the visual material culture examined in this thesis.



An exclusively historic approach to investigating animals would involve utilising the surviving documents and writings about animals to understand attitudes of the literate about animals in society. However, the limitation of this approach is that the source data excludes the animal experience of a large proportion of society since literacy was limited and controlled in the period researched to a minority.

An exclusively art historic or architectural approach to investigating animals, often offers analysis of visual objects in terms of the artistic and aesthetic qualities of these objects e.g. aspects such as composition, perspective, colour, style and historical or technical developments. The limitation of this approach is that it often offers little scope for broader zoological analyses.

Nevertheless, this thesis does include reference to zoo-archaeological, historic, art historic or architectural sources in order to offer a more considered piece of research, and by way of demonstrating the value that multi-disciplinary research can have upon achieving perhaps a more objective and contextual / interpretive analysis. Images were not necessarily used alone, and may have been part of a wider scheme where oral recitations and/or other material may have been used hand in hand (as discussed in chapter 7).

Animal visual culture is concerned with defining the animal experience of humans from the point of view of a person or persons who may have no other involvement with material culture than to observe it. Thus, animal visual culture is concerned with the consideration of all sectors of society, not just those able to read and write about, own or keep animals in the Middle Ages.

Molyneaux, in his introduction to the cultural life of images, suggests that visual images have a tendency to be representations of ideas, illustrations of objects or reconstructions of events. These images make statements about social ideas, values and relations “as strong and distinctive as those conveyed in texts” (1997:1). His work further emphasizes that “Representations enlarge and strengthen existing messages appearing in other forms” (1997:3), and that the “meaning of an image from the past is in the eye of the beholder, one individual situated in a particular time and place gazing at the work of another. But meaning, however various and relative, emerges through the physical act of perception within the material environment of the artwork” (1997:108).

In many cases we find that the modern literature argues that animals were used in the Middle Ages as a means of depicting concepts, ideas, and belief in the existence of the things or knowledge illustrated. Animals were used to reinforce associations, demonstrate belonging, and were appreciated for their aesthetic qualities in a variety of visual forms. There were so many animals utilised for these purposes that animal visual culture can be regarded as a field for study in its own right. This is because visual culture was such a significant part of the wider culture of the Middle Ages.

In order to put animal visual culture into the context of a discipline, it is important to provide greater background on the field of visual culture in general through drawing upon selected definitions by scholars associated with this field. There are a variety of works which can be consulted to develop ideas about animal visual culture. A selection of the works that could be drawn upon include publications on visual communication e.g. Layton (1991), Gombrich (1999); on pictorial and visual representation e.g. Gombrich (1996), Molyneaux (1997); texts on meaning and iconography e.g. Panofsky (1982); those on the power of images e.g. Freedberg (1989); and those on the use of images as historical evidence e.g. Burke (2001).

In addition to these sources are works specifically focused on the research approach of visual culture itself e.g. Mirzoeff (1998, 1999); Barnard (1998, 2001); Walker & Chaplin (1997); Jenks (1995); Bryson et al. (1994); aspects of visual culture in the Middle Ages e.g. Llewellyn (1991), Hamburger (1997); and most recently the application and promotion of visual culture to the field of archaeology e.g. Skeates (2002). Where relevant or necessary, a selection of these sources will be cited.

The postmodernist scholar Mirzoeff suggests that the application of visual culture is a way of studying everyday life “from the point of view of the consumer, rather than the producer” (1999:3). This concept is particularly relevant to the current research because the taste and demand of both active and passive consumers can influence the producer, even though it is often the producer that receives the prime focus.

Mirzoeff interprets other scholars’ definitions of visual culture as a comparative to his own ways of defining and understanding the discipline, such as Bryson et al, who interpret it simply as “the history of images” (1994:xvi); Jenks who regards it in a sociological context as the “social theory of visibility” (1995:1); and the medieval philosopher St. Thomas Aquinas (Foster and Humphries 1951:275) who is drawn upon (by Mirzoeff), to emphasise the point that seeing is not believing, but interpreting<sup>1</sup>. In discussing the postmodern world, Mirzoeff further suggests that visual culture explores the “ambivalences, interstices and places of resistance in postmodern everyday life from the consumer’s point of view” (1999:9). This idea is applicable to some of the medieval images presented in this thesis, considering that some may have been created for similar purposes with regard to the concerns of their day. This makes the term ‘animal visual culture’ appropriate for the theme of this research. Mirzoeff also comments that “Most theorists of the postmodern agree that one of its distinctive features is the dominance of the image” (1999:9). However, this view is not exclusive to the postmodern period.

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<sup>1</sup> St. Thomas did not regard sight alone as a trusted method of making perceptual judgements.

The Middle Ages were characterised by expressions of visual display and so were dominated by various types of image. At times these created so much emotion and perceptive comment on the contemporary society, that these visual reminders were actively removed from view or even destroyed (refer to chapters 3 and 4). It is also true that a visual image presents more scope for changes of meaning compared to a text, where the interpretation is often more obvious and fixed. In an age where many people would have been unable to read, images were an important means of social communication and extremely influential.

Mirzoeff describes visual culture as a discipline where the focus is on “the visual as a place where meanings are created and contested” (1999:6); and that “visual images succeed or fail according to the extent that we can interpret them successfully” (1999:4, 13). This success of interpreting an image is a very important point, which has been most effectively emphasised by Burke, in his work on the use of images as historical evidence. Burke stressed the importance of being familiar with the cultural codes of a society in order to understand or interpret the messages attached to the image:

“an Australian bushman ‘would be unable to recognize the subject of a Last Supper; to him; it would only convey the idea of an excited dinner party’. Most readers are likely to find themselves in a similar situation when confronted with Hindu or Buddhist religious imagery” (2001:36).

In this way, some of the contextual meaning of medieval imagery will be lost. Skeates states that visual culture has an emphasis on the “social dynamics of visual communication .... the mental and cultural processes through which people construct themselves” and suggests it shares ground with “contemporary ‘contextual’ and ‘interpretive’ archaeological approaches to the symbolic and structural meanings of material culture” (2002:165). Skeates rightly expresses the concerns of visual approaches in terms of the limitations to our ability to understand images produced by cultural groups the researcher is not part of (2002:166), which again reinforces the ideas of Burke (2001), and Mirzoeff (1999).

There are a vast range of different forms of visual technology that are available today that could be used to capture aspects of daily living, such as cameras, video or webcams. The images produced by these media would be considered to be creating a resource for the study of visual culture in the modern world. In the Middle Ages, there was no such available technology. Therefore other means had to be employed to produce images. This also meant that much of the surviving visual material produced by those who lived in the past, had to be created in a less spontaneous and more considered manner than the forms of image capturing or surveillance used today, and in that respect may be a more controlled representation of the period.

The resulting permanence of the images created, might suggest that the visual material was made in the Middle Ages with a greater intention to communicate a particular message or belief at a given time. However, as time progressed and ideas changed, it is possible that those who created images did so in a manner that would allow for flexibility, indeed allow for an alteration of meaning according to new interpretations or stories that could be attributed to them depending on the social and religious concerns of the day.

Much of the archaeological evidence for this thesis contrasts with the work of postmodernist scholars. It is often taken from specific contexts and from material that has survived as part of the fabric of a particular structure 'in situ'. This could be regarded as material that is representative of only those who could afford to have visual creations made in the relatively more valuable (costly) and lasting materials. Traditionally, archaeological material is viewed as that which is excavated from the ground following centuries of preservation, but equally this definition can extend to the remains of human activity preserved above the ground, including visual representations in-situ as part of structures.

Mirzoeff (1999:7) suggests that "Visual culture directs our attention away from structured, formal viewing settings like the cinema and art gallery to the centrality of visual experience in everyday life". In one respect, some of the material included in this thesis derives from a rather structured and formal viewing setting, for example the stained and painted glass (discussed in chapter 3), but in other respects it offers a visual experience which reflects a kaleidoscopic range of human everyday life, for example through the study of misericords (chapter 4) and through surviving artefacts (chapter 5).

The concept of visual culture is considered to be one that is highly applicable to the study of animals. Both stained and painted glass and misericords were placed within a centre which a large number of people would have visited and where they would have interacted, during a time when there were so few places to do this on such a scale. It is likely that changes in the meaning of some of these visual representations in terms of their understanding and use have occurred through the Middle Ages. Mirzoeff also stated that that visual culture "is a fluid interpretive structure, centred on understanding the response to visual media of both individuals and groups" (1999:4); that "visual culture does not depend on pictures themselves but the ... tendency to picture or visualize existence" (1999:5).

There are many animals that are depicted as a means of visualising existence in the Middle Ages. Often the visualisations of animals that were made were of creatures that people of the period would have been able to recognise, since they were native and common to this country e.g. fox, pig, eagle or owl. In addition to native species, non-native species were depicted (and still are non-native) and unless one had extensively travelled they would never have had the opportunity to observe these creatures in their natural habitat e.g. the pelican, camel and elephant.

Other animals were depicted that were likely to have been believed to exist, but had never actually been seen e.g. the unicorn, yet even though it is known that such animals have never existed in the flesh, those who created them believed in them perhaps for what they represented to them.

Animals can be visualised on a variety of material culture. In addition to the actual artefacts with visual representations of animals, there are also other forms of information, such as animal bones, teeth, skin, hair and feathers that provide direct evidence about the animals themselves in a visual form. Sometimes animal products have been used to create visual materials, and perpetuate ideas and beliefs in the existence of particular creatures.

In addition to the remains of animals, there are textual sources in the forms of original documents and manuscripts that make references to animals, as well as having illuminations of pictures of them to support the text. However many of these are only accessible to those with the specialist skills and training of the palaeographer, language or linguistics scholar (many of the texts are in Latin, Middle and Old English, and French). This body of literature nevertheless indicates that animals featured very prominently in the thoughts and writings of humans.

Ideally, the animal visual material culture should not be considered in isolation from all the other contemporary sources of evidence about animals, since they are all inter-related products of their time. Nevertheless, the faunal and literary resources alone are so vast that the time constraints of the current research prevented comprehensive analysis of every reference made to animals in the documentary sources, or to each assemblage of animal bones that has been excavated in this country from the Middle Ages.

The thesis research emphasises that animal visual culture offers a vast resource for exploring the ideas held in the Middle Ages. The use of animal visual material culture served to strengthen a variety of relationships and convey ideas of the period. This is one reason why the study of animal visual culture is so important to a wider understanding of the functioning of the Middle Ages. This thesis contributes to existing knowledge by adding to the body of literature that is available for understanding human / animal relationships in the Middle Ages.

## 1.2 The Research Project.

The primary aim of this section is to: define the scope, state the aims of the thesis research, clarify the research objectives, methods and approach.

“Do as it says on the tin” (PRC, 2003).

### 1.2.1 Scope.

This thesis is concerned with the investigation of animal visual material culture found in Britain. The chronological period of interest is the Middle Ages. This is an extensive chronological period spanning over a thousand years. The thesis includes material dating to the later part of the medieval period up to the blurred transition into the early modern period. The date range of the research includes material contained within medieval catalogues, e.g. the CVMA project volumes aim to publish all medieval stained glass in Great Britain to 1540, and for this reason the thesis uses that date as a research cut off<sup>2</sup>. This date is in keeping with modern ideas about medieval chronology, a period “often said to end in 1540”<sup>3</sup>, being marked by the Dissolution<sup>4</sup> of the Monasteries<sup>5</sup>; although opinions will vary between practitioners<sup>6</sup>, and may change over time<sup>7</sup>. The material researched also represents a combination of that thought native to Britain, as well as material of foreign or imported origin, having survived buried within archaeological deposits, or continued in circulation following material arriving into the country as gifts, as goods traded and exchanged to meet the consumer’s taste and demand for items with animal representations on them.

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<sup>2</sup> This date is regarded as a safe medieval period cut off (Professor Colin Platt 2007: Pers. Comm).

<sup>3</sup> Northumbria County Council Archaeology Section ([www.keystothepast.com](http://www.keystothepast.com)), though even in the north-east of England there were “many changes that crossed this period [1540]”, supporting continuity for the medieval period beyond this date.

<sup>4</sup> Greene (2005:178ff).

<sup>5</sup> Mr R Daniels, MIFA, FSA, (2007, Pers. Comm.) regards the Dissolution as a marker to the end of the medieval period.

<sup>6</sup> Tees Archaeology use 1600 AD as a date to end the medieval period (<http://www.teesarhaeology.com>), others use the 17th Century C.E as a cut off; see also the Medieval Pottery Research Group, (<http://www.medievalpottery.org.uk>), and the Society for Medieval Archaeology (<http://www.medievalarchaeology.org>).

<sup>7</sup> This can be demonstrated by some using the accession of the Tudors in the late 15<sup>th</sup> Century C.E as a date to mark the end of the medieval period, however, analyses of archaeological material culture in more recent decades, demonstrates a greater continuity of style and ideas extending well beyond this date (Dr G Egan, Finds Specialist 2007, Pers. Comm.), and emphasizes the need for greater chronological flexibility when dealing with the period.

### **1.2.2 Aims.**

(a) To investigate the diversity of visual representations and images of creatures/animals within a defined range of material culture and circulating in Britain during the Middle Ages. The period of focus is the later medieval period dating up to 1540.

(b) To identify selected patterns in the animal visual culture data:

(i) the range of creatures (creatures types and proportions of species) that are represented in the data;

(ii) the chronological period (across time) that creatures are represented, and either;

(iii) the locations (across space) where species are represented or the artefact types that various species are represented on (as appropriate to the data and its limitations).

### **1.2.3 Objectives.**

(a) To select a defined range of inter-disciplinary media/sources of medieval material culture from which to study representations and images of creatures/animals.

(b) To locate and collate images/representations of creatures/animals from the defined range of medieval material culture.

(c) To create an original data record of entries from the defined range of material culture through consultation of published catalogues and archives and record this in the form of an electronic database.

(d) To quantify the creature/animal representations and images, based on those represented in the electronic database of animals created, and present a selection of these results as a series of charts and/or graphs indicating the quantitative proportions of (i) species; (ii) chronological period; and either (iii) location or artefact type.

#### **1.2.4 Methods and Approach.**

This thesis is focused on the visual culture of animals from an archaeological perspective. This means the research approach involved the systematic collection, classification and recording of animal visual culture. The collation process resulted in a body of data being created that would enable searching by other scholars and so can be drawn upon to enhance knowledge about animal visual culture in the Middle Ages.

The first step of the research process was to conduct a desktop survey. A selection of published works, were investigated to establish what had been written about animal visual culture to date. Unfortunately, there was no literature with this title, so the research focus was re-adjusted and widened to search for related background topics in the Middle Ages, such as publications on the representation of animals in medieval art, symbolism, iconography, human perceptions, consumption and archaeology. These topics prepared a foundation upon which to build the thesis ideas and focus discussion about animal visual culture.

Local University OPACs<sup>8</sup>, the Warburg Library OPAC, the British Library OPAC, COPAC, Electronic Bibliographic Catalogues and Databases e.g. IBSS<sup>9</sup>, BIDS<sup>10</sup>, BIAD<sup>11</sup> were targeted to locate published sources that could be obtained for the initial background desk top investigation. The larger majority of these had to be ordered or consulted at libraries other than that of Durham University, since there were few works on the visual aspects of animals available. The available time and the cost of obtaining the resources limited the extent to which literature was consulted on each topic, though a representative sample of the available resource was obtained in order to produce the background literature overview.

The second step of the research process was the data collection phase. This involved gathering relevant information about the representation of animals within the visual material culture of the Middle Ages. Three different sources of data were selected for investigation, and these represented published collections of well researched and documented sources of images. The sources of images provided no further syntheses or analyses of the representation of particular subjects, so this offered the scope for further research and analysis utilising these sources of published information.

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<sup>8</sup> Online Public Access Catalogue.

<sup>9</sup> International Bibliography of the Social Sciences.

<sup>10</sup> Bath Information Data Service.

<sup>11</sup> British & Irish Archaeological Bibliography.

The collections of images researched revealed representations within a variety of subject matter; therefore specific information about animals had to be extracted, either from the descriptions, captions or illustrations provided. The author recorded the identifications of the animals in the thesis database by using the same species names chosen and used in the original catalogue from which they were drawn<sup>12</sup>. This was to enable ease of reference back to a particular description in a specific catalogue. The relevant data for the research then needed to be retrieved and formatted to enable the species, chronological, geographic location and/or artefact data to be revealed.

The first data set created was of animals represented in stained and painted glass, and was primarily compiled from information in the surveys published for Great Britain under the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* (CVMA). The second data set was of animals represented in misericords, and was based upon information provided in the catalogue published by Remnant (1969 and re-printed 1998). The third and final data set that was produced was of animals represented within portable material culture. A number of catalogues from major exhibitions relating to the period of interest were targeted, and these were supplemented by information supplied from archives held by the British Museum in London; from archives held by English Heritage; and reports published from major medieval excavations (London, Southampton, Winchester, Exeter and Norwich).

The third step of the research project was the writing up phase. At this stage, consultation with academic and professional contacts was made either through, e-mail, letter, or personal meetings in order to clarify material and findings. This period also involved, making research visits to inspect in-situ animal representations at source, and checking the details of published information with those sites focused upon as case studies, and obtaining original photographs to illustrate the thesis research. During this phase certain parts of the thesis research presented at conferences and as publications. This was in response to invitations from other members of the wider academic community, and demonstrated the recognised contribution to the field that the research was making. The fourth step of the research project involved structuring the thesis research into a final piece of work.

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<sup>12</sup> At the stage of graphical analysis in chapters 3, 4 and 5, a number of species were combined together for clarity of presentation. These were the ape and monkey (represented as 'monkey' on the pie charts), and the stag and hart (represented as 'stag' on the pie charts).

## **1.3 Structure of Thesis.**

### **Chapter Two**

The second chapter overviews the primary and secondary literature (contextual background), that is relevant for an understanding of research into animals/creatures in the Middle Ages.

### **Chapters Three, Four and Five**

The main body of the thesis presents three visual material culture case study chapters which investigate representations of creatures/animals circulating in medieval Britain. Each chapter presents an initial review of relevant literature, and thereafter integrates the interpretations and results of the animal visual culture data within the chapter discussion.

### **Chapter Six**

This chapter provides a mini case study on the collective animal visual culture from three sites, 'Durham', 'York' and 'Lincoln'. This section provides an integrated synthesis of medieval faunal assemblages, which in combination with the thesis findings drawn from the previous chapters, presents a more holistic/archaeological interpretation of the data.

### **Chapter Seven**

This chapter will present an interpretive discussion of the social context of animal visual culture. It will further offer a series of thematic case studies analysing why particular creatures were popular and may have been used in animal visual culture.

### **Chapter Eight**

The final chapter provides a summary, makes suggestions for further and future work and concludes the thesis. A list of bibliographic references cited is also presented thereafter; along with a sample of selected data from the image database (on a CD-ROM) in the Appendix.

## CHAPTER II

### **2.0 Introduction.**

This chapter presents a review of relevant background literature that was consulted for this research. It discusses the major literary works of scholars in their respective fields that were consulted. It recognises the valuable contribution they have made to existing knowledge about the use of animals in the Middle Ages, whilst acknowledging their contribution in developing the ideas and views of the author. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section **2.1**, offers an overview of the relevant primary sources of literature from which understanding of the Middle Ages can be researched. The second section **2.2**, offers an outline of a limited selection of relevant secondary sources that have been drawn upon for this research.

### **2.1 The Primary Literature.**

There is a vast selection of literary sources that can be consulted to find out about animals in the Middle Ages. This section is intended to demonstrate an awareness of what different types of source may contribute for animal visual culture research<sup>13</sup>. This section therefore provides a brief glimpse into some of the works produced by writers of the period, and offers a preliminary insight into the sources that inspired these authors to create the works they did based on even earlier periods of antiquity than the Middle Ages. The works discussed in this section range from religious texts in section **2.1.1a**, to works on natural history in section **2.1.1b**, books of beasts in sections **2.1.1c** and **2.1.1d**, through to classical sources in section **2.1.2a**; prose, tales and fables in section **2.1.2b**; and to model books that were used by those required to represent animals in section **2.1.2c**.

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<sup>13</sup> It does not intend to serve as a summary of the every available primary source.

A brief search of the manuscript collections held by the British Library revealed over a hundred manuscripts that contained images of creatures/animals, or made reference to creatures/animals, from different periods. It is recognized that an investigation of animals in manuscripts is a fruitful area of study for a medieval linguist to undertake e.g. Backhouse (2001), not just for images, but for evidence of attitudes, due to the vast quantity of manuscripts that survive<sup>14</sup>. A limited selection of those sources that were available in English or in English translation were consulted.

One author who makes an interesting contribution to the study of creature depictions in manuscripts and in marginal illuminations is Camille (1985, 1987, 1992, 1996, 1998a and 1998b)<sup>15</sup>. He argues that in some cases animals had different class associations, influencing “political and social reasons for the choice of particular beasts” in manuscripts, especially for specific social groups e.g. the aristocracy and land owners (1992:48).

Camille (1998:241-242) further highlights people dressing up as animals, wearing animal-headed masks or the mumming of creatures such as the owl, ox, or boar, hare and stag as illustrated in figure 2.1 (below). He suggests this may have been a popular folk custom and ritual, involving the male members of the community “performing plays resonant with sacrificial and sexual regeneration” in order to ensure life was ritually renewed at crucial times of year (1998:248). In this respect a variety of strange-looking animals, or animals with human characteristics could be being represented in the animal visual culture examined in this thesis.

Camille also emphasizes that it may be important to consider the sequence and context of images depicted in manuscripts in establishing meaning or interpretation. This is because at times an image may be intended to be understood with relation to the existence of another (Camille 1987:425). There may also be (but not always so) links between images and text, and some images may have served as annotations according to the intended function of the text, image, and audience.

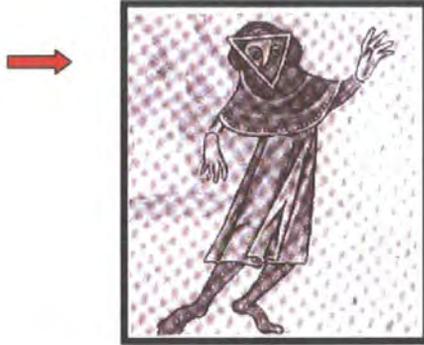
---

<sup>14</sup>One such undertaking is a database of over 15,000 textual quotations and references regarding creatures/animals from medieval literature. This is in preparation for publication (as CD-ROM or online) by the medievalist Luuk Houwen from Ruhr-Universität, Bochum, in Germany (2002, Pers. Comm.). In future years, works like these will continue to serve as a valuable research tool in understanding more about how creatures are considered by humans. This thesis does not attempt to make that link, though does emphasise the extent to which creatures appear or are exploited as topics within particular classes of material culture.

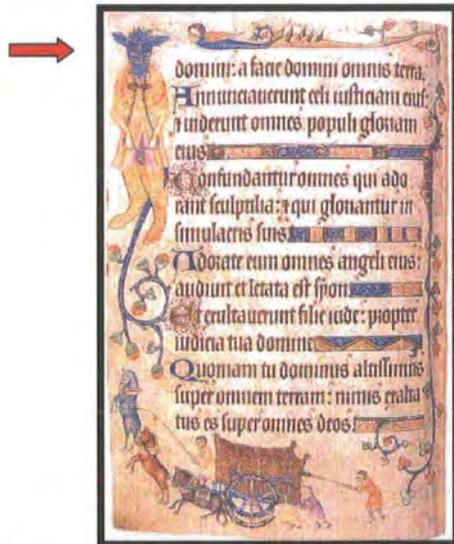
<sup>15</sup>For further discussion on the study of marginalia, refer to Randall’s pioneering work (1966).

**Figure 2.1.**

Three Animal Mummings (Camille 1998:259, 261, 42).



Owl in The Luttrell Psalter, 80r. The British Library, London.



Ox in The Luttrell Psalter, 173v. The British Library, London.



Stag, Hare and Boar in The Romance of Alexander, MS 264, fol. 21v, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Unfortunately, the difficulty with relying on texts in translation is that they do not always contain the whole content or context that was offered in the original manuscript. Often sections are missed out in later translations and publications e.g. those on flora or minerals are excluded from a number of the bestiaries. This selectivity presents a risk of misunderstanding their content and consumption unless being read in their original language. This was one reason that manuscripts were not focused upon for this research despite them being a plentiful source of representations<sup>16</sup>. Nevertheless, they do receive consideration in this chapter to emphasize that caution must be exercised when consulting original manuscript illuminations without knowledge of the text.

The meaning of images or representations can become distorted, without an understanding of the accompanying text. This could even have happened in the Middle Ages when the scribe and illuminator was not the same person, which was likely considering the different types of skills required. Camille cites the example of a monkey depicted displaying its rear end to a scribe in an early 14<sup>th</sup> Century Missal from the Church of St Jean at Amiens (figure 2.2). Camille suggests that at this time the scribe had become a professional paid by the page, and a number of scribes were mocked and distrusted, compared with those who made the early Gospel Books thought to have been made on the instruction of angels (1992:24). This image could relate to the layman illuminator having fun with the scribe in view of an “unfortunate word division” at a particular point within the manuscript, and so the text reads “the book is to the bum” (1992:26-27). Camille presents another example of a manuscript illumination that could indicate social comment, this time on the unholy nature of the clergy, in particular “a jibe against lax monastic celibacy” (1992:32) from a marginal image (figure 2.3) that depicts a nun suckling a monkey in the margins of a 14th Century French Missal (MS D. 40f 124r, The Royal Library, The Hague). Camille comments of the image of the nun, that it represents:

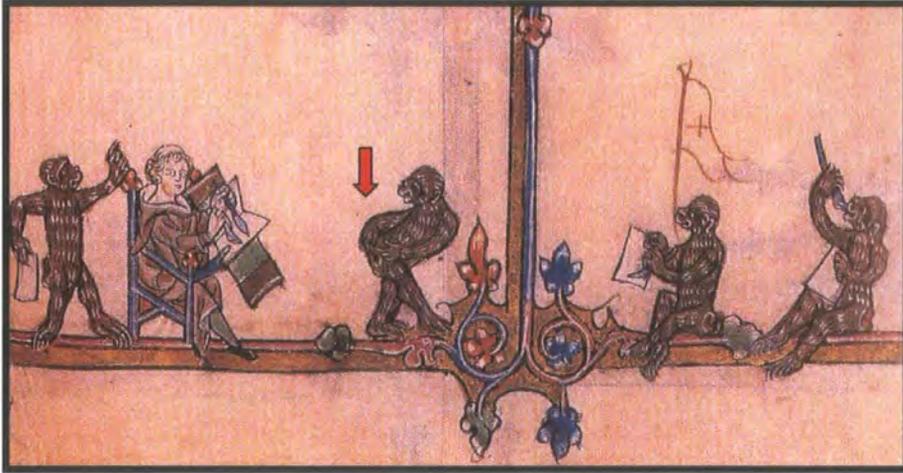
“the antinomy of the Virgin, although, as a nun, she is supposed to be a virgin - to be like Mary. The ape is always a single, a sign dissimulating something else. Whereas the Virgin gave birth to Christ, this supposed virgin has given birth to a monstrous sign that, in its distortion of the human, points to her all-too-human sin. Such images work to reinstate the very models they oppose. For behind them, or often literally above them, is the shadow of the model they invert” (1992:32).

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<sup>16</sup> Some manuscripts are included in the research, but they are not focused upon. See De Hamel (1992) for an appreciation of different types of manuscripts for a variety of medieval personnel.

**Figure 2.2.**

Monkey Displaying Bum, 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Bartlett 2001:156).



**Figure 2.3.**

Nun Suckling Monkey, 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Camille 1992:32).



Barber makes reference to the difficulties of interpreting the text of bestiaries from the translator's point of view, "The Latin of the bestiary is distinctly problematic. It contains words found nowhere else, and because the writers ... are often trying to describe things about which they are unsure, the text is often obscure" (1992:14). Yapp discusses how mistakes could have been made during the production of the script, and how misreading when copying or mishearing when dictating a manuscript would have influenced the resulting depictions, "the transference from maxillis **aprinus** (chapped like a boar) in the description of the yale in most bestiaries to maxillis **caprinus** (chapped like a goat) in 'e Musaeo 136'" is one example. Yapp further suggests that this could in fact be due to confusion between the Latin for wild boar (**aper**) and the Greek (**kapros**) for goat. For further discussion on this point refer to George & Yapp (1991:9).

### **2.1.1 The Works of God.**

Old medieval manuscripts, documents and texts such as the 'Bible' as outlined in section **2.21a**, the 'Physiologus' in section **2.21b**, the 'Bestiaries' as outlined in section **2.21c**, and the 'Aviary' (Aviarium) as outlined in section **2.21d**, were a source of creature/animal representations and images in the Middle Ages, and these are now introduced.

#### **2.1.1a The Bible.**

"The literature of the European Middle Ages was in large measure a literature of the Christian church, written by and for clergy. Towering over all medieval writing was the Bible, source and inspiration for many theological treatises and commentaries as well as for the laws and regulations which guided both monastic and secular Christian life", (Clark 1992:1).

The Bible is currently one of the most widely circulated, translated and influential books in the world. It contains a variety of references to animals, and the information presented was probably known, noted and collated into the writings of the various authors producing works in the Middle Ages. Levy (1992) discussed the influence of the Bible on the literature and art of the Middle Ages, supported by a more recent study of biblical imagery (from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries) published by Kauffmann (2003)<sup>17</sup>. These works are relevant to the current research because they demonstrate the influence of a single book on visual forms of material culture. This is obviously an important influence that must be considered when researching animal visual culture.

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<sup>17</sup> Refer also to Wormald (1969) for discussion on bible illustration in medieval manuscripts.

### 2.1.1b The Naturalist or Physiologus.

One of the most influential of all works on classical and medieval authors was an anonymous manuscript known as the 'Naturalist' or 'Physiologus' (Cook and Pitman 1973, Clark 1975; Diekstra 1985, George & Yapp 1991, Barber 1992). It is thought that the 'Physiologus' was written in Alexandria between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD. It comprised 49 chapters on animals<sup>18</sup>, each presenting their physical and behavioural characteristics (real or imagined), and it was concerned with points of Christian doctrine and moral interpretation, the virtues and vices (Clark 1975:26-28, Payne 1990:9, Clark 1992:4, McCarthy 1995:9, Baxter 1998:xiii, and Barber 1992:7-10).

Clark (1975) suggests the original Physiologus manuscript was developed and adapted from a work of relatively accurate zoological fact. By the 12<sup>th</sup> Century, the manuscript was revised to include a larger number of animals, illustrations, and was arranged into various types of creatures e.g. beasts, birds, snakes and fishes (Barber 1992:13). The 13<sup>th</sup> Century saw the inclusion of fabulous notions, the seven wonders of the world, and medical remedies. Finally, by the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, additions from Isidore of Seville and Bartholomew Anglicus were amongst those incorporated into the manuscript<sup>19</sup>.

No doubt other authors were included in these revisions such as Gerald of Wales' Topography of Ireland, featuring badgers, barnacle geese and birds (McCarthy 1995:10 and Barber 1992:8). Many scholars suggest that this manuscript was the inspiration behind all the bestiary or bestiaries "it developed from a text known as the Physiologus" (Payne 1990:9). However, not all share this view, "The fully-developed English bestiary has about as much relationship to the Physiologus as the body of a mammal has to that of a fish, or, to make a non-biological comparison, as a motor car has to a sledge" (George & Yapp 1991:6). Nevertheless, it was extremely popular and influential for over a thousand years (Payne 1990:9), and was translated into a wide range of languages.

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<sup>18</sup> George & Yapp (1991:20-21, Table 2) list the mammals, birds, cold-blooded vertebrates and invertebrates of the Physiologus.

<sup>19</sup> For further detail of these four stages of development of the Physiologus manuscript described above refer to Clark (1975:29-30).

### 2.1.1c The Bestiaries or Books of Beasts.

The most common works relating specifically to animals in the medieval period were the books of beasts known as ‘Bestiaries’ (George & Yapp 1991:1; Camille 1992:47). The bestiary was a type of book that presented a number of real and fabulous fauna and flora to its medieval audience. Bestiaries are key texts for the exploration of animals in the medieval period (McCarthy 1995:8), and so provide important background material relevant to the study of animal visual culture<sup>20</sup> in this thesis. A considerable number of bestiaries have survived throughout Europe. In England alone, around 50 Latin bestiaries are known (Baxter 1998:147-8)<sup>21</sup>, though we do not know how many have been lost. Although not all bestiaries can be accurately dated, they are thought to date mainly from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Century which was considered the high point of bestiary production (Payne 1990:9, Jones 1991a:180), and are still known into the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, though by the 16<sup>th</sup> Century they had declined in popularity (Clark 1975:37).

The texts of bestiaries have been widely studied by a number of authors’, the pictures have received less attention, though others address this deficiency (George & Yapp 1991). Much of the material featuring in bestiaries is similar, at times possibly suffers from repetition or stereotypes, though not all bestiaries were exactly the same in terms of their faunal and floral content, and not all bestiaries were intended to be used in the same way (Baxter 1998:3). This can be appreciated when a number of bestiaries, readily accessible as translated texts are compared, such as Barber (1992), White (1984) or James (1928), or electronic publications of medieval bestiaries available for consultation on the internet.

The attitudes of people in the medieval period towards the bestiaries are unknown. A number of authors have suggested that they were used as a means of demonstrating and communicating appropriate moral or religious behaviour, particularly by the ecclesiastical sectors of society (see Baxter 1998). Bestiaries could therefore be used by the monks of the monastery of any order, as a means of training others. Since the creatures presented often had characteristics associated with human traits it is possible that bestiaries could have been used to influence human perception and attitude, through portraying and representing the behaviours of people with good/positive and bad/negative associations using animal characters, and in this way could be used to illustrate “points of doctrinal and moral significance” (Clark 1975:25) and instruct lay people by secular clerics.

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<sup>20</sup> George & Yapp list the mammals and birds of the English/Latin bestiaries (1991:23-27, Tables 3 and 4) as well as the reptiles, fish and invertebrates.

<sup>21</sup> Luke Houwen (2002, Pers. Comm.) suggested at least 40 bestiaries were exclusive to England. This view is shared by McCarthy (1995:8).

However, the characteristics of the same animal are not always consistent from one bestiary to the next, and at times the same animal can mean both God and the Devil (so, conflicting good and bad associations).

George & Yapp (1991) suggest that the meaning of the bestiary has been neglected, and its purpose misinterpreted since the images were such an important part of the book. They claim that the bestiaries seldom illustrate the moralities within the text, and therefore suggest that these works were intended to teach natural history “bestiaries are not, as they are generally held to be, merely compendia of old wives’ tales and religious symbolism, amusing or boring according to your taste, but documents that are important for any serious history of medieval science” (George & Yapp 1991:5, 28). This is an interesting point of view, considering the visual and textual knowledge presented in the bestiary of the Beaver in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century manuscript, MS Bodley 764 as illustrated in figure 2.4. If the illumination of the beaver is examined, we find an image showing two dogs side by side (bottom left), two further animals (beavers), the lower one with something in its mouth which looks alarmingly like a pair of testicles (see bottom arrow), the other without any testicles (middle arrow) moving in the opposite direction. There are also three persons, one is shown holding what resembles a set of testicles (see top arrow), the others a spear and axe respectively.

**Figure 2.4.**

The Beaver, MS Bodley 764, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Barber 1992:43).



If this image was to be taken as a picture of scientific knowledge, there is certainly a biological flaw, as pointed out by White in a translation of a 12<sup>th</sup> Century illustrated bestiary, who explains that “The testicles of a beaver are internal and cannot be bitten off” (1984:29). When we read the text of the bestiary, it seems likely that one of the people represented is actually holding up the testicles of the second beast (beaver), and demonstrates that this image is correctly matched to the text:

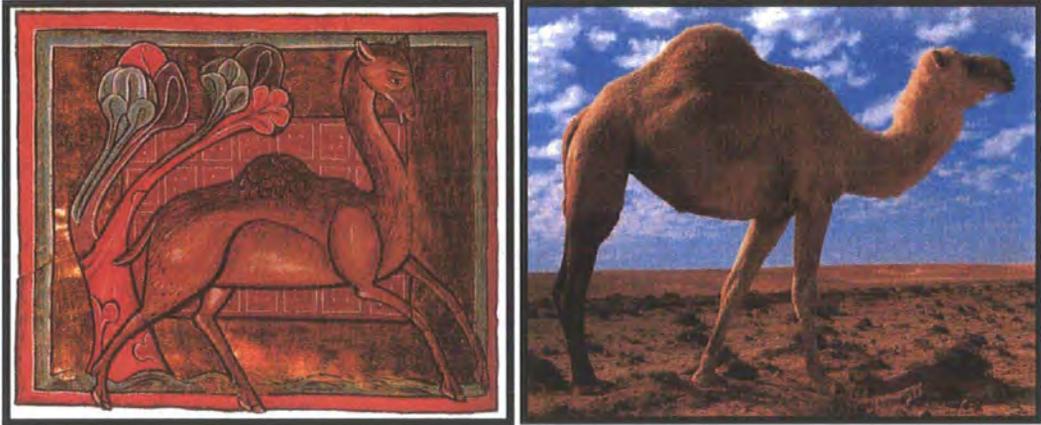
“There is an animal called the beaver, which is quite tame, whose testicles are excellent as medicine. The naturalists say of it that when it realizes that hunters are pursuing it, it bites off its testicles and throws them down in front of the hunters, and thus takes flight and escapes. If it so happens that another hunter follows it, it stands up on its hind legs and shows its sexual organs. When the second hunter sees that it has no testicles, he goes away. In like fashion everyone who reforms his life and wants to live chastely in accordance with God’s commandments should cut off all vices and shameless deeds and throw them in the devil’s face. Then the devil will see that man has nothing belonging to him and will leave him, ashamed. That man will live in God, and will not be taken by the devil, who says: ‘I will overtake, I will divide the spoil’ [Exodus 15:9]. The beaver (castor) is so called because it castrates itself” (Barber, 1992:43-44).

White also suggests that the medicine referred to in the text is ‘castoreum’ which was not found in the testicles but in a different gland (the musk glands which are near the testicles), this demonstrates a second flaw in scientific knowledge. In the case of the beaver, it is easier to accept that the beaver is being used for moral instruction, and not to depict scientific knowledge. Nevertheless, the text of many of the bestiaries was frequently accompanied by colourful pictures or illuminated images (miniatures of the various species featured) in order to communicate with those who consumed them visually and orally. Clark (1975:30-31) suggests that “the illustrators were not free to portray their subjects realistically, being bound strictly by the religious slant of the theologians”, using “time honoured traditions”, and that “as long as the pictures conformed with a convention which the reader could recognise and identify with the doctrinal principles indicated”. This may account for the consistent use of images which bear little or no zoological match with the creature they are believed to portray.

George & Yapp, offer a different view “Many, but not all, of their pictures, as our examples will show, are not only correct but highly original” (1991:28). Although there are exceptions, the accuracy of a considerable number of bestiary images can be confirmed to a large extent, and in support of George & Yapp (1991), I have compared the bestiary likeness of two creatures in MS Bodley 764, to photographs of the real animals in figures 2.5 and 2.6 below.

**Figure 2.5.**

*Left:* Bestiary Camel, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Barber 1992:94) and *Right:* Modern Camel (Burnie 2001:44).



**Figure 2.6.**

*Left:* Bestiary Goose, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Barber 1992:168) and *Right:* Modern Geese (Readers Digest Association 1984:275).



Many authors argue that bestiaries served as one of the sources of inspiration for the animal motifs chosen to be represented in a variety of visual media (Bond 1910, Druce 1919-20, Collins 1940, Anderson 1959). It is possible that the influence of bestiaries on medieval imagery has been overstated in some cases, though this thesis will draw attention to comparisons between bestiary animals and the way animals are depicted in other media where relevant and necessary e.g. the image of the pelican is one example that will be more specifically explored in chapter 7. The bestiary images are therefore of relevance to my research into the visual consumption of animals.

Mâle (1984)<sup>22</sup> cites the *Speculum ecclesiae* of Honorius of Autun, as one important and influential source of inspiration for animal themes found within the ecclesiastical art of France in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century. He believes that the bestiaries “had no real influence on art until they were utilized by Honorius” (1984:46), and does not support the idea that bestiaries themselves were directly influential, and states that the “religious art of the thirteenth century generally accepted only the lion, the eagle, the phoenix, the pelican, and the unicorn, popular symbols of Christ which the *Speculum ecclesiae* and the sermons of preachers had made widely known” (1984:49).

However, images from other types of manuscripts are equally as likely to have been consulted as models. George & Yapp (1991:15) identify a spoonbill in a manuscript, which illustrates ‘Adam naming the animals’, and this depicts a spoonbill-like bird sitting in a tree (figure 2.7). A similar bird can also be found illustrated in other forms of animal visual culture such as a carving at Wells Cathedral in Somerset, and in misericords at Lavenham parish church in Suffolk (figure 2.8) and at Carlisle Cathedral in Cumbria<sup>23</sup>. This bird is not a creature that appears to be mentioned in the bestiaries, so they could not have been a source for the depiction of the spoonbill misericords.

George & Yapp suggest the bird “probably must have been taken from a distinctive bird that then lived in the Somerset Levels, the Solway marshes and the Broads respectively. Only where the image has some unusual characteristic that it shares with bestiaries but not with nature can we be confident of any connection” (1991:16). This is why research into animal visual culture is so important, because without further research into the species represented in particular media and an appreciation of their chronology, it will not be possible to clarify, which could have influenced, or been a source of inspiration or model for another.

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<sup>22</sup> English translation as was available from the university library.

<sup>23</sup> Refer to chapter 4 on misericords.

There are a number of modern secondary works on bestiaries focused on their content, use and consumption. The first was James (1928) who divided the bestiaries into four families, and whose arrangement was developed by McCulloch (1959, revised in 1962) who published a classic work on the history and analysis of bestiary manuscripts. This work outlined the development of the bestiary families and lists which animals were discussed in particular bestiary manuscripts. Thirty years later in the late 1990s Baxter published a ground-breaking work on the use and consumption of the bestiaries.

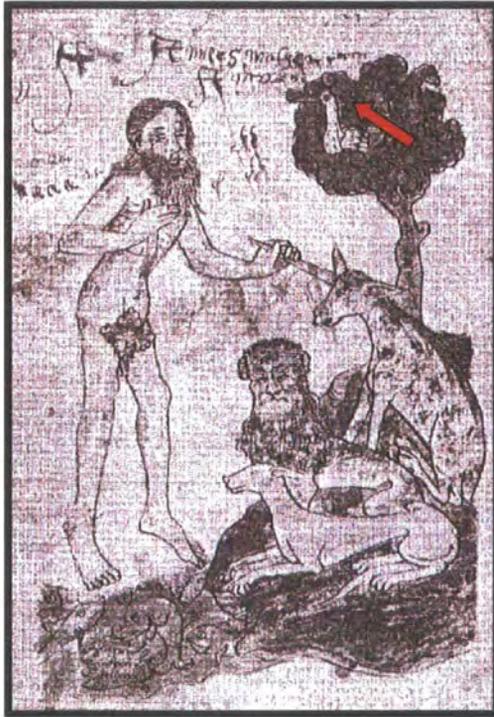
Baxter's work developed that of McCulloch by offering the most comprehensive discussion on the use and consumption of 'Bestiaries' to date, examining who had access to bestiaries and what type of bestiaries these were. Baxter's research made a further attempt to pinpoint the patronage and circulation of the first and second families of bestiaries. This is an important area of research if the consumption and content of bestiaries is to be appreciated and estimates of their availability made geographically and chronologically. This can provide clues as to how they might have been used originally.

Bestiaries could have been made as a practical and active text from which to teach moral instruction by clerics. A high standard of education was required by the clerics in order to be reading daily, therefore manuscript book production was an important part of the activities of the monastery, "The 13<sup>th</sup> Century saw a marked rise in the demand for books for individual use" Yapp (1981a:8). Bestiaries could also have been made as a highly decorative book kept as a possession in order to demonstrate wealth and status, Clark (1975:32-33) states "it became the custom for royalty and the rich to commission books".

Other secondary works on the bestiaries that were consulted for further clarification on their nature and content will be cited where relevant or necessary, such as the work of the iconographer, Druce (1919-1920); Cronin (1941); Henderson (1982); George (1981, 1985); Schrader (1986); Xenia (1986); Clark & McMunn who edited a collection of papers on the bestiary (1989); Payne (1990); George & Yapp (1991); Mermier (1992); Hassig (1995); Brown (2000); and Mezzalira (2001). In addition to books of beasts we also find books of birds, and these will now be discussed.

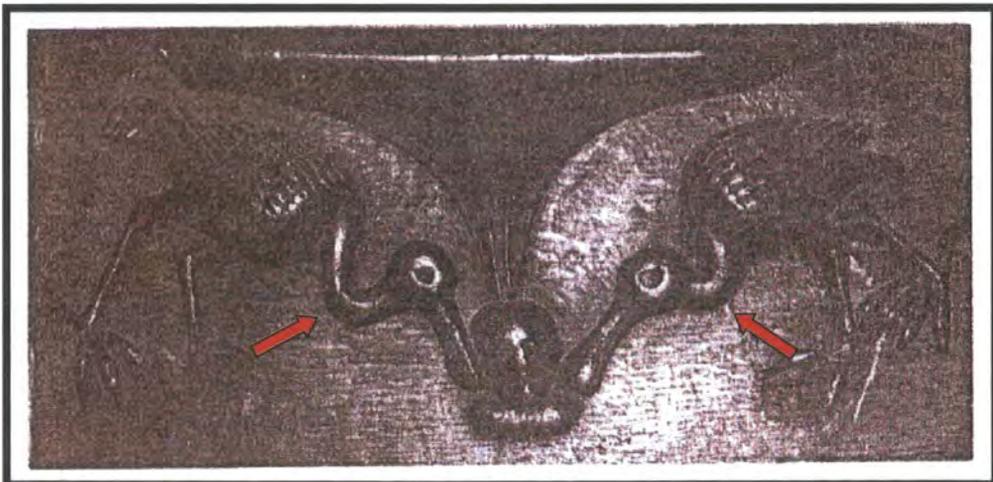
**Figure 2.7.**

Spoonbill in Cambridge University Library Manuscript (MS Gg 6 5 f.2v),  
(George & Yapp 1991:15).



**Figure 2.8.**

Spoonbill in Misericord, Suffolk (Remnant 1969, Plate II).



### **2.1.1d The Aviary (Aviarium) or Book of Birds.**

There are many individual works available for research that deal with birds in part or in entirety. One of these, known as 'The Medieval Book of Birds' presented by Willene Clark (1992), is a major primary source of evidence on birds (refer also to Clark 1982). It is comprised of around 60 chapters that deal with 30 different birds, as well as entries on trees and winds. It is thought that at least 96 manuscript versions were made of this text, under a variety of different names, half of these being partially or fully illustrated, and demonstrating a clear link between treatise text and image (Clark 1992:xi), compared with the bestiary manuscripts.

The original manuscript was written by a French Augustinian prior known as Hugh of Fouillois (Hugh de Folieto) between 1132 and 1152<sup>24</sup>, and is described by Clark as "an allegorical work written expressly for a monastic audience, and contains lessons in Christian thought and behaviour in addition to avian lore" (Clark 1992:1-2). Clark is careful to point out that "most traits mentioned by Hugh come from the Bible, the Physiologus, and Isidore of Seville, that is from texts that were not concerned with empirical definitions, and that, moreover, were written in geographic regions with bird populations different from those of north western Europe" (1992:xiv-xv). This indicates how easily unfamiliar and non-native species could have reached English readers, if the authors were unable to find European counterparts, including those from legend and folklore.

Clark quotes from Hugh's prologue "for the instruction of the unlettered, I say simple things about subtle matters ... For what the Scripture means to the teachers, the picture means to the simple folk". She clarifies that the term picture in this context refers to both the verbal and visual image, and suggests that "The Aviary illustrations must have been intended not only as teaching aids, but also to attract those whose attention was inclined to wander as the text was read to them" (1992:15). The use of oral expression, together with the audience response to pictures, was regarded as a vital part in achieving a communication of true and false images. This concept is explored more widely in the work of Camille (1985), who examines changing patterns of linguistic and acoustical experience in a study of literacy and illiteracy in the Middle Ages, "medieval pictures cannot be separated from what is a total experience of communication involving sight, sound, action and physical expression" and "Pictorial art becomes a statement or discourse of groups and individuals in history, especially when it is possible to establish its role within and alongside other systems of communication" (1985:43-44).

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<sup>24</sup> The earliest copies were printed in the early 16<sup>th</sup> Century in Paris and Venice (Clark 1992:xii).

Camille quoting 'Gregory the Great' from the St Albans Psalter (1985:26):

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

Clark (1992:15) also draws upon the work of Camille and indicates his studies “suggests that the combination of text and image in separate zones in the prologue miniature of some aviaries, with the Dove or clerk facing the Hawk or lay-brother, expresses the relationship between the literate person as teacher and the illiterate audience”. It is also possible that the use of images assisted the recall of the lessons to be learnt, like reminders to the memory or a mnemonic (refer also to Rowland 1989, in Clark and McMunn on this point). The work published by Clark (1992) is particularly valuable for the scholar because it provides a catalogue of all extant Aviary manuscripts and illustrated manuscripts known, therefore this is a major reference work and a valuable background to any study of visual culture that includes birds as subject matter. She states that artists of the Aviary often depicted one or two naturalistic features of a bird such as: the body shape, long legs, crest, a forked tail or a large beak. And comments a complete visual description, is rare, but must have sufficed for even a single trait to represent a whole creature.

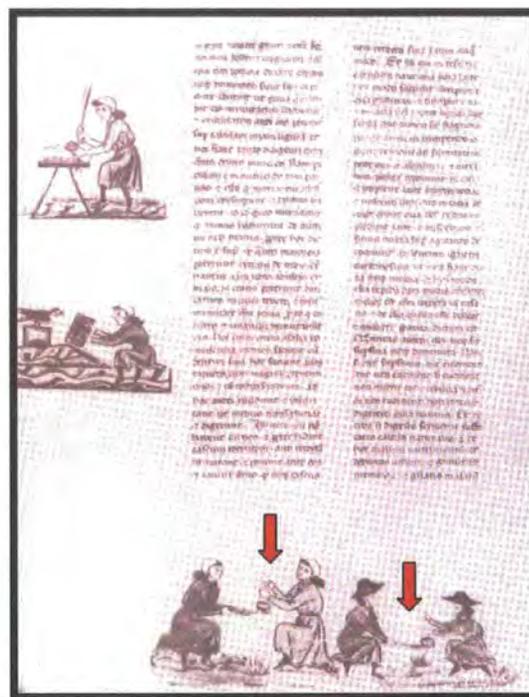
In most bird “portraits,” either verbal or visual, it is usually impossible to identify more than the bird family. The birds which are most often identifiable are the larger ones which would have been familiar to northern European artists either by domestication or frequent proximity such as the Cock, the Goose, the Peacock, the Stork, and the Swan. Clarke suggests that “no two Aviary manuscripts illustrate the birds in exactly the same way”, and that “within a group one manuscript differs from the next in the form and colours it gives a particular bird”. This lack of consistency she suggests “results not only from medieval attitudes toward nature, but also from differences of style: the individual artist’s style, and that of the period” (Clark 1992:37).

The ‘Art of Falconry’ (*De arte venandi cum avibus*) of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen is another major source of evidence for birds in the Western literature of the Middle Ages, and is available to read in translation (Wood and Fyfe 1961). It is possible that copies of these manuscripts were used as a source of inspiration for the avian related motifs that can be found within a variety of media in the Middle Ages. The manuscript covers all aspects of falconry, such as the feeding of falcons, as discussed in chapter 33 of the manuscript. It suggests avian flesh is more suitable than that of other animals for raising fledglings and more easily converted into nutrients. The text also suggests when the meat supply is exhausted that the meat can be substituted with fresh or cooked cheese, or as illustrated in figure 2.9 overleaf, eggs cooked in milk. The text even provides a recipe for this:

“The whites and yolks of hens’ eggs, the empty shells of which must be preserved intact, should be placed in a bowl or an iron cup that has been well tinned. The shells, that have been opened at the top, should now be filled with milk, which is then mixed with the eggs. The mixture must be cooked slowly over a charcoal fire, stirring it meanwhile, until it is neither hard nor soft. This decoction, served lukewarm, is better for the birds than either cooked or fresh cheese” (Wood and Fyfe 1961:134-135).

**Figure 2.9.**

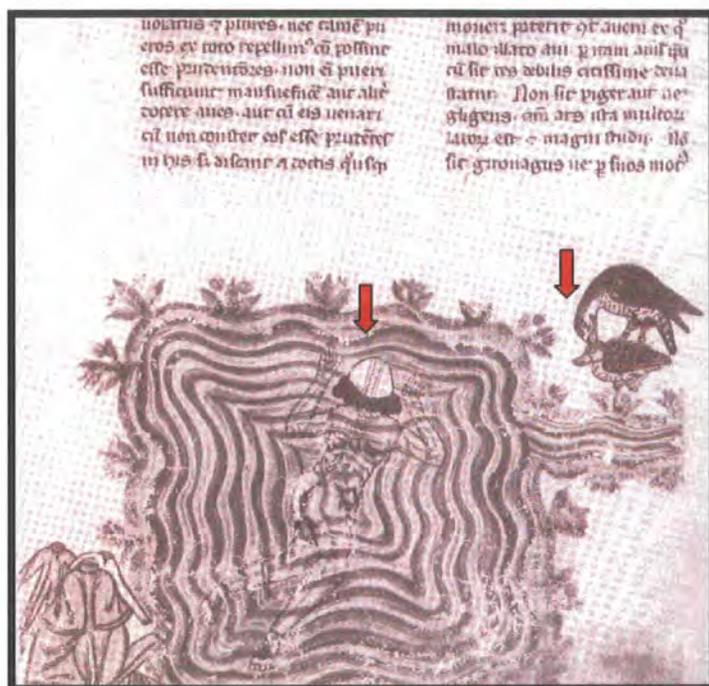
Preparing Food (Milk & Egg Mixture) For Falcons, Vatican Codex, Folio 59v,  
(Wood and Fyfe 1961:131).



Another chapter (47) deals with the qualifications required by falconers. Figure 2.10 overleaf, illustrates one of the qualities required of a falconer, “He should be able to swim in order to cross unfordable water and follow his bird when she has flown over and requires assistance” (Wood and Fyfe 1961:150-151).

**Figure 2.10.**

Falconer Swimming to the Rescue of A Falcon, Vatican MS. Pal. Lat. 1071, Folio 69,  
(Wood and Fyfe 1961:156).



During the 1980s the zoologist Brunsdon Yapp produced a variety of works focused on the analysis of birds (1979, 1981a, 1981b, 1987) and animals in tapestry, manuscripts and bestiaries (1987, and George & Yapp 1991). These works demonstrate a wide variety of identifiable bird species (particularly when painted in colour) within a number of books. Yapp commented on the work of Hassall (1954) who focused on the manuscript referred to as ‘The Holkham Bible Picture Book’. Yapp observes that although this work made much of the symbolism of the species represented, it relied to a certain extent on a 15<sup>th</sup> Century translation of one of the species, ‘lucina’, as a goldfinch (as illustrated in figure 2.11). Yapp argues that “this is an obvious error, since in other vocabularies the word means nightingale” and that “it is not the only error in the manuscript, from which the vocabulary is printed by Wright (1884). All except the parrot occur elsewhere in the Holkham Bible Picture Book in contexts where they cannot have the symbolism ascribed to them here” (Yapp 1981:100).

**Figure 2.11.**

The Goldfinch in the Holkham Bible Picture Book, B.L. MS. Add. 47682 (Yapp 1981).



### 2.1.2 The Works of Mortals.

Many of the works consulted help emphasize the variety of works that the writers of the medieval bestiaries and Aviarium might have used as their original source material. Many of these works dated to the classical period but obviously had valuable currency for many centuries because they made references to animals which could be supplemented by verbal sources. These will now be outlined further.

#### 2.1.2a Antique Classical Sources.

There are a number of key authors from the Classical period who served as inspiration for texts containing animals written in the Middle Ages, such as versions of the Physiologus, bestiaries and Aviarium. These authors vary in their own levels of scholarship, accuracy, and in the balance of fact and mythology presented in their texts. These sources are therefore of interest to research into the visual consumption of animals since they served as one source of inspiration for the knowledge, behaviours and observations that were later re-created as animal motifs, and as stories about animals used by writers in the Middle Ages. Aristotle, Pliny and Aelian are amongst the sources that could have been consulted and receive a brief consideration in this section.

Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*<sup>25</sup>, *Parts of Animals*<sup>26</sup>, *Movement of Animals*, *Progression of Animals*, *Generation of Animals* were written in the 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC. Clark (1975:15) regards Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* as "by far the best zoological work produced in classical times. It was drawn up in a systematic and highly scientific fashion, and was based on much personal observation supplemented by the discriminating use of other responsible authorities". Book 10 of the work was devoted to birds (Clark 1992:3). The work of Pliny the Elder (1<sup>st</sup> Century AD), includes a 37 volume work, *Natural History*, featuring several volumes on zoology and others on animal medicine. In comparison, Clark regards this work as rather in-discriminatory compared with that of Aristotle, though nevertheless suggests it "was regarded as a major textbook even as late as the seventeenth century" (1975:16).

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<sup>25</sup> See Peck (1965, 1970, 1991), for Loeb translations of the original text.

<sup>26</sup> Lennox (2001) offers a commentary and translations of the original text.

Aelian (Claudius Aelianus) was a Roman author who wrote in Greek during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century AD. His work '*On the Characteristics of Animals*' was divided into three volumes, with a total of 17 books (translation by Scholfield 1972). Aelian's work offers discussion of a wide range of animals, including many stories, and tales e.g. Aelian reported that a winged 'Sow' actually had lived on the island of Klazomenae in the Aegian Sea (Aelian: Book XII:38). The idea that such a creature might have been thought to be real might have been influenced by someone seeing the image of a winged 'boar' appearing in part on coinage of Klazomenae, and further by a winged and tailed pig appearing on a Carian Stater of Ialysus, Rhodes dating back as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> Century BC (Sillar & Meyer 1961:109, plate 5.1). Again, whilst seeing is not believing, perhaps in this case the interpretation was taken as a picture of reality. Many of the creatures that were written about had a religious significance on account of their involvement in the multi-theistic religions that were accepted in the Classical world (Clark 1975:59). This religious background was very different from that of the English Middle Ages, where a single god was felt sufficient. It is obvious how influential and enduring these texts were, and they no doubt served as the inspiration for other types of works produced in the Middle Ages, such as the stories and prose containing animals which will be discussed further below.

### **2.1.2b Tales, Fables and Prose.**

In the Middle Ages the writing of prose, tales, romances and fables contained a variety of animals, e.g. the fables of Aesop, or Phaedrus. It was difficult for many authors to distinguish the truth from fiction (South 1981:xi). One important source consulted for this research are the fables of Marie de France, which serve as a primary source of evidence for the Middle Ages. The majority of these fables are about animals, and since it is a source composed by a woman it offers a unique female perspective on animals for the period. There are over 40 creatures featured in the fables. Twenty-three versions of the fables survive from manuscripts dating between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries. It is thought that the fables were possibly written much earlier, perhaps during the 12<sup>th</sup> Century whilst in Norman England (refer to translation by Spiegel 1987:4-5). However, the sources used to produce the fables are not clear, and it is possible that classical sources were drawn upon as occurred with many other manuscripts in the Middle Ages. George & Yapp (1991:4) indicate that other sources of lore that were influential were the encyclopedic writings of Isidore of Seville (c.560-636). The '*Etymologiarum or Etymology*', especially book 12: *De Animalibus*; that of Englishman Bartholomew Anglicus (or Glanville) in *De Proprietatibus Rerum* ('On the Nature of Things'), which was a type of medieval encyclopedia in 19 volumes (refer to Steele 1893, 1924; and George and Yapp 1991).

Other accounts included those of world travellers and voyagers, including Marco Polo, Odoric, Alexander Neckham, and Sir John Mandeville, which all strengthened the wealth of animal lore in circulation (refer to Clark 1975:20; Clark 1992:3). In addition to these are Renaissance works, such as that of the Swiss naturalist Konrad von Gesner's *'Historia Animalium'* (1551-1587) in 5 volumes (refer to Clark 1975:22; South 1981:xi), or Edward Topsell's 'History of Four Footed Beasts', 'History of Serpents' and 'Theatre of Insects' (which offered at least 130 species and was likely based on Gesner), yet just over 20 of the animals are included in the translation by South (1981). These texts would have been created using earlier works such as those discussed above, and many incorporated into the bestiaries and Aviarium.

The use of animals within English Renaissance prose has been discussed by Carroll, who showed that animals were the subjects of similes, metaphors and lore. He suggested that these ideas were being transmitted from the Bible, classical works on natural history, the medieval romances, and folk tales (1976:15ff). This is significant for the study of the visual consumption of animals because these similes, metaphors and lore could have been represented in a more visual format to communicate these ideas to the vast majority of those who would have been unable to read.

Other examples of texts that can be consulted to find out about the use of animals in the literature of the Middle Ages include Robin (1932), who offers a good discussion of the sources of animal lore in English literature; White (1954 and 1961), who discusses medical animal lore; Rowland (1971), who offers a discussion of the animals used in the work of Chaucer, including a focus on the boar, hare, wolf, horse, sheep and dog; Ziolkowski (1993) who presents medieval Latin poetry; Honegger (1996) for medieval English poetry; Houwen (1997), with a selection of essays on animals in medieval literature; Salter (2001) who examines animals in the lives of the saints, and Middle English romances; and Cartlidge (2001) who translated an early Middle English poem, known as the 'Owl and the Nightingale', written in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Clark 1975:96).

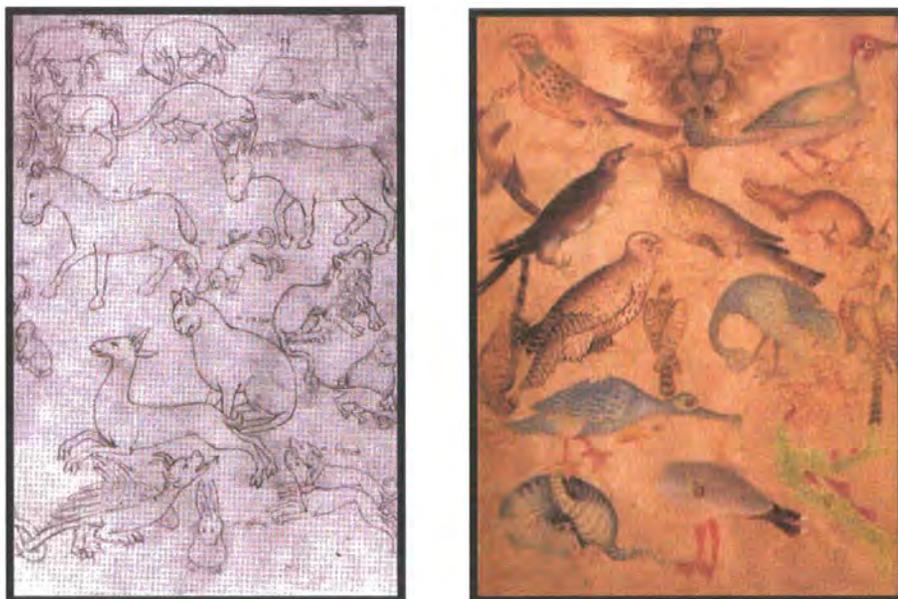
All these various sources from which information on animals was compiled in the Middle Ages, show that animals had a very real role in the social and spiritual life of medieval people. They were utilized and drawn upon in order to produce drawings that people would hopefully have easily understood, and it is possible that many of these images were adapted to more visual material and reproduced at numerous locations throughout the country. The collation of these pictures could have been reproduced as motifs in a single volume or model book, as will be discussed further in section **2.1.2c** below.

### 2.1.2c Model Books and Exemplum.

Model books contained a collection of drawings that were used as a basis for transmitting ideas into other materials. A number of them could be regarded as books of exempla, as the motifs included in them had associations with good or bad behaviour. These are obviously very important sources of inspiration for the visual culture of animals in the Middle Ages. They also indicate the extent to which particular visual motifs were popular and had acquired currency as a visual model that could be utilised in a variety of media.

**Figure 2.12.**

English Model Book of Animals and Birds (MS 1916), Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, 14<sup>th</sup> Century, (Scheller 1995).



A major study of model books and exempla from the 10<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> Century has been produced by Scheller (1995), developed from an earlier survey of model books. This work is important in understanding how visual forms of animal material culture originated. The figure shows examples of animals and birds from an English model book dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> Century (1995:200ff). Other works include Whitesell (1947), who discussed the specific role of fables in medieval exempla; Randall (1957), who discussed exempla as a source of visual imagery in manuscript illumination; and Davis-Weyer (1996), who published a study on the sources and documents used for medieval art.

## **2.2 The Secondary Literature.**

There is a wide range of literature on animals relating to the Middle Ages (medieval to early modern periods). These works discuss the use of animals in a variety of abstract ways in literature, art, architecture, symbolism, iconography, as well as considering the bones of animals themselves. These are important in establishing an understanding of how animals functioned in more cognitive (as opposed to physical) aspects of life, and therefore offer a wider range of background material against which to explore the visual culture of animals.

The source literature consulted represents a varied selection of the entire corpus available on the Middle Ages. Due to the time and financial constraints placed on the current research, coupled with language barriers, it does not reference everything that has ever been written nor does it include every available or relevant work in print. It does, however, aim to provide a representative selection of major and minor works that are available for consultation. The secondary literature will be considered within discussion of five main categories.

In section **2.2.1**, the representation of Animals in Art; in section **2.2.2** Animals in Symbolism; in section **2.2.3** Animals in Iconography; in section **2.2.4** Animals in Human Perceptions; and finally in section **2.2.5** Animals in Archaeology. Whilst some of these sources could be considered in only one category, the scope of others made them relevant to more than one. In addition to those works discussed here, there are further literary sources which will be discussed separately and reviewed as part of the appropriate chapter 3, 4 or 5, on stained and painted glass, misericords, and portable material culture respectively.

### **2.2.1 Animals in Art.**

Specific works relating to the art of the medieval period include that of Klingender (1971), on *'Animals in Art and Thought to the end of the Middle Ages'*; Hicks (1993) who published a study on, *'Animals in Early Medieval Art'*, and Benton (1992) who published the lavishly illustrated *'Medieval Menagerie: Animals in the Art of the Middle Ages'*, which offers discussion on the information about and meaning of animals in medieval art. These works are amongst the most relevant for a background to this thesis. They are all seminal works, offering a wealth of animal images and discussion of animals in the animal visual culture from the period of interest.

To support these studies are other works with a more individual focus on particular animals and birds such as Laufer (1928) for the 'Giraffe'; Fleitmann (1931) with a focus on the art of the 'Horse'; Booth (1981) for the 'White Hart'; Varty who published the classic work on the art and iconography of the 'Fox' in the medieval period (1967, 1999), which was important since the fox is cited as an animal frequently represented; and Friedman (1989), who offered a discussion of love imagery relating to 'Falcons' in Medieval and Renaissance Art. There are also a variety of works which discuss animal images found within a range of different types of materials. Wildridge (1898) offered a brief introduction to the animal representations to be found in wood, stone and bronze. Anderson (1938), examined 'Animals Carvings in British Churches' and discussed a variety of sources of inspiration for these such as the bestiaries, the romances, and direct observations. Bofarullysans (1959) and George (1969) contribute with a discussion of animals in 'Watermarks' and 'Maps' respectively. Gathercole (1995) presents animals in French manuscript illumination; Bovey (2002) presents monsters in 'Manuscripts'. There are a wide range of publications on animals in art through the ages such as Ana Berry (1929), Marcel Brion (1959), and Toynbee (1996) who published a work on animals in 'Roman Life and Art'. These were a useful source of reference for the current research because they can be used to help trace the influence of particular animals and their enduring influence and popularity from the classical period to the Middle Ages.

### **2.2.2 Animals in Symbolism.**

“For the theologians of the Middle Ages, nature was a symbol, and living beings were expressions of God’s thoughts ... a cathedral is an epitome of the world and all God’s creatures may enter” (Mâle 1984:64).

There are a large number of general works on symbolism which make reference to animals having symbolism, or being used as symbols, such as Fontana (1993) in a work on the secret language of symbols; works focused on the medieval understanding of symbolism such as Ladner (1979); to entries in dictionaries of beasts such as Barber and Riches (1972), or that of Ross (1996) specifically on animal symbolism. In addition to these are authors such as Telesko (2001) who focuses on the symbolism of plants and animals in the Middle Ages; and Werness (2004) who has recently published an encyclopaedia specifically devoted to the theme of animal symbolism.

Less recent works include Evans (1896), who published 'Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture', and Collins (1913) who published a guide to the symbolism of 'Animals and Birds Represented in English Church Architecture'. These works have both provided a valuable insight into the range of associations with particular animals, and though both of these authors demonstrate a heavy reliance on the work of Allen (1887, 1888), they are amongst the earliest of all the secondary sources that have been written that were consulted for this thesis, and ones that will be drawn upon regularly within later chapters. Other works are available focused on specific types of animal symbolism, such as Friedman (1926) who published a work on the history, significance and symbolism of the 'Goldfinch' in European Devotional Art; Abraham (1963) for the myth and symbolism associated with the 'Rabbit'; and Thiebaut (1974) for the 'Stag of Love'. Kearney (1991) is a useful source for tracing the stories, folklore and symbolism associated with 'Pigs', as is Figg (2002) for a source on companion animals and signs of social status in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century.

Druce, was a prolific writer on aspects of ecclesiastical legend, symbolism and iconography, and published many articles on a variety of real and fantastic animals in ecclesiastical art and architecture e.g. the symbolism of the 'Goat' (1908), 'Crocodile' (1909), 'Amphisbaena' (1910), 'Yale' (1911), 'Caladrius' (1912), 'Serra or Saw Fish (1919a), 'Elephant' (1919b), 'Ant Lion' (1923), 'Pig' (1934a), 'Pelican' (1934b) and 'Lion' (1936). He is therefore an extremely relevant author to draw upon.

Some images of animals have a long history, and strong associations as symbolic images. The 'Judensau' is a well known representation of a pig that appears in a variety of media from the the 13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Shachar (1974:65), suggests that the motif was originally invented as "an allegorical representation, in the style of the period, of a vice-animal with its adherents"; however as the image developed, it later became a motif of abuse, targetted to offer a generic insult aimed at an entire religious community, the Jews (refer also to Strickland 2003:95ff).

Meyer (2003) investigates the concept of the 'City of God' (New Jerusalem) being represented allegorically as a landscape within the fabric and architecture of ecclesiastical buildings, in particular with the English phenomenon of the building and endowing of chantry chapels<sup>27</sup> in the later Middle Ages. They facilitated a means to express hope beyond death, offering a means to personal salvation for those individuals, families or other groups of people who could afford them<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> Along with liturgical objects, many of these chantries were destroyed or dismantled with the reformers of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century (estimated as many as 2000) and further with the Supression Acts of Henry VIII (1545) and Edward VI (1547), refer to Meyer (2003:99, 102).

<sup>28</sup> These provided a good source of revenue for the crown (Meyer 2003:108).

The freedom of choice offered in the decoration of chantries may have resulted in the representation of various animals as a product of religious expression. No doubt animals appeared as a consequence in a variety of visual media crossing traditional artistic boundaries, and involving imitative exchange amongst ecclesiastical craftsmen (refer to Meyer 2003:124). Further endowments and alms were also presented to the clergy (by the laity) to secure prayers<sup>29</sup> in return, in an effort to secure a future place in heaven.

Werness (2004) presents a variety of complex systems expressive of views about nature which involve animal symbolism. For example, particular animals may have been associated with one of the *four seasons* e.g. a lamb for spring; a lion for summer; the hare for autumn; and the wild duck for winter (2004:94). The *four temperaments* (also known as the humours) could be emphasised by animals e.g. *sanguine* (sensual) was associated with the ape, hare or rabbit; *melancholy* with the goat or snake; *phlegmatic* (sluggish/lazy) with the fish, frog, pig and ox; and *choleric* (angry, cruel) with the cat or lion (2004:95). Werness also highlights a number of virtues and vices which used animals and their attributes to represent this type of moral exempla.

*Cardinal virtues* used the lion for representations of justice; the lion's skin to signify fortitude; and the snake or stag for prudence or wisdom (2004:95). *Theological virtues* utilised the pelican for charity; and the crow or swallow for hope (2004:95). A variety of animals were also used to represent the *seven deadly sins* such as a bear, boar, wolf or lion for *anger*; a harpy, rat, toad, falcon, vulture or other bird of prey for *avarice*; a snake, snarling dog or scorpion for *envy*; animals associated with large appetites such as a bear, fox, hedgehog, pig, or wolf for *gluttony*; animals regarded as sexually active such as apes, ass, basilisk, bear, boar, cat, centaur, cock, goat, hare, horse, leopard, minotaur, monkey, pig, rabbit, satyr, snakes and toads for *lust*; the cock, peacock, leopard, lion and eagle for *pride*; and a beast of burden such as an ass, ox, pig or snail to signify *sloth* (2004:96). Just because a particular animal was represented did not mean its representation was automatically understood.

Other features representing the context of display may have been important to emphasise the meaning of the image, rather than the animal being represented as a stand-alone symbol such as human figures, often female e.g. for Envy "a woman eating her own heart or entrails, a hag-like personification with snakes for hair or tongue, sometimes accompanied by a snarling dog or scorpion" or for Sloth "overweight man or pig, often riding or accompanied by a beast of burden such as an ox or ass; snail" (Werness 2004:96).

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<sup>29</sup> Masses for the remembrance of the souls of the dead were also made for spiritual benefit, and at Durham Cathedral - more than 7000 were recited by the monks each year (Meyer 2003:101-102).

It is also possible that for the meaning of one animal to be understood, it must be depicted in association with another. In this respect a scene might contain animals which may signify the complementary opposite qualities of the other, as two pieces of a whole picture so to speak. This can be understood in terms of good and evil, one method of representing this could be as two animals fighting each other i.e. predator and prey (for further discussion on this topic refer to Werness 2004).

### **2.2.3 Animals in Iconography.**

In 1998, Roeloff Van Straten, published “An Introduction to Iconography”. This was a relevant background work to understand what is meant by, and definitions of, iconography as opposed to iconology. A further understanding of the application of iconography to the Middle Ages, is best achieved by using the research tool of Friedman and Wegmann (1998), who published essentially a bibliographic tool of relevant works across a variety of topics, and specifically works on a variety of animals, which greatly assisted the search for suitable literature focused on the iconography of the Middle Ages.

Specific works on animal iconography include those such as Clarke (1973, 1974, 1976, 1986) who published discussion on the ‘Iconography of the Rhinoceros’<sup>30</sup> and provides an overview of the popularity of the animal throughout Europe; and Jones (2000) for his work on the ‘Popinjay’ and the iconography of May. Other relevant works include, Hutchinson (1978), who published a work on ‘Zoological Iconography’ in the late Middle Ages; Olsen (1989) who examined the social roles of animal iconography; and Baker (1993) who offers discussion of a selection of animals used in an iconographical contexts as images of power<sup>31</sup>.

Mâle, (1978, 1984, 1986)<sup>32</sup> examined religious art in France, during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Centuries, and the late Middle Ages, discussing the origins and sources of medieval iconography, and includes a large section on nature (containing animals). In his discussion of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century, he suggests that many of the animals represented in ecclesiastical contexts have no meaning. He draws upon the work of St. Bernard who stated that “hybrid monsters on capitals had no meaning”, and highlights that “Our sculptors were not always concerned with teaching; most of the time they thought only to decorate” (1978:341).

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<sup>30</sup> See also Rookmaker (1973, 1983).

<sup>31</sup> Chapter 7 offers greater analytical discussion of animal iconography with reference to specific creatures within themes.

<sup>32</sup> English translation reprints were used as available from the university library, not the original publications in French.

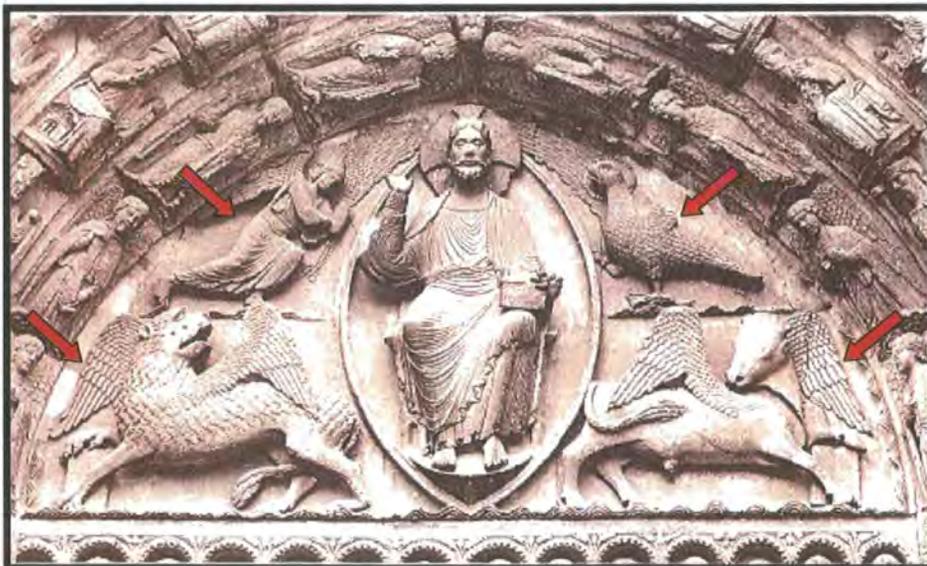
Mâle suggests that the research of many nineteenth century archaeologists persisting in trying to decipher “these hieroglyphs” was undermined (1978:341). This would make the assumption that the written word was more important than what had been produced, and that all sculptural work was executed to depict a subject devoid of any significance or without meaning in each context. It is unlikely that this was so in all cases, and even if the producer created an image without an intention to communicate a message, the image may still have triggered an association by the visual consumer.

In his discussion of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, Mâle explains that one of the characteristics of medieval iconography is that the art was like a form of sacred writing (1984:3), one which he suggests was almost mathematical in its formulae for hierarchical placement, ordered arrangement, visual symmetry and even in the size and number of the characters that were represented (1984:7). For example, saints could be ordered four-fold in relation to god, to their neighbours, to themselves and to assigned tasks, and thus having four faces.

One four-fold animal arrangement that Mâle discusses specifically is that of the four beasts of the Apocalypse (the human, the eagle, the lion and the ox). In visual representations, they were ordered “according to their dignity” and “excellence of their natures” (1984:8). Mâle clarifies that when they were depicted to surround Christ in a tympanum, “account had to be taken both of the dignity conferred by the higher position and by the right-hand side” and that as a result they were arranged as follows: “the winged man was placed at the top of the composition on the right of Christ, the eagle at the top left, the lion below on the right, and the ox in the lower left” as illustrated and emphasized below in figure 2.13.

**Figure 2.13.**

Christ and the Evangelist Symbols at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame (Mâle 1984:9).



These four creatures were therefore used to represent the symbols of Mathew, Mark, Luke and John according to various manuscript lectionaries, each having “four faces in the writing of the humanity, the Passion, the Resurrection, and the divinity of Christ” (Ryan and Ripperger 1991:624). Mâle further explains the significance of these beasts and suggests they would have been explained in the churches in which they were found, and that in the 12<sup>th</sup> Century “they symbolized, at the same time, Jesus Christ, the evangelists, and the virtues of the elect” (1984:39).

In the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, each of the four animals was understood to represent a stage in the life of Jesus. The human figure was specifically considered to be the symbol of St. Matthew since he dwelt upon the humanity of Christ (and a symbol of the ‘Incarnation’ of Jesus to man). The eagle represented St. John, and in writing of Christ’s divinity flew higher than the others (thus representing the ‘Ascension’ of Jesus to heaven). The lion was the symbol of St. Mark (equated with the ‘Resurrection’ since the lions cubs were said to lie as if dead and are woken up by the lion’s roar). The ox was the symbol of St. Luke and a symbol of the passionate ‘Sacrifice’ Jesus made of his own life for all others. The four animals also were therefore used as a model to demonstrate the qualities necessary for salvation:

“Each Christian, on the way to divine perfection, must at the same time be a man, an ox, a lion, and an eagle. He must be a man because man is the rational animal and only he who advances in the way of reason merits the name of man; he must be an ox because the ox is the victim immolated in sacrifices, and the true Christian, in renouncing all the pleasures of the world, sacrifices himself; he must be a lion because the lion is the brave animal par excellence, and the just man who has renounced everything fears nothing in this world, for of him it is written: “... the just, bold as a lion, shall be without dread.” Lastly, he must be like the eagle, because the eagle soars in the heavens and looks into the sun without lowering its eyes, and the Christian must contemplate eternal things face to face.” (1984:40).

Mâle further suggests of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century that it was a period of Encyclopaedias, and cites Vincent of Beauvais as having one of the most comprehensive intellects of the Middle Ages, an individual in whom “resided all the learning of his time” (1984:25). Vincent’s ‘Mirror of the World’, or “*Speculum Majus*”, is therefore considered to have been a highly influential work of its time. It was divided into four parts or mirrors, used to list, describe and explain the whole universe, one book discussing nature, another on knowledge, one on morals, and the fourth on history (refer to Mâle 1984:26). Mâle comments that this system was “so perfect that there was nothing left for the medieval man to discover”, and as such the book is regarded as “the surest guide we can have for the study of the controlling ideas of thirteenth-century art” (1984:27).

## 2.2.4 Animal in Human Perceptions.

Although the thinking reflected by modern scholars is not applicable to that of the Middle Ages, their work has increased my awareness of different issues involving animals, how they are regarded, why they are important to us, and what their rights and roles are within modern society. As a consequence of these works, a need to understand what could be found out about animals in times past was developed. The authors that deserve credit include Keith Tester (1991); Mary Midgely (1993); Steve Baker (1993), Aubrey Manning and James Serpell (1994); Arnold Arluke and Clinton Sanders (1996) and Swabe (1996); and a variety of other authors whose work has appeared in the ISAZ<sup>33</sup> journal *Anthrozoös*<sup>34</sup>.

As a researcher, any preoccupations and interests in animals that have developed are a direct result of my personal experience of animals and this no doubt will cloud my ability to interpret the Middle Ages. Therefore to explore a human's perceptions of animals in the Middle Ages a variety of authors were drawn upon such as Cohen (1994), McCarthy (1995), Salisbury (1994, 1996), Benton (1992), Flores (1996), Hassig (1999) and Pluskowski (2002).

Ester Cohen's work on '*Animals in Medieval Perceptions*' (1994:60-61) states that an 'Animal Vocabulary' was very much part of medieval society, as "when human beings wanted to express a concept they dressed it in animal symbolism". This is a key work for studying the visual consumption of animals, because if an animal vocabulary was widely used then this helps to appreciate why animals so frequently appear in visual material culture.

Animal visual culture could be regarded as a means of communicating in a non-verbal context, which, in a world with high levels of illiteracy, was an important consideration. Cohen's ideas are developed and draw upon the 13th Century encyclopaedist, Bartholomew Anglicus<sup>35</sup>, who believed the biblical attitude towards animals "All types of animals, domestic and wild beasts as well as reptiles, were created for the best use of man", Cohen (1994:61).

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<sup>33</sup> International Society for Anthrozoology.

<sup>34</sup> A Multidisciplinary Journal of the Interactions of People and Animals.

<sup>35</sup> In the work '*De Rerum Proprietatibus*' (1601:985-6).

Dorothy McCarthy's thesis on *'Images of Animal and Human Bodies and the Boundaries of the Human in Late Medieval English Literature and Art'*, is another key source relevant to this area of research. In supporting her conclusions she draws upon a selection of primary works, such as those of Gerard of Wales<sup>36</sup> in his *'De Principis Instructione'*. One story tells of:

“a wall-painting in the castle at Winchester executed on the orders of Henry II: it was to show the king himself as a royal eagle, pecked and harried by four eaglets representing his troublesome sons” (1995:28-29). She argues that “Overall, medieval – and later – writers treat the world of birds as a rounded, comprehensible whole, a finite although intriguingly varied structure which replicates, and therefore gives support to, the existing order of human society. Birds often appear as members of a parliament, participants in a mass, or harmonizing in a choir, imparting an air of graceful amity to these rites and institutions” (1995:39).

In 1994 Salisbury published *'The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages'*. This is one of the most useful secondary works in supporting this thesis. Salisbury offers a series of themed chapters, one of which examines the animal and themes represented in a large collection of manuscripts. This was useful as an inspiring comparative for that created for the pilot studies presented in chapters 3, 4 and 5. In addition to this, Salisbury's (1996) work<sup>37</sup> presents a similar view to Cohen and McCarthy, and suggests that in medieval literature “animals are used to discuss human society, to mirror humanity”. Further, she argues that such a usage reveals the imposed value on real animals, which in turn influenced the real views that humans had of animals: “Animals that were portrayed as models for ideal human behaviour ... became more valued and respected. Animals that were portrayed with less desirable traits ... became despised” (1996:49). Therefore, if animals were being used as a means of social commentary in medieval literature, then this would add support to the idea that animals were used in visual culture for a similar purpose, and that this served as a means of communication for those that were unable to read. In this way, animals became vehicles in which to transmit knowledge of the world, and demonstrated how to live and behave in the world, and were consumed as such. Further sources include, Benton (1992) who offered a chapter on the medieval attitude toward the past; Flores (1996) and Hassig (1999) who edited a selection of papers on animals in the Middle Ages, and most recently Pluskowski (2002) who edited a collection of papers on various aspects of the study of animals from archaeology and zoo-archaeology.

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<sup>36</sup> The source is cited by McCarthy as, ed. George F. Warner, Rolls Series, 21, vol. viii (London, 1891), dist. III, cap. 26 (pp295-6).

<sup>37</sup> Salisbury cites the fables of 'Marie of France' and 'Odo of Cheriton' as examples of sources of her ideas.

### 2.2.5 Animals in Archaeology.

At the time this research was commenced there were no published works available in English<sup>38</sup> with the specific title of 'Animals in Visual Culture', or 'Animal Visual Culture', or 'Animal Material Culture' or 'Visual Creature Consumption', but there were specific sources available relating to particular forms of animal, bird or fish consumption in the archaeological and zoo-archaeological literature. In comparison to the archaeological writings available, titles including the words 'consumption' and 'food consumption', are more common features of the much larger body of non-archaeological, historically and medically orientated literature.

Certain forms of animal visual culture can be associated with entertainment through animal watching or animal voyeurism. Such entertainment was possible as a result of both formal and informal opportunities for observing animals, including zoos (Baratay 2002), menageries (Hahn 2003), and wildlife parks. Further opportunities to see animals occurred with the parading, exhibition of and performance of animals in circus and shows. Live and dead animals have also been the subject of display (Asma 2003), some stuffed such as the rhinoceros (Clarke 1973, 1974, 1986), others were visible in collections of curios or displayed in museums.

Animals have also participated in, and been the focus of games and sports for human pleasure such as show-jumping, dressage, polo, rodeo, sheep dog trials, falconry, as well as the racing of animals such as tortoises, dogs, horses and camels. More human relationships have been focused towards animals for companionship, through pet keeping, and novelty gift giving of live animals (refer to Cartwright 1997) to those gifts requiring preservation or taxidermy of stuffed animals. However, animals have also been negatively exploited through being placed in combative events for human entertainment and cruelty such as bear<sup>39</sup>, cock, dog and bull fighting, badger baiting, and displayed in more intimate activities such as sex with humans (refer to Shachar 1974 and Jones 1990, 1991b, 2002).

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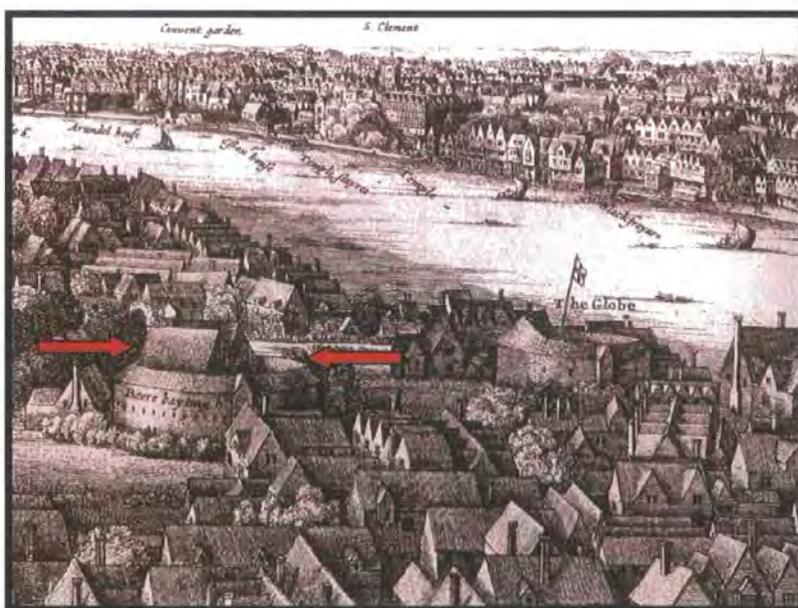
<sup>38</sup> This demonstrates the new and original contribution to literature made by the thesis in developing and expanding the scope and understanding of the field and approach known as 'animal visual culture', particularly in its application to societies where the technological representation of information, social meaning or other forms of visual pleasure had yet to be developed

<sup>39</sup> Illustrated below in figure 2.14.

Archaeologically, investigations of animals have typically been focused upon the faunal remains, predominantly the bones and the teeth of creatures after they have died/been slaughtered (e.g. Prummel 1997, Gardiner 1997, Eryvynck 1997). In many cases the analysis of parts of the animal skeleton has focused on collecting elemental and metrical data, and using these to research the economies of a site or locale in terms of the animals relating to food production (edible consumption). This can be achieved through reconstructing and highlighting the breeding and processing of animals for their primary and secondary products (e.g. milk, eggs, fur, feathers). When looking for evidence of animal visual culture, the nature of the evidence would depend upon the type of material being investigated.

**Figure 2.14.**

Engraving of Bear-Bating Ring in London, 1560-90 (Thomas 2003:114).



The majority of earlier works focused on the analysis and interpretation of faunal remains. One criticism that can be made of this zoo-archaeological literature is that there is little integration with other forms of evidence excavated from the same site. Although models of animal age, sex and anatomical element have been analysed, and additional forms of historical or artistic evidence have been drawn upon at the interpretive stage, this frequently has occurred in isolation from the other forms of available archaeological evidence, despite exceptions especially regarding stratigraphical, structural or artefact related data. The value of basing an interpretation on all the available data is shown by the potential of faunal remains to contribute otherwise unobtainable information on hide, skin or pelt consumption. However, this potential is doubted by Serjeantson (1989) in her paper on the fur trade.

Serjeantson points out that “It is in the nature of fur trading to leave few direct and unequivocal traces of its existence in the archaeological record” and cites the example of skinning cuts on the skulls of Pine Martens at the Mesolithic site of Tybrind Vig (refer to original work by Trolle-Lassen 1986), which were “apparently not used for food” (1989:131). Serjeantson does make the point that other clues can be found, such as the age of the animal, if large numbers of juvenile animals are processed which is thought to indicate non-food consumption, and cites the excavations of juvenile or immature cats from Kings Lynn and Exeter as examples of this (please refer to Noddle 1977 and Maltby 1979 respectively for the full reports).

Nevertheless, other factors might also be involved to support this, and assemblages containing a large number of juvenile animals could demonstrate a preference towards younger creatures due to beliefs and attitudes of purity/lack of contamination towards immature/juvenile animals, or a liking for the younger, and more tender flesh of these animals. There is a good range of other archaeological evidence that could also be investigated to clarify what is going on. This might include examination of the products or structures thought to be used in processing: i.e. tanning pits and soaking troughs, deposits of lime, ash, excrement, urine, alum and salts; and remains of potential tools, such as the de-hairing, scudding, fleshing, currier’s knives known from more recent processes. Through such a synthesis of complementary information, the faunal assemblages could be placed into better context, and this is considered necessary for any future analysis or interpretive work concerning animal remains.

The fact that this is not always achieved is not necessarily the fault of the analyst, but could be considered a consequence of the limitations imposed by the nature of post-excavation funding. Perhaps the activity of making identifications and quantifications of age, sex, and species statistics should only be regarded as the first stage of the faunal interpretive process. The second stage should represent a synthesis of all other excavation data and thirdly a final interpretation by the site excavator or director. Obviously not all individual analyses will take the same amounts of time, which will delay the process of integration somewhat. However, during the wait, desktop documentary studies of the possibilities could be conducted by the respective specialists to enhance basic identification and quantifications. Unfortunately, this type of approach to the investigation of faunal remains demands that respective specialists retain a basic complement of archaeological research skills, coupled with an up-to-date understanding and awareness of other specialist analyses, in order to make such a holistic interpretation of their evidence – as opposed to analysing their evidence in isolation.

Whilst this is certainly not true of all analyses, or of the interpretations made by all analysts, it is a problem that can be found within other areas of archaeology, which highlights the lack of a more contextual approach to the interpretation of specialist archaeological material. Gaimster (1994) has previously noted this issue, and stressed the need for change. After considering the above points, the author believes that a more synergetic and holistic approach to understanding archaeological material and defining animal visual culture of all types is required.

It is clear that there have been relatively fewer attempts at dealing with more conceptual or iconographic interpretations in archaeology, and that the role of symbolism, belief, attitude and stereotyping as influential factors that could assist in the interpretation of animal assemblages are often not addressed. There are exceptions, that involve cases where animals are thought to represent ideas, meanings, signs and symbols have been investigated, such as Ijzereef (1989).

Ijzereef (1989) attempted to define Jewish and non-Jewish households based upon the faunal remains excavated in Amsterdam. This was therefore a work that made a useful contribution to new ways of identifying and exploring religious influences using animal visual culture. More recent contributions include Pluskowski (2002) who offers a more theoretical contribution on the integration of physical and conceptual evidence regarding medieval fauna, and recognised that:

“studies of medieval animals can potentially draw upon the largest data set for any element of the Middle Ages” (Pluskowski 2002:2).

This chapter has demonstrated a limited selection of the vast resource from a variety of disciplines that is available for researching animal visual culture. It provides the necessary contextual and theoretical background upon which the discussion and data in remaining chapters can be appreciated and understood.

## CHAPTER III

### 3.0 Introduction.

This chapter demonstrates the potential for investigating the representation of animals in stained and painted glass in the Middle Ages<sup>40</sup>. It makes a creature-focused contribution to the wider field of research in medieval glass studies. The chapter will begin with an overview of the literature available for research into medieval stained and painted glass in section 3.1. The discussion and interpretation will consider various factors that need to be taken into consideration when regarding the appearance of animals in medieval stained and painted glass. The representations of animals will then be put into their visual context in section 3.2. The chapter is concluded with a graphical presentation of the results of the animals in medieval stained and painted glass in section 3.3.

### 3.1 The Glass Literature Overview.

Over the last century an extensive published resource has developed relating to stained and painted glass in the medieval period. Unfortunately, with the exception of two articles recently published after this thesis was commenced (Hardwick 2000 and 2002); there is no literature available to be reviewed specifically on the topic of animals in medieval stained and painted glass. This section, therefore, aims to contribute to the flow of the research by offering a general and contextual introduction to a selection of relevant publications on medieval glass (a more analytical discussion of appropriate works will follow).

A comprehensive list of publications on stained and painted glass can be sourced through consultation of key bibliographic sources such as Marks (1993); Evans (1982); Caviness and Staudinger (1983). In addition to these period works are those focused on the care of glass such as that of Newton (1974 and 1982). The full range of available works on stained and painted glass in the Middle Ages is vast and wide ranging, and some degree of selectivity was required in order to focus the thesis research for this chapter within the time constraints.

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<sup>40</sup> It does not offer a complete record of every finding of a creature in the UK, but aims to demonstrate the potential of finding creatures in stained glass from ecclesiastical and secular contexts, currently a field under-researched and not yet published.

However, a combined selection of these sources was useful for an appreciation and understanding of the nature of stained and painted glass, the context of glass production and the materials and conventions used for representation and display, including the depiction of animals.

The academic development of the study of medieval glass can be traced from recognising early contributions on medieval glass by nineteenth century scholars such as Westlake (1881-94), Chadwick (1898); and later in the early twentieth century by Day (1909). These were greatly enhanced with the introduction of the first gazetteer of medieval painted glass produced by Nelson (1913), and detail was added by further accounts of ancient glass by scholars such as Le Couteur (1926), Rushforth (1918, 1937a and 1937b), Knowles (1936) and most extensively, by Woodforde (1931, 1932, 1933, 1933-34, 1934, 1935-37a, 1935-37b, 1946, 1950, 1951, 1954).

Since the 1960s, there have been major works presented by scholars which have made reference to the wider arts of the medieval period such as illuminated manuscripts, heraldry and iconography examined in a study on the Midlands by the late Peter Newton (1961). Since then, the most major development in medieval stained glass studies has been the appearance of numerous volumes of the international CVMA<sup>41</sup> project (most importantly drawn upon as a data source for this chapter of the thesis). These systematic and comprehensively written volumes<sup>42</sup> are key sources of data and reference for the finding of creatures depicted in stained and painted glass in Great Britain.

There are numerous published volumes of the CVMA for Great Britain, offering complete coverage for the counties of *Northamptonshire* (Marks 1998); *Oxford* (Newton and Kerr 1979); *Lincolnshire* (Hebgin-Barnes 1996); and *South Yorkshire* (Sprakes 2003). Supplementary volumes and catalogues have also been published by the CVMA to support these with individual works on *York Minster*, which comprises three separate volumes, one on the *West Windows of the Nave* (French and O'Connor 1987), one on the *Great East Window* (French 1995), and one on the *St William Window* (French 1999). Other volumes present *King's College Chapel* in Cambridge (Wayment 1972); *Canterbury Cathedral* (Caviness 1981); *Lincoln Cathedral* (Morgan 1983); *Wells Cathedral* (Ayres 2004); and are supported with specific volumes on 'Roundels'<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi.

<sup>42</sup> The CVMA project aims to publish all medieval stained glass in Great Britain to 1540. Its volumes focus either upon a county, or upon single monuments with outstanding collections of glass.

<sup>43</sup> See also discussion on roundels in JBSMGP (Ayre 1991; Cole 1973-4), Ayre (2002), and for Netherlandish and North European imports see Cole (1993).

There are further CVMA works that are currently in preparation and planned for published coverage of all surviving medieval glass in the country from additional churches, cathedrals and counties throughout Great Britain e.g. *St Peter Mancroft*, Norwich, but this was unavailable for consultation at the time this research was conducted. Nevertheless, the CVMA does offer an electronic picture archive of over 13,000<sup>44</sup> images through its online website<sup>45</sup>. The online archive, officially launched in June 2004 (Ayres 2004:120), offers searchable representations of 16 named creatures<sup>46</sup>. Therefore searches on this enabled further research via remote access of material, and provided a useful complement to filling in the gaps between the available published works and those in preparation within this scheme.

This website is supported by **electronic resources available online for particular ecclesiastical buildings** e.g. a searchable database of images in stained glass is available on-line at Ely Cathedral Stained Glass Museum Website<sup>47</sup> **and for Tewkesbury Abbey**<sup>48</sup>. These are therefore useful as a rapid search tool, for researching animals from picture archives of the surviving stained and painted glass. **Other sites have less digitised images available to search though offer varied information ranging from historical accounts such as for King's College Chapel, Cambridge**<sup>49</sup>, **Gloucester Cathedral**<sup>50</sup>, and **Great Malvern Priory**<sup>51</sup> to more specific glazing histories and glass conservation such as at **Canterbury Cathedral**<sup>52</sup>, **Wells Cathedral**<sup>53</sup>, and at **York Minster**<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> Between 1999-2001, 5000 images were digitised, from 2001 a further 9,000 images were being digitised from a collection of 30,000 held by the National Monuments Record at English Heritage, in 2004 this reached 13,000 (Ayres 2004:116-120).

<sup>45</sup> <http://maple.cc.kcl.ac.uk/ps/cvma/xml/archive.htm>.

<sup>46</sup> These were limited to images of animals, birds or fabulous beasts, which the CVMA identified as the Bear, Bull, Camel, Dog, Dragon, Eagle, Goose, Griffin, Hart, Hare, Horse, Lion, Monkey, Serpent, Stag, Squirrel and Wolf.

<sup>47</sup> Refer to <http://www.sgm.abelgratis.com/>.

<sup>48</sup> Refer to <http://www.tewkesburyabbey.org.uk>.

<sup>49</sup> Refer to <http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/chapel>.

<sup>50</sup> Refer to <http://www.gloucestercathedral.uk.com>.

<sup>51</sup> Refer to <http://www.greatmalvernpriory.org.uk>.

<sup>52</sup> Refer to <http://www.canterbury-cathedral.org>.

<sup>53</sup> Refer to <http://www.wellscathedral.org.uk>.

<sup>54</sup> Refer to <http://www.yorkminster.org>.

However, use of the published CVMA data resource is not without its own limitations. The range of CVMA publications does not represent a complete geographical coverage for Great Britain, both in terms of county and in terms of cathedral city. This fact has negatively biased the availability of consistent, rigorously researched and published regional survey data to be examined, and as a consequence will affect the extent to which syntheses, generalisations and interpretations can be made from the extant catalogues about the representations of animals in stained and painted glass. Not all of the animals pictured or discussed are included in the index, and there are various animals which are not identified e.g. lions and leopards.

There are various factors at play in the availability of the CVMA published stained glass catalogues covering the whole of the UK. The most important point to stress is that this is not the fault of the CVMA as an organisation, that so many geographic locations are unpublished, rather that not all churches and cathedrals have stained glass that has survived from the medieval period to be catalogued (the reasons for this are discussed in the data limitations within the final chapter), and those that are in print, required the funding, time and availability of an appropriately experienced specialist in which to prepare that particular catalogue. Figure 3.1 below illustrates the geographical distribution of CVMA publications. The Map compares published survey volumes (in red) with those currently in preparation (green)<sup>55</sup>.

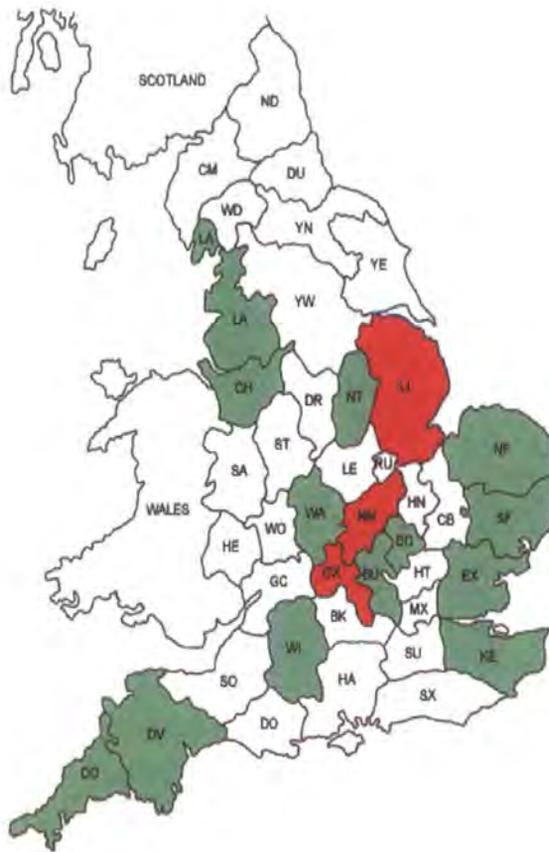
In addition to the published material from England, a number of publications from the associated CVMA scheme in the USA are also available since some American collections (e.g. Husband 1991, and Hayward 2003a, 2003b) included some glass panels and roundels that had been removed from English contexts and re-housed across the Atlantic. Indeed other collections of English glass can also be located as far a-field as Australia (Calle 2003), which demonstrates the vulnerability and popularity of glass as an art medium to be collected and appreciated by contemporary audiences worldwide.

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<sup>55</sup> The source of the map was the CVMA website: <http://www.cvma.ac.uk/content/books/>. This was consulted during the month of August 2005. However, although this map was not up to date on the website at this time (the volume on the County of South Yorkshire was already in print, as well as those on the monuments of Wells Cathedral, York Minster, Canterbury Cathedral and Kings College Cambridge), it still emphasises the biased distribution of glass research.

**Figure 3.1.**

CVMA Catalogue Publications in England.



To support the CVMA catalogues, a small number of creatures in stained and painted glass were also revealed through a research investigation made with **NADFAS**<sup>56</sup>. NADFAS members have actively recorded over 1200 churches in the UK, and in conjunction with its enquiry service for researchers, its church recording section was able to supply information on representations of animals appearing in window glass and also on misericords (discussed in chapter 4) and therefore assisted with the progress of the data collection for this research. Other relevant publications, presented by scholars in the *Journal of Stained Glass in the UK*, published in association with the **BSMGP**<sup>57</sup> were also consulted to complement the data collection and clarity of the information available in the CVMA publications and from the NADFAS database. These were considered the core sources for the pilot data set presented in this chapter.

<sup>56</sup> National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies (NADFAS).

<sup>57</sup> British Society of Master Glass Painters (BSMGP), the publication is also known as *The Journal of Stained Glass in the UK*; and the online journal *Vidimus* launched in 2006. Other journals exist for glass such as the *Journal of Glass Studies* and the *Journal of Stained Glass* (for the USA) and *Vitrea* (for France), though these were not immediately relevant to the country of research.

However, there are other sources that could have been further investigated for unpublished data e.g. archaeological archives and museum collections, which would enrich this element of the thesis investigation (should funding become available for post doctoral development). A wide range of secondary works on glass were drawn upon in order to develop an understanding and appreciation of the complexities of the stained and painted glass medium being investigated. These works served to enhance the detail of, and balance the clarity of the discussion presented in the remaining sections of this chapter.

The sources consulted ranged widely from generalist works on glass (e.g. Charleston 1984; Truman 1984; Tait 1991a); to those focused on painted glass (e.g. Chadwick 1898; Rushforth 1918; Spokes 1973<sup>58</sup>); stained glass (e.g. Rackham 1936; Cole 1980a, 1980b; Caviness 1984; Cowen 1985; Marks 1993; Osborne 1997; Harding 1998; Lockhart 2001); stained and painted glass (e.g. Nelson 1913; Woodforde 1954); historical studies of stained and painted glass (e.g. Baker 1978; Grodecki and Brisac 1985; Crewe 1987; Marks 1993; Raguin 2003); the decoration of stained glass (Lafond 1947); enamelled glass (Clarke 1983); and glass as a form of art (e.g. Harrison 1941; Butts and Hendrix 2000; Caviness 1997; Brown and MacDonald 1997).

In investigating the literature further, a selection of previous works cited will now be drawn upon in more depth and detail to demonstrate an understanding of the medium in terms of definitions in **3.1.1**, the various types of medieval glass that can be found in **3.1.2**, the chronology of the medium in **3.1.3**, an insight into the making and decoration of the medium in **3.1.4**, its commissioning in **3.1.5**, its viewing in **3.1.6**, and the location of the surviving medieval glass in **3.1.7**.

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<sup>58</sup> Cited in Cole (1993).

### 3.1.1 Definitions of Glass.

Marks (1993:38) states that the title 'stained glass' is misleading since the English glass-painter didn't really stain glass almost until the Reformation. Nevertheless, the term '**Stained Glass**', will be used in this chapter and thesis to mean and/or refer to glass that has had a stain or colour added to it. The staining or colouring of glass usually requires that a pigment be applied, usually that of a particular metal oxide to produce a specific colour or hue<sup>59</sup>. This pigment is fused into the glass whilst molten or burned into the surface, and causes permanent colouring of the glass<sup>60</sup>. Stained glass can also be painted on its surface, but this requires a different set of skills to be employed than commonly used by the glazier alone.

The term '**Painted Glass**', will be used to signify glass (often white glass) that has had a pigment applied to the surface of the glass (interior surface if window glass, or exterior surface for a vessel) as a liquid and then annealed onto the glass surface to form a hard coating<sup>61</sup>. The painting of glass, enables greater detail and finer decoration to be employed than would be possible just by staining the glass alone, and this can be applied by an artist (as a painter would produce a work of art on a canvas) with brushes made of animal hair e.g. cat, hog, squirrel, badger. In this way animals are used to create images of others. Both stained and painted glass could feature in windows of various sizes and shapes.

'**Roundels**' are much smaller panels made from a single piece of glass (white) which was then painted and stained. They come in a variety of shapes (refer to Cole 1993; and Ayre 1991, 2002), from the classic round variety (very common), to oval, elliptical, square and rectangular. '**Quarry**' glass or quarries refers to diamond shaped panels of glass (Marks 1993:19) as illustrated in figure 3.2. These types of glass are particularly interesting to this thesis because many of them contain creatures, and a great deal would have been placed in more secular (domestic as opposed to ecclesiastical) locations that were easily visible to the naked eye e.g. there are many birds that are depicted in those in the Zouche Chapel in York Minster, which are able to be viewed by the naked eye since they are located at a relatively low level (refer to Chapter 6).

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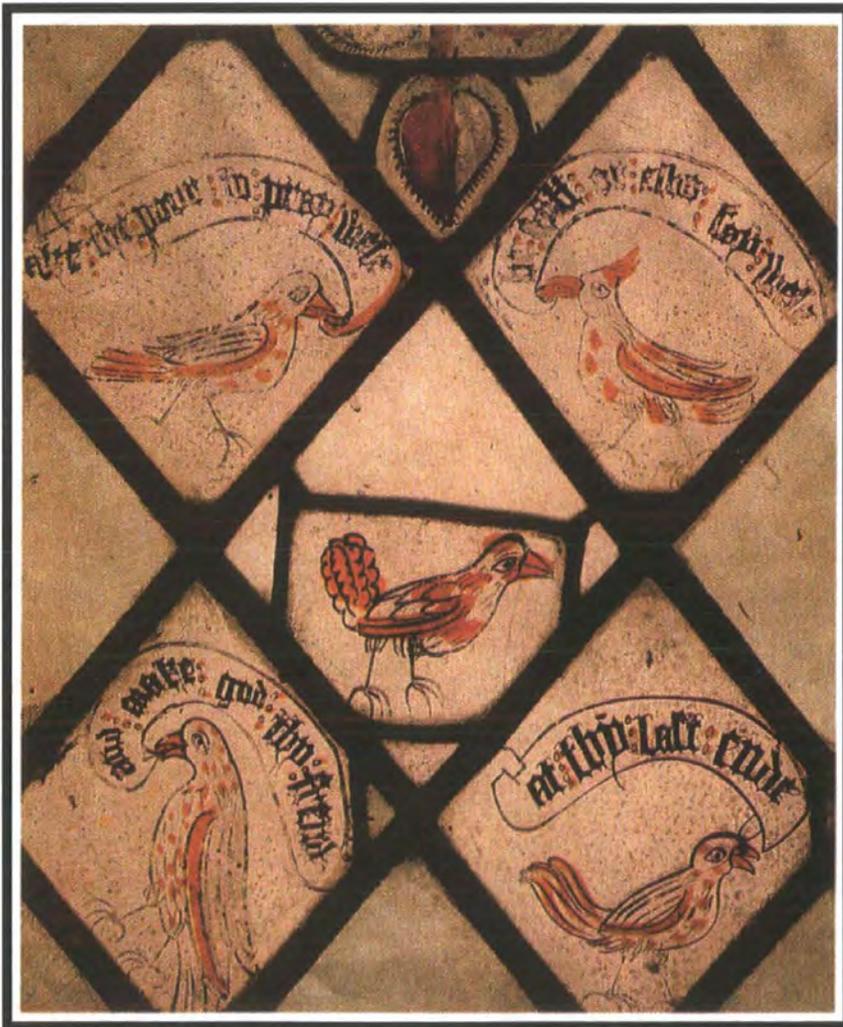
<sup>59</sup> Section 3.1.4 of this thesis further discusses the making and decorating of glass, but one example of colouring such as a yellow stain would require a compound of silver nitrate or sulphide (see Cole 1993:xix, or refer to Marks 1993:28).

<sup>60</sup> 'Pot Metal' is the medieval term for the molten glass substance where oxides are added to create the colour of the glass batch within a large fire clay container or pot (as opposed to directly applied colour in the form of pain or a chemical patina).

<sup>61</sup> Iron oxide with a glass flux, gum Arabic and water/wine or urine to bind, is one example (Cole 1993:xix).

Figure 3.2.

Window Glass Quarries, St Bartholomew's Church, Yarnton, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Lockhart 2001:15).



### 3.1.2 Types of Glass.

An investigation of published literature on glass reveals that there are various forms of glass that could reveal creatures. One of the most obvious choices for research into animal visual culture is glass that was made to function as window or panel glass, either stained, painted or a combination. This often contained a variety of animals as part of the themes, narratives or decoration depicted in the glass and can be found surviving in various ecclesiastic buildings to more luxurious secular contexts. However, we must express caution when researching in situ glass because, quantities of it have actually been re-set and replaced over time, and roundels in particular were virtually a portable artefact form. Glass can also be recovered in fragmentary form from numerous excavations; and although it was beyond the scope of this chapter to investigate each assemblage, one quarry glass fragment from a site in North Yorkshire was recorded during consultation of the primary archives on research visit to a regional English Heritage artefact and record storage facility (to investigate portable material for chapter 5), and this is illustrated in figure 3.3. In addition to window glass, evidence can also be found for the making and use of glass vessels and wares<sup>62</sup> (for the medieval and post-medieval periods refer to Truman 1984; Tyson 1996 and 2000; Willmott 2002). Glass vessels and wares are relevant to this thesis because some can be found with animals depicted on them, and these can be used to enhance the research on animal visual culture circulating in the Middle Ages.

**Figure 3.3.**

Red Chicken Quarry Fragment<sup>63</sup>, n/d, English Heritage Archive (Helmsley).



<sup>62</sup> However, due to the fragility of these forms, they are less common finds than stained and painted glass windows and so are only cited as comparanda within this chapter to demonstrate the range of creatures depicted in the period.

<sup>63</sup> A quarry is a diamond-shaped panel of glass.

### 3.1.3 The Chronology of Glass.

The most extensive chronological survey of stained glass in England during the medieval period can be accessed through Marks' work on the Middle Ages (1993:105-246). This source represents a comprehensive work for the period from c.670 to after the Reformation; and represents a major work researched by one of the leading scholars currently representing this field<sup>64</sup>. This work will therefore be drawn upon extensively throughout this chapter, to provide an appropriate overview and structure to this section (and to other parts of the chapter where appropriate), in addition to discussing a wider selection of other works by relevant authors<sup>65</sup>.

Hundreds of plain and coloured<sup>66</sup> fragments of window glass of various shapes, and parts of glass vessels have been excavated on sites dating from the early medieval period around England (refer to Osborne 1997; Cramp 1997; and to figure 1, illustrated in Cramp 2000:106 which provides a map of sites producing window glass fragments). These are dated by largely contextual or stylistic attribution to a particular period, as opposed to a more scientific form of analysis as is common with other types of archaeological material. Glass making and decorating materials such as lead calms and millefiori, have also been discovered from a number of archaeological excavations.

Other finds dating from the early medieval period, have been revealed at sites such as Jarrow and Monkwearmouth from the ancient kingdom of Northumbria (refer to Cramp 1970a, 1970b, 1975; Brown and O'Connor 1991, and Marks 1993:105-106); along with sheets of glass, blown and cast for window glass, lamps and vessels (e.g. Boon 1966; Truman 1984; Raguin 2003). However, the archaeological evidence for stained and painted glass in the early medieval periods between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and the late 12<sup>th</sup> Century is generally poorly supported by extant documentary or historical sources such as manuscripts and texts. Those that do exist are few and unbalanced in content, but include notable works such as the writings of Bede<sup>67</sup>, which described Bishop Biscop's importation of glaziers from Gaul to glaze the windows in his monastery at Wearmouth in 675 (Marks 1993:105; Cramp 2000:105).

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<sup>64</sup> Marks provides a chronological overview by period 1250-1350 (1993:141-165), 1350-1450 (1993:166-189), 1450 to the Reformation (1993:190-204) and from the Reformation to the end of the Middle Ages (1993:205-246).

<sup>65</sup> Such as Raguin (2003); Cramp (2000, 1975, 1970a and 1970b); Osborne (1997); Brown and O'Connor (1991); Archer et al (1988); Moreland (1985); Grodecki and Brisac (1985); Truman (1984); Caviness (1984); and Boon (1966).

<sup>66</sup> Hues of blue, green, yellow, amber, red (refer to Cramp 2000:110 for a full list of colours).

<sup>67</sup> Bede is an important source because he emphasized the need for foreign glass makers and workers from Gaul (and probably their materials and secrets) to assist with the installation of glass in the windows being made in this country (Archer et al, 1988; Osborne 1997), and indicates that this glass was likely in use on the continent in earlier periods before reaching England (Archer et al, 1988). Other sources mention the glazing of St Peter's York by Wilfred, Bishop of York c.669-72; and in the eighth or early ninth century we have reference to the glazing of the church of a cell of the Lindisfarne monastery, from a poem known as *De Abbatibus* (Marks 1993:105; Cramp 2000:105).

Although it seems common for various buildings (particularly ecclesiastical) to be enriched with stained glass, from monasteries to cathedrals and associated chapels, to parish churches funded by their lay parishioners, and to domestic buildings, Marks indicates that there is almost a total silence on the subject of glazing in contemporary records for the years c.1100-75, and that “almost nothing remains of significance in England prior to the last quarter of the twelfth century” (1993:109). Therefore the main focus of material in this chapter will relate to the later medieval period when sources are more fruitful.

Marks’ work is useful because he provides a list of the survival of late twelfth and thirteenth century glass from a number of buildings, and provides extensive detail as to the nature of the extant remains from these sites such as York and Lincoln (refer to chapter 6 for further discussion), Canterbury, Salisbury and Westminster; as well as recognising the survival of glass at a number of parish churches (though comments only in Kent and Oxfordshire do significant quantities of medieval glass survive).

Luckily, our evidence for stained and painted glass in the latter years of the medieval period is more common than for the earlier medieval periods. Marks states that “of the nearly nine centuries of medieval glass-painting in England, substantial quantities only exist from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries” (1993:xxiv). This is one reason why this period was chosen to examine animal visual culture for this thesis.

In addition to the primary sources, there are the various secondary works which offer synthesised discussion on the investigation of medieval artists, craftsmen, glaziers and their materials (refer to Heaton 1924; Le Couteur 1926; Woodforde 1933, 1950; Knowles 1936; Drake 1955; Newton 1961; Lowe 1961, 1962; Hawthorne and Smith 1979; Lillich 1985; Brown and O’Connor 1991; Kemp 1997; and Ayres 2003); the techniques of medieval glass-making, the organisation of the craft and related glass trades in the Middle Ages (refer to Marks 1993:28-58), and aspects of these will be more fully discussed in the remaining sections below.

Unfortunately although contemporary glazing records provide information vital to the reconstructing knowledge of glazing where no fragments of glass have survived, many of them are financially or legally biased, since they represent certain types of documents that happen to have been preserved e.g. royal building accounts and a few fabric rolls which mainly relate to major buildings and commissions rather than local parish churches, and thus provide little information that would be of support to this research in terms of documenting how and why particular animal subjects or themes were chosen, what they depicted, how glaziers and painters were selected or how commissions were executed.

### 3.1.4 The Decoration of Glass.

The main evidence for glass making and decoration comes from documentary sources. This is because the survival of glass furnaces in Britain is relatively poor. The primary textual and visual sources that can be consulted and drawn upon to learn about glassmaking and decoration include original technical sources like craftsmen's handbooks such as *Il Libro dell'Arte*<sup>68</sup>; or the influential treatise written in the 12<sup>th</sup> Century by the German monk using the pseudonym *Theophilus* (Raguin 2003:32). The document by Theophilus provides a valuable insight into the classic methods of making vessel glass and window glass (Hawthorne 1979); as well as others such as *Eraclius* dating from the late 12<sup>th</sup> to early 13<sup>th</sup> Century, and from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century - *Anthony of Pisa* and *Cennino Cennini*<sup>69</sup>.

In terms of the process of making a stained and painted glass window or roundel, the original idea may have been born with a simple drawing, an artist's sketch or '*vidimus*' (Raguin 2003:41, 42, 60). A number of authors discuss the making of these, though they might even have been sketched by the patron/donor themselves (Marks 1993:25) or by a professional limnour (i.e. draughtsman/artist) under instruction. For example, the glazier employed at Lady Margaret Beaufort's manor at Collyweston (Northamptonshire) was paid 7 shillings in 1505 for "the changing of the Antelope unto an Ivell<sup>70</sup> in the bay wyndowe in the grett chamber" (Marks 1993:25). It is interesting that animals would be changed from one to another.

The '*vidimus*' could then be drawn up to full size and scale to make a 'cartoon' possibly on a wooden, vellum or linen surface, subsequently used for cutting and painting (e.g. an example of a cartoon has survived from Gerona Cathedral in Spain). The cartoons, like sketches or model books could be passed down from glazier to glazier. The '*Pepysian Sketchbook*' (MS 1916 at Magdalene College, Cambridge) represents one collection of drawings dating to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century that may have been used by a glass painter. Marks highlights parallels between the penwork and coloured wash illustrations of birds in the sketchbook and those in grisaille found in the south aisle windows at Salehurst in East Sussex c.1400 (1993:31-33). However, no further reasons to account for these changes are indicated.

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<sup>68</sup> Osborne (1997:44, 46), cites a translation made by Daniel Thomson and published by Dover in New York (1954).

<sup>69</sup> Refer to Marks (1993:28) for citation of further references to Theophilus, Eraclius, Anthony of Pisa and Cennino Cennini.

<sup>70</sup> Dr M Jones (2007, Pers. Comm) suggests this may refer to a Yale.

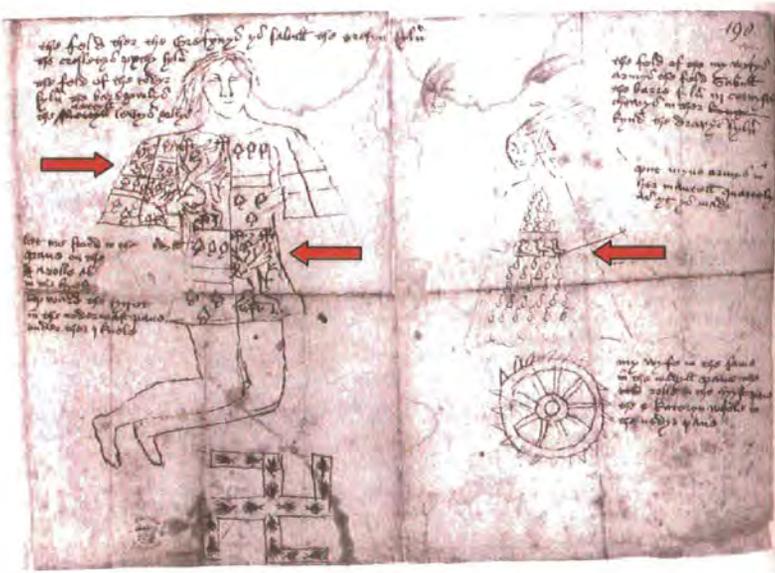
### 3.1.5 The Commissioning of Glass<sup>71</sup>.

It is difficult to establish the extent to which the artisans, artists or audience controlled the themes or images contained in the glass from the sources available to us. Artisans may have seen works in various stages of progress according to which workshop they were working for at a particular location. This may have strengthened or influenced any ideas they had if given a free choice over the theme and style of execution of any works of art. Stained and painted glass windows could be commissioned by individual patrons/donors<sup>72</sup>, and they may have chosen animal themes.

Marks states that very few transactions or contracts between the patron/donor and glazier have survived, though those that have indicate that the subjects to be represented were usually “determined by the patron, perhaps after consulting his or her parish priest or spiritual advisor” (1993:20). An example of the wishes being communicated by the patron/donor to the glazier is illustrated in figure 3.4 below. This depicts a sketch detailing the heraldic charges to be depicted that were commissioned by Thomas Froxmere and his wife c.1484-98, and demonstrates the animals and birds to be included in the design.

**Figure 3.4.**

Drawings of Thomas Froxmere, BL MS Lansdowne 874, fol.191, 15<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Marks 1993:24).



<sup>71</sup> Refer also to section 3.2.2 on secular themes for further discussion of patronage.

<sup>72</sup> The authors who have explored these themes include Marks (1987, 1993), Raguin (2003), Cole (1993), and Osborne (1997).

Raguin suggests that patrons could commission glass if they were convinced of the need for such expenditure, particularly if they believed that the imagery, and animal imagery (as demonstrated by Thomas Froxmere) was “important and relevant” (2003:26). In this way depicting such popular animal images was a way of expressing the shared values of the time, a requirement of status and demonstration of largesse. Therefore, patrons were key figures in marketing what was socially important to them or those they wanted to be associated with. This could be emphasised according to the choice and placing of an image in an ecclesiastical building on behalf of the powerful Christian church as the main client. In view of the expense, Marks adds that those who commissioned the windows were likely to be either leading members of society or ecclesiastical corporations:

“There is little direct evidence of stained glass patronage in the thirteenth century, apart from the lavish expenditure of Henry II on his royal residences and Westminster Abbey<sup>73</sup>. The ordering of stained-glass windows occurs quite frequently in the royal accounts of this reign. Later sovereigns also commissioned glazing as part of their building projects. Parochial clergy and the laity, both nobles and commoners, were also major sources of patronage ... Manorial lords were prominent donors of windows in their local parish churches ... Windows could also be collective gifts from a guild or other group united by a common purpose” (Marks 1987:138-139 in Alexander & Binski).

It is also difficult to establish who exactly the glaziers<sup>74</sup> and glass-painters<sup>75</sup> were at various points in time. Osborne suggests that for glaziers in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century “we know next to nothing, except that the office of King’s Glazier was first recorded in 1242, held by a certain ‘Edward’ at Windsor, but it is not clear whether his job was to design or execute the windows, or both” (1997:35). Osborne indicates that many of the glaziers worked as independent craftsmen, as well as employers of a large number of glass-painters such as Thomas Glazier of Oxford (1997:45-46).

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<sup>73</sup> Marks cites Borenius, T ‘The cycle of images in the palaces and castles of Henry III’ in *Journal. Warb. Court. Instit VI*, (1943:40-50); and Colvin (1963) and (1971).

<sup>74</sup> This could be used to mean a wide range of activities in the medieval period, though Osborne (1997:45) suggests it later signified a person responsible for leading-up a window.

<sup>75</sup> This term Osborne (1997:45) suggests, implied artistic skill.

Marks believes that glass painting was a highly organised craft, and suggests for the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, that of the instances of the recording of names of individual glaziers, a large proportion of those recorded such as the master craftsmen and their apprentices, probably came from the major towns and cities where ecclesiastical establishments were prominent such as Bath, Canterbury, Chester, Colchester, Lincoln, London, Norwich and Oxford (refer to 1987:138, and 1993:40), and that sufficient numbers congregated to form their own guilds<sup>76</sup>.

Over time even minor towns and villages may have had a glazier for window glass (even if coupled with an additional occupation). Marks states that nearly all of the glass painter's names known to come from contracts and accounts, though more information is available on some centres than others, such as the York glaziers of whom 85 are named between 1313 and 1513, and who it is said, were dealing with most of the important glazing commissions instigated in the north (Marks 1993:41). Truman also provides names of glass-makers who built furnaces, produced glass vessels and supplied window (1984:6-7).

Raguin (2003:162) informs us that by the mid to late 15<sup>th</sup> Century, there were active centres of glass painting in Norwich and York, and at this time there were numerous foreign craftsmen<sup>77</sup> (many from the low countries which was one of the premier areas for renaissance glass) settling in England who were responsible for major commissions. This caused professional jealousy by English glaziers to the extent that in 1474, the London Glaziers Guild complained against a number of those working in the city of London, which has been estimated at around 28 foreign craftsmen (Marks 1993:206). This means that the glaziers were in demand, and would travel to apply their skills. The fact that glaziers would travel, also necessitated travel alongside living animals such as the horse mentioned in a source discussing the cost of glazing in Osborne 1997:

“To John Geddyng for lymayl<sup>78</sup> bought for painting glass for the windows of the said Chapel, 8d.” and “To John Geddyng, glazier, going with the King's Commission to the parts of Kent and Essex to seek glass for the work of the Chapel, for 4 days going, staying away and returning, taking for himself and his horse 12d. a day, 4s.” (1997:42-43).

This is relevant because it emphasises the consideration given to an animal by a glazier, as well as the limitations of source material to provide information about the design and decoration of the glass.

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<sup>76</sup> Marks draws upon Woodforde (1954:8), and Knowles (1936:38).

<sup>77</sup> Refer to Marks (1993:205-209 and 222-223 and 225) for further discussion on foreign craftsmen.

<sup>78</sup> Silver filings.

The glazing of a chapel in the Tower of London in 1286 offers a figure of “4d. per foot for white glass, and 8d. per foot for coloured”, whilst old glass intended for use was much cheaper at “2 ½ d per foot”; whilst the accounts at St Stephen’s Chapel from 20 June 1351, show a range of pay scales to account for varying levels of skill and expertise from five master glaziers paid at 12d, a day, 25s for five days work, to fifteen glaziers at 6d. a day, 45s for six days work (Osborne 1997:46).

In his discussion of the iconography of English medieval windows, Marks states that it is evident from the contracts and wills that are linked to glazing, that the subject matter would be “dictated by those who paid for the work” (1993:61). If this was so, then people were consciously choosing particular animals to be represented as part of the design of various themes. Obviously it is difficult to account for the popularity of any undocumented traditions, but there are a number of texts<sup>79</sup> which Marks believes to be possible sources of inspiration for stained and painted glass motifs. Those which survive relating to the later middle ages including the treatise *‘Pictor in Carmine’*, c.1200 which contains a collection of 138 anti-types<sup>80</sup> and 510 types<sup>81</sup>, that were intended for use by artists.

Osborne suggests that the 14<sup>th</sup> Century was the first time that English glass was prepared in a glazier’s own workshop and not brought in as pieces. However pieces of painted glass were placed on trays and covered with wood ash or quicklime, and a coloured stain was fixed on the pieces of glass by firing them in a muffle kiln. Osborne believes that large towns were likely to have had permanent workshops during this period forming commercially run glass making businesses (Osborne 1997:44). If there were enough glass workshops, these would also be organised into specific guilds of glass-painters, such as that in London by 1328 (Osborne 1997:45). Whilst many ecclesiastical centres could have commissioned stained and painted glass from such workshops, there were also smaller scale workshops which would have developed along side of a major project e.g. “The King’s Glazier at Westminster had a lodge sixty feet long and twenty feet broad. This would have been furnished with a kiln for firing the glass when painted or fixing the yellow stain” (Osborne 1997:44). In this way, the demands of a variety of glass consumers could be satisfied.

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<sup>79</sup> These do not necessarily feature creatures but they are important in understanding where the subject matter depicted can be drawn from.

<sup>80</sup> New Testament Subjects.

<sup>81</sup> Old Testament Subjects.

### 3.1.6 The Viewing of Glass.

Stained and painted glass windows were an important element in the practice of faith. They could be used as objects of contemplation, meditation, and as moral and spiritual exempla by the clergy and laity (Marks 1993:59). However, a number of authors have expressed doubt as to how many of the stained and painted glass themes were actually legible to the congregation or clergy without further instruction, interpretation or commentary as to the subject matter depicted (refer to Marks 1993:59-60).

Others such as Osborne (1997:31) highlight doubt over the visibility of the motifs in the glass, saying that it “cannot always have been appreciated by the congregation any more than by the modern viewer, unless he brings binoculars - simply because they were too high to be seen”. However, no doubt they could be seen by God. This point is most appreciable in the case of Lincoln Cathedral’s 13<sup>th</sup> Century north rose window known as the Dean’s Eye (refer to Morgan 1983:61 for further discussion and an illustration, and to Osborne 1997:33 for a thematic plan of the Dean’s Eye). This window displays its original glass<sup>82</sup> and contains about 60 scenes spread across over 23 feet (7.01 metres).

Not all of the window would have been easy to see, though roundels were often placed in windows nearer ground level which would have been more easily viewed and “were intended to be viewed at close quarters” (refer to Cole 1993:xix). This may have influenced the way animals were used in the glass at various levels. Those animals appearing in window glass clearly out of reach perhaps were used as part of the representation of themes that were acceptable in the eyes of god, and more likely to be used as part of or to re-enforce religious practises. The animals appearing lower down and especially as quarry glass may have offered scope for a greater freedom of representation and fashion, and if not acceptable (as dictated by the ideas of the day), were more easily replaced.

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<sup>82</sup> The church at Fairford is regarded as the only other church which still has its original glazing intact dating to around 1500 (Osborne 1997:34).

### 3.1.7 The Location of Glass.

There are a variety of publications which reveal a wide spread of geographic locations where surviving stained and painted glass can be found. Consultation of these can clarify or supplement the data recorded for a particular city or county where creatures were being identified on glass<sup>83</sup>. A number of authors cite the destruction that occurred during the period of Henry VIII's 'Dissolution'<sup>84</sup> involving the removal of religious subject matter from ecclesiastical contexts. Stained glass was discouraged, so sometimes it was being removed either on account of it being considered offensive "or to make way for new windows more in tune with current fashion" (Raguin, 2003:52); or since stained and painted glass could be removed, smashed and destroyed and replaced with clear glass, yet on other occasions "the windows were taken out and hidden or kept for possible reinstatement or for use in repairs" (Lockhart 2001:21).

Lockhart further suggests that as a consequence any stained or painted glass that was crafted after the dissolution had to be considered acceptable subject matter e.g. heraldry, encouraged by the development and availability of enamel colours in the mid 16<sup>th</sup> Century (2001:24), and that as a result "virtually all that remained was heraldry or the 'branches, flowers or posies taken out of Holy Scripture" (2001:22). Therefore politically motivated destruction of stained and painted glass is one reason why the survival of the window glass is not consistent throughout the country.

In her discussion of sources of religious or secular patronage for stained glass during the Civil War and Commonwealth towards the mid 17<sup>th</sup> Century, Osborne suggests that all sources had almost dried up:

"The Puritans condemned stained glass as vehemently as they condemned the theatre, and they destroyed much, believing it to be the work of the devil. 'We desire that profane windows', declared the Women of Middlesex in 1642, 'whose superstitious paint makes many idolators, may be humbled and dashed in pieces against the ground. For our conscience tells us that they are diabolical and the father of Darkness was the inventor of them, being the chief patron of damnable pride' (Osborne 1997:64).

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<sup>83</sup> The vast resource includes publications on York (Harrison 1927); Oxford (Archer et al 1988); Somerset (Woodforde 1931, 1946); and Surrey (Peatling 1930); or at a particular cathedral, church or chapel such as: York Minster (Brown 1999); Salisbury Cathedral (Lethaby 1926); Canterbury Cathedral (Rackman 1957; Michael 2004); Holy Trinity Church, Tattershall (Marks 1984); St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (Salzman 1926, 1927); Holme-By-Newark Church, Nottinghamshire (Truman 1935); Elsing Church, Norfolk (Woodforde 1932); St Peter Mancroft, Norwich (Woodforde 1934); Messingham Church (Hebgin-Barnes 1991-1993); New College, Oxford (Woodforde 1951); All Souls College, Oxford (Hutchinson 1949).

<sup>84</sup> For further discussion on iconoclasm refer to Aston (1988), and Dimmick, Simpson and Zeeman (2002).

The greatest known puritan vandals of the Civil War era, were the protestant William Dowsing (1596-1668), and his contemporary Richard Culmer in Kent. Dowsing was commissioned by the Earl of Manchester to remove and abolish “all Monuments of superstition and Idolatry”, including stone, wood, brass and glass<sup>85</sup> (refer to Cooper 2001:12, 15, 89). William was unique in being appointed with such responsibilities<sup>86</sup>, though sometimes was accompanied by a deputy and soldiers. He kept an inventory in a journal of some (but not all) of the iconoclastic destruction he subsequently caused in numerous churches around Cambridgeshire and Suffolk between 1643-1644 (averaging up to 4 churches and chapels a day). Unfortunately, the cost of their removal and tasteful replacement rested with the parish concerned, and the proposed removal of such images was not always accepted.

In a modern context, damage and vandalism is a factor relevant to the location of surviving medieval glass. Osborne also cites a more contemporary example of one of the windows in St Michael and All Angels Church in Brighton, where it had been “used by boys with airguns for target practice” (1997:102). These factors make it difficult to realistically study patterns of the chronological and geographical representation of animals in stained and painted glass from the Middle Ages, because the surviving data is not representative of the period.

Raguin reminds us that some stained and painted glass was repaired or replaced over time and depending upon the skill of the craftsmen this repair could either be invisible or highly visible, and not very well matched - which can further confuse chronology of glass (2003:54). Other authors have also commented on the extent to which glass was moved around the country. For example, in their discussion of stained glass windows, Grodecki and Brisac (1985:181) highlight the problem that a large number of the extant windows are no longer in the positions or locations in which they were originally installed, and in part, this can be accounted to cultural trends in medieval society. Marks (1993:99), also draws our attention to the fact that a number of medieval documents regard domestic glazing as a “moveable fixture” to be taken with you when you moved house. Williamson (2003:10), indicates that the survival of window glass can be linked to its mobility since later generations of antiquaries have collected window glass for the decoration and embellishment of more domestic buildings such as hallways, stair-cases and private chapels. This problem is also emphasised by Cole (1993), with regard to roundels, saying that many of the roundels currently found in parish churches would have previously been installed in more secular structures and likely belonged to “great country-house collections assembled by collectors such as Sir Thomas Neave of Dagenham Park (Essex)” (Cole 1993: xxiii).

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<sup>85</sup> Refer to Cooper (2001:391) for estimates of the quantity in footage of glass lost and the costs involved of replacing glass destroyed in East Anglia.

<sup>86</sup> Similar commissions were proposed by the House of Lords (Cooper 2001:13).

Unfortunately the break-up of these collections has meant that the roundels became available to be sold. The roundels that were sold could then be auctioned on the open market (Cole 1993), and this can also cloud the diversity and visibility of the animal themes depicted. Williamson, also comments that when glass was required to replace the windows removed at the Reformation in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century and later, roundels could have been set in ecclesiastical windows as fillers (2003:10). However some of the roundels are also likely to be copies which make it extremely difficult to provenance the glass and the designs. The popularity of coloured glass therefore influences the importation of continental glass, and therefore some of the extant glass is imported and not British at all (particularly in the case of roundels, making it difficult to know what is genuine<sup>87</sup>).

“Despite the survival of a significant number of English medieval roundels, the vast majority now found in the cathedrals, parish churches and houses of Great Britain, ... are continental in origin, imported by collectors and their agents” (Cole 1993:xxiii).

Nevertheless, the fact that those with animals made their way into Britain, demonstrates that there was a taste for animals, and such imports started to circulate in the Middle Ages, enhancing the animal visual culture of the period in Britain. Finally, further to movement, destruction and import of stained and painted glass is the problem of environmental deterioration of medieval glass. The thinning and cracking of glass can occur over time, making it weaker as well as the deterioration of its supporting leading which can suffer from metal fatigue following expansion and contracting during hot and cold weather, and which is more prone to cracking at the jointing and potentially bucking the panel and breaking the glass. The discoloration of stain and the fading of paint can also occur. Osborne suggests this is dependent upon the chemical constituents of the glass at the time it was made (1997:102), whilst others cite water, lichen and the proportion of sulphur dioxide in the atmosphere as damaging factors. This also means that not all of the surviving images on glass are identifiable, those that were will now be explored in section 3.2.

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<sup>87</sup> In view of this, the geographical distribution patterns of the roundel glass was not investigated for land, air, sea and mind creatures as they were for window glass in situ (refer to section 3.3).

## 3.2 The Visual Images in Glass.

This section explores in more detail the variety of depictions and themes that appear in medieval stained and painted glass. This is important to put the representation of animals into context. Williamson informs us that stained and painted glass during the four hundred year period between 1140-1540 “occupied a central place in the decoration of both ecclesiastical and secular spaces” (2003:9). This might emphasise why iconic (image-rich) compared with aniconic (image-absent) window glass became so popular. One would therefore expect a wide range of ecclesiastical / religious imagery (discussed in 3.2.1) as well as non-religious / secular subject matter (discussed in 3.2.2) to be represented, to encompassing a variety of scenes, developing over time in their technical innovation, degree of narrative and dialogue, and sophistication of depiction into which various animals were integrated.

### 3.2.1 Ecclesiastical Themes.

Biblical stories, scriptural themes, parables and the depiction of Christian rituals are an obvious choice for representation in stained and painted glass within ecclesiastical contexts. They can be useful in providing clues to knowing where to find animals from awareness of those stories we know contain creatures. However, Marks cautions us that over time the iconography of certain themes could change, and indicates that the scenes depicted could have been influenced by a variety of sources; as a consequence he states that it was rare that a church would present a “coherent iconographical programme” (1993:64, 67).

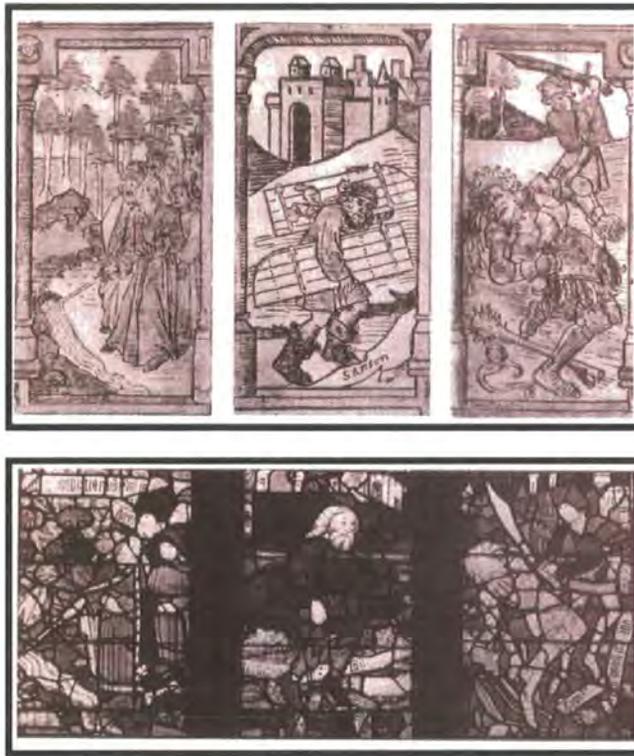
One source accountable for the guiding inspiration in the elaborate pictorial cycles<sup>88</sup> in painting is regarded as *Pictor in Carmine*, c.1200 (Marks 1993:67). The largest of these typological cycles that survives in medieval glass are the 27 scenes to be found in the east window of York Minster, which begin with the creation and extend to the death of Absalom (refer to Marks 1993:68). The theme of the Tree of Jesse was another popular theme found throughout England in every period. It depicted the prophecy of Isaiah, and basically illustrated a tree or vine springing from the figure of Jesse with a number of branches, each inhabited by the ancestors of Christ, prophets, and at the apex - the Virgin and Child (1993:68).

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<sup>88</sup> Marks states that typological cycles in various media have a long tradition in England (1993:67).

**Figure 3.5.**

The '*Biblia Pauperum*' (Marks 1993:69).



Marks, further suggests that another source used extensively by English glaziers is thought to be the illustrated '*Biblia Pauperum*'. This was first produced in the Netherlands c.1464-5 as a forty leaf block-book as illustrated in the upper row of figure 3.5 above, depicting three scenes (left: Moses striking the rock; centre: Samson carrying the gates of Gaza; right: David and Goliath) and the corresponding windows illustrated in the lower row at Stamford, St Martins Church in Cambridgeshire for left and centre scenes, and at Tattershall (Lincolnshire) c.1466-80 for the right hand scene, in Marks (1993:68).

Access to the guides or books used in church services were, sources for liturgical themes and inscriptions (Marks 1993:61, 84). Other borrowings could come from poems such as *The Pricke of Conscience*, which in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century was widely circulated amongst the Yorkshire Clergy, and of which verses were illustrated in a north aisle window of All Saints North Street in York to accompany scenes of the Last Days (Marks 1993:84). These themes therefore provided a limit on the degree to which animals would have been incorporated.

It is possible that one of the reasons animals were represented in religious contexts was to take the place of, and parallel associations with more human or godly figures according to biblical stories. Raguin (2003:67) offers examples from the Bible to support this point, for example that of Jonah and the Whale illustrated in figure 3.6, cited in Matthew 12:40, “For as Jonah was in the whale’s belly three days and three nights: so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights”, and that of Moses and the Serpent in John 3:14 “And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up”.

Osborne states that “the narrative stained glass of the thirteenth century shows figures and action, with the minimum of ‘props’, and with no landscape background unless it is necessary to the theme” (1997:27), and compares these type of images as the “Poor Man’s Bible”, as a visual aide-mémoire of the contents of the Bible (1997:30). Both the main window panels and decorative borders were important, and many animals can be found particularly represented in the latter. Therefore even though they are not part of the main theme, people still chose to depict animals over other types of subject matter i.e. flora or foliage.

Christ himself has also been regarded as the ‘Good Shepherd’, and as such one would expect to see representations of shepherds or sheep, or images of the lamb in consideration of the ‘Lamb of God’. Raguin suggests that “Christianity developed customs of representing God and his saints, individuals who became revered for exemplary lives in imitation of Christ” (2003:56). We therefore find common episodes recreated as scenes such as the creation (figure 3.9) the last supper (as illustrated in Williamson 2003:95), or the nativity (illustrated in Williamson 2003:96), all containing creatures, along with other various religious scenes not all directly based on the Bible but including and related to its characters such as Christ, the Virgin, which again reflect more modern interpretations of a variety of scenes with creatures as shown in the figures below.

The portrayal of the lives of saints was also a highly popular theme, and “one of the most common subjects in medieval stained glass” (Marks 1993:72). The depiction of saints may have been based upon a family’s particular devotion to a specific saint, on account of a saint bearing the same name as themselves, the presence of a relic in a particular place, pilgrimage or in fact to manuscript sources about a religious personage e.g. the life of Bede.

A number of devotional and instructional texts were also drawn upon, such as the layman’s lectionaries explaining the offices celebrated in the ecclesiastical year, and recounting the lives and works of the saints such as Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* (published by William Caxton in 1483); or *Legenda Sanctorum*<sup>89</sup> (The Golden Legend)<sup>90</sup>.

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<sup>89</sup> Latin for ‘Readings of the Saints’.

The Golden Legend is thought to have been compiled in the mid 13<sup>th</sup> Century and became a medieval best seller (Jacobus de Voragine<sup>91</sup> 1941). It is a collection of writings about the lives of various saints throughout the year, and contained saints that were venerated at the time it was completed. This included etymologies, supernatural lore, martyrdoms and miracle tales of relics. It is a relevant source for the research of visual culture since it can assist identification of those saints that were depicted by particular activities or attributes e.g. entry for Saint Luke the Evangelist, October 18<sup>th</sup>, in Jacobus de Voragine (1941:623-627).

Some saints were universally popular, others were native saints who might be associated with particular curative powers e.g. Apollonia provided protection against toothache, St Margaret provided protection during childbirth. Other saints were depicted because they were associated with particular trades and occupations which local people could identify with e.g. St Anthony was the patron of the swineherd; and St. Blaise was the patron of wool men (having been martyred by being skinned with a wool comb) and therefore his representations are attested to appear in sheep rearing areas<sup>92</sup> (Marks 1993:75). Therefore depending on the saint depicted we might expect to see a particular creature illustrated in order that the figure could be recognised i.e. eagle, pig, lamb, lion, winged ox or dragon.

A number of figures can be identified in stained and painted glass by an emblem or their attributes (e.g. martyrdom) and accompanying inscriptions such as saints (refer to Marks 1993:70-78). The representation of such figures is an important vehicle for the representation of creatures since many saints and apostles appear with animal emblems or symbols such as St. Michael or St. George appearing with the Dragon (illustrated below in figure 3.10); St. Agnes appears with a lamb; and the four Evangelists - Matthew, Mark, Luke and John all appear with winged creatures i.e. the lion, the ox, and the eagle. In this way creatures had a clear role in order to communicate the identity of the figure more clearly to those observing them or using them as part of religious practise.

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<sup>90</sup> The translation and adaptation consulted was that of Ryan and Ripperger (1941).

<sup>91</sup> Jacobus was born in the early 13<sup>th</sup> Century.

<sup>92</sup> Marks (1993) cites a number of locations in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and the West Country.

Other objects can also be used to distinguish a saint for example,

“St Andrew a cross saltire, St Nicholas three balls, St Edward the Confessor a ring. In thirteenth-century glass we find, for instance, St Edmund offering up the arrows of his martyrdom to heaven (Saxlingham Nethergate, Norfolk), St Catherine of Alexandria with her wheel (West Horsley, Surrey), and St Stephen, almost always shown at the time of his stoning, for example at Grately, Hampshire, and in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey” (Osborne 1997:30).

Marks, suggests that a fashion was developed in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries for representing apostles (1993:78), since each contributed an article of the Creed. Creatures have been identified as part of these designs.

Other influences upon design are the decree *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* (1281) made by Archbishop Pecham, which laid down how parish priests were to instruct their congregations, and in this manner it became an instructional manual for the laity, this could therefore be translated pictorially in stained and painted glass. This decree could possibly affect the freedom of glaziers to have freely depicted creatures.

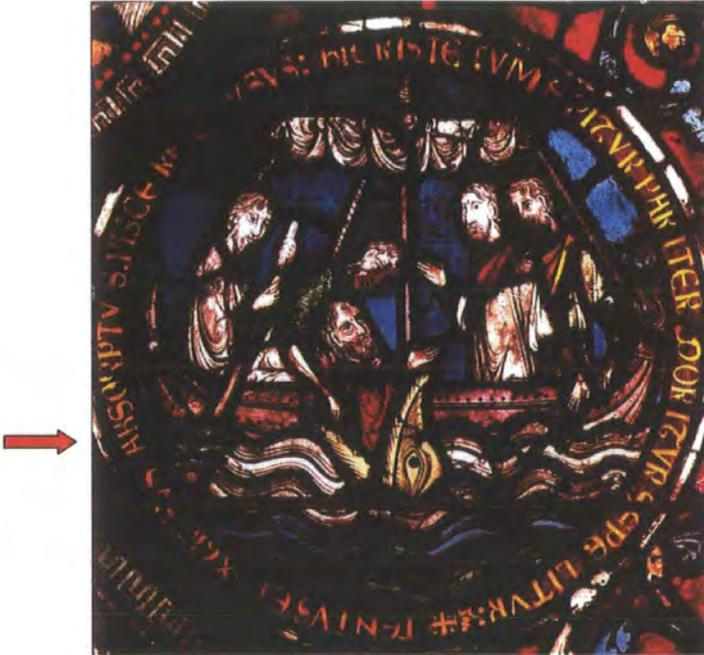
However it is the representation of angels that might distort the findings of winged creatures in stained and painted glass fragments, since angels can be readily identifiable by their feathers (see illustrations of angels in Williamson 2003:52). Nevertheless where feathers are identifiable in glass fragments or the peacock like feathers used in figure 3.12, they may actually be part of a human body (i.e. an angel) rather than animal body (i.e. bird, fowl or other winged creature), and it can be difficult to distinguish. It is important to note that most late 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Century depictions of angels seem to have been based on costumes for angels<sup>93</sup> used in the mystery plays (Dr CP Graves 2006, Pers. Comm.).

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<sup>93</sup> This would have been a close fitting suit or feathered covered garment.

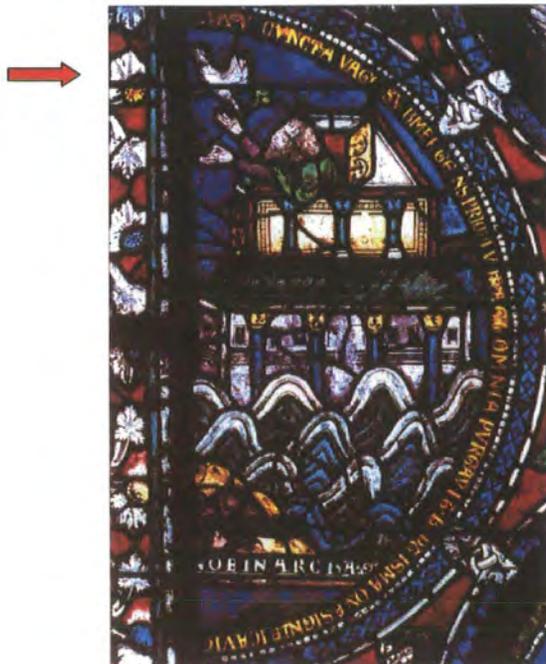
**Figure 3.6.**

Jonah and the Whale, Canterbury Cathedral, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Osborne 1997, Plate 7).



**Figure 3.7.**

The Dove returns to Noah in the Ark, Canterbury Cathedral, 13<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Osborne 1997, Plate 10).



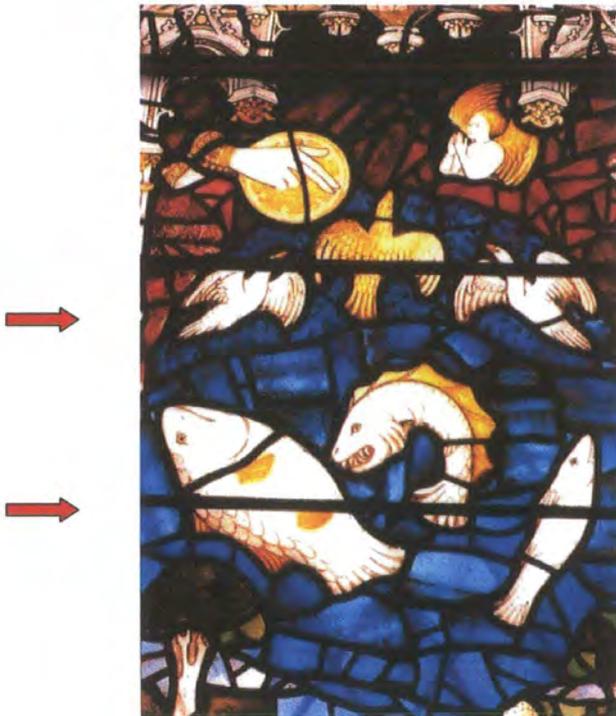
**Figure 3.8.**

The Annunciation to the Shepherds, English, probably c.1340,  
(Williamson 2003:46).



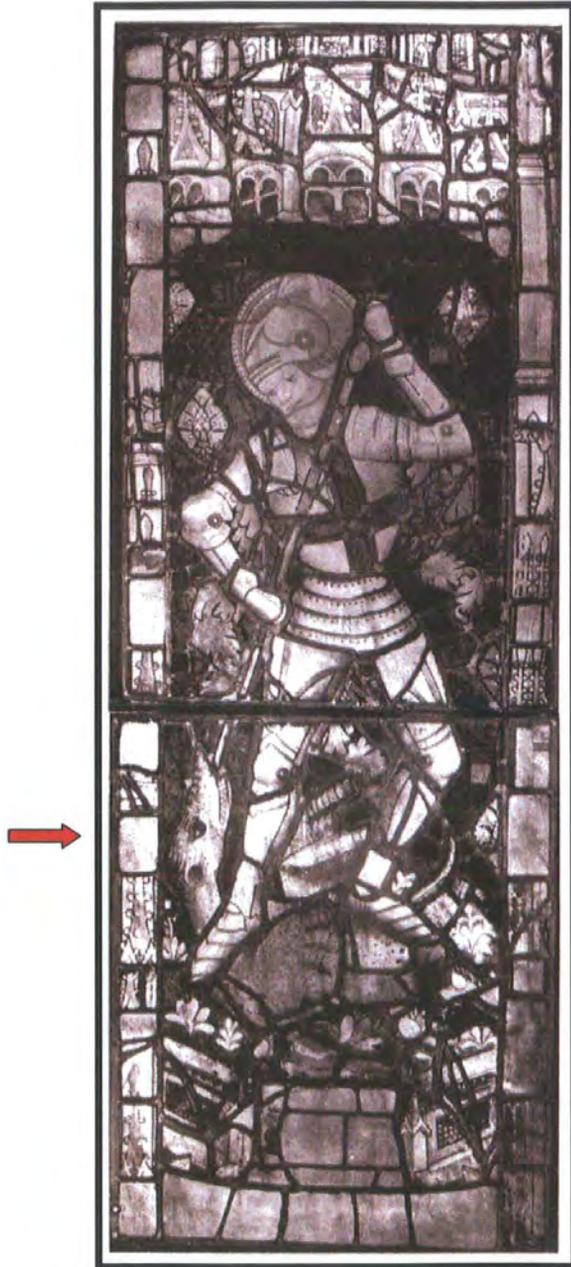
**Figure 3.9.**

The Creation of the Birds and Fishes, East Window, York Minster, c.1405-1408,  
(Osborne 1997, Plate 20).



**Figure 3.10.**

St George & the Dragon, Great Malvern Priory, c.1480 (Marks 1993:62).



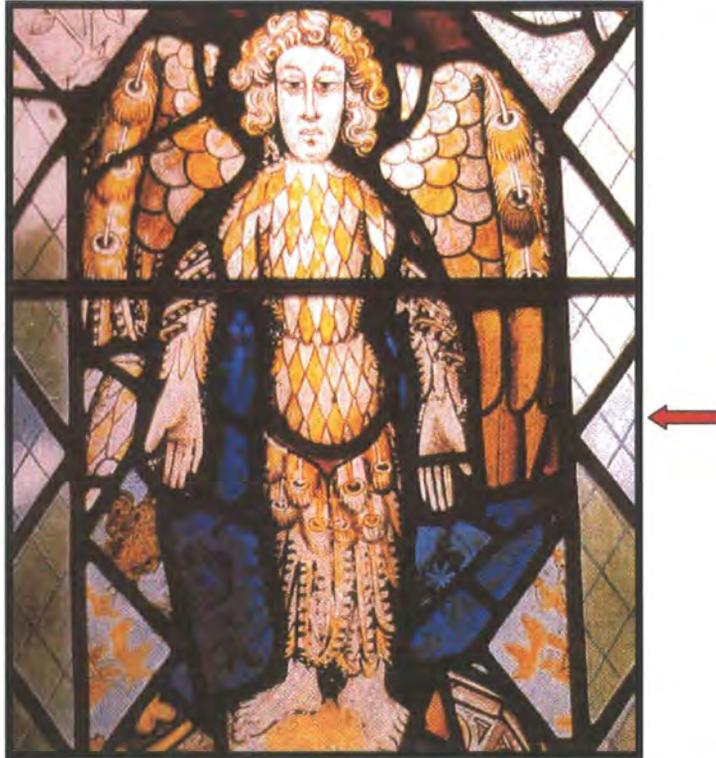
**Figure 3.11.**

Detail of St John the Evangelist, West Window, York Minster, c. 1339 (Marks 1993:62).



**Figure 3.12.**

Angel (Osborne 1997:21).



In understanding the scope for animals to appear it is important to highlight what themes were popular. Marks (1993:78-84) suggests hymns, the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, Seven Works of Mercy, blasphemy, and the last judgement were all popular themes in the Middle Ages. The depiction of the seven sacraments is quite common in late medieval art (Marks 1993:79)<sup>94</sup>. Allegories such as the “Creation, Damnation and Redemption” are also popular (Osborne 1997:50); morals such as virtues and vices, as well as depictions of good and bad behaviours (figure 3.14) were installed to serve as a form of instruction to those within the chapel, church, or cathedral. It is possible that animals could have been used to demonstrate these, but human characters are more prominent.

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<sup>94</sup> These include Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Eucharist, Penance, Holy Orders and Extreme Unction (Marks 1993:79).

The seven works of corporal mercy was another popular theme that was represented<sup>95</sup>, which originated from Christ's words in Matthew (25:35-6) and supported beliefs about salvation following good works e.g. The 'Corporate Acts of Mercy' Window in All Saints Church, North Street, in York dated to the early 15<sup>th</sup> Century depicts a variety of these charitable works including visiting prisoners in stocks (figure 3.15), clothing the naked, tending the sick, feeding the hungry, and the thirsty (similarly figure 3.16 which includes the depiction of a small canine).

“The Church's function was to promote faith, not to explain it ... The Church saw the function of stained glass to illustrate its teachings. The images on the window were not necessarily to explain the texts precisely, for, implicit in them, there was a sense of mystery that was deemed more important than the rendering of facts. In consequence, scenes in twelfth-century windows were not naturalistic but symbolic” (Osborne 1997:50).

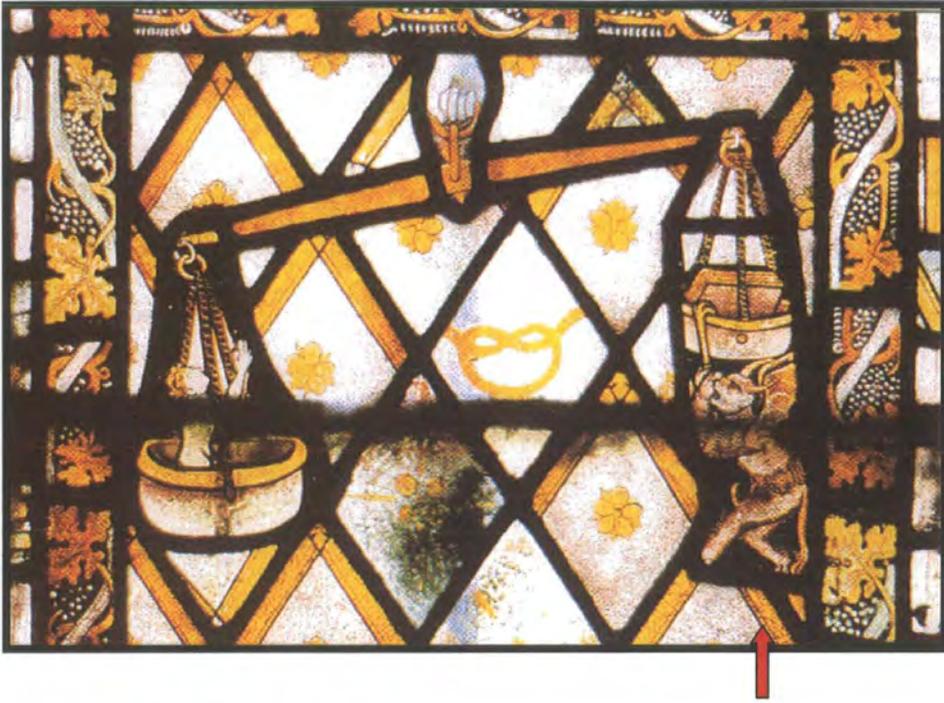
The use of abstract concepts can also be identified, including “Death, Strength, Knowledge, Discretion, Beauty” (Osborne 1997:50). Symbols and symbolic imagery can also be found in stained and painted glass e.g. The 'Lily Crucifix' panel from the Clopton Chantry Chapel, Long Melford in Suffolk (14/15th Century), is thought to symbolise 'Purity' and the 'Resurrection' (Osborne 1997:19, 50). The lily was also the symbol of the Virgin, and became part of the means of Salvation through the Resurrection. The lily is often shown at the Annunciation, and is conflating the sacrifice of Christ through which people were to gain the hope of redemption and salvation with the incarnation. Other examples include a window at Martham, Norfolk which depicts the escort of the dead to the next world by St Michael and the weighing of the souls in the balance, where once the scales have been weighted – the wicked souls cannot escape (Osborne 1997:50), as illustrated in figure 3.13.

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<sup>95</sup> These included clothing the naked, giving drink to the thirsty, feeding the hungry, sheltering the homeless, giving alms to the poor, and visiting prisoners.

**Figure 3.13.**

Weighing Souls (Osborne 1997:50).



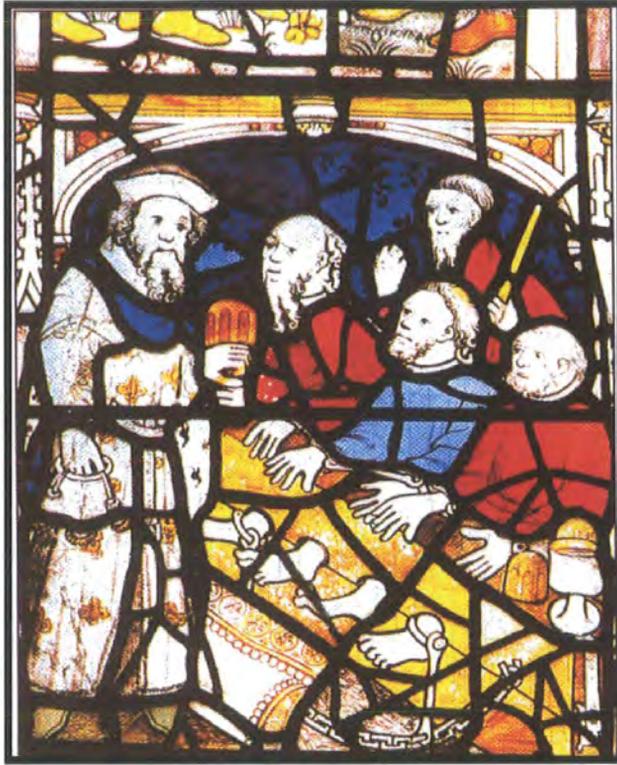
**Figure 3.14.**

Correction of Bad Behaviour, Zouche Chapel, York Minster, York, n/d,  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 3.15.**

Visiting Prisoners (Osborne 1997:18).



**Figure 3.16.**

Giving Drink to the Thirsty, Coventry, c.1430-40 (Williamson 2003:61).



### 3.2.2 Secular Themes.

In order for a stained or painted glass window to exist, someone had to pay for it, and this was the medieval equivalent of a benefactor or sponsor - otherwise known as a patron or donor. Marks says that information on patronage prior to the 14<sup>th</sup> Century is “as sparse as the surviving glass” (1993:3); however, by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, numerous patrons/donors begin to make their presence felt in window glass until the time of the Reformation (1993:11). Marks emphasises that windows were expensive installations within a building compared with monumental brasses (1993:6), and therefore, their cost precluded the less affluent from commissioning them, repairing or mending them (1993:8), which commonly was a cost more easily borne by an institution or community who had larger collective resources.

It is thought that donors and patrons may have been concerned with the salvation of their souls, and wanted to be acknowledged and known to future generations for their charitable or benevolent actions (Marks 1993:8). Osborne indicates that in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century it was commonly thought that a soul’s entry to heaven could be bought, the deal with God being sealed perhaps by the commissioning of a window, “Secure should thy soul be for to dwell in heaven” (1997:37). Thus, for those wealthy enough to be able to afford them, the patrons or donors of the stained and painted glass had a means of depicting themselves<sup>96</sup>. Some patrons are believed to have “vied for the most visible areas in churches to place their portraits” (Raguin 2003:62). In this way, patrons and donors could become the theme of the entire glass window, the best form of self advertising in an age without television.

Over time, the way patrons/donors were depicted had particular features and sometimes these changed. Marks states that patrons/donors were often depicted kneeling as illustrated in figure 3.17 of Sir John de Hardreshull and his wife Margaret from Merevale in Warwickshire (c.1293/4-d.c.1365)<sup>97</sup> and found kneeling at the feet of saints or Christ; enclosed below the images of saints within niches; depicted on a scale matching that of other religious figures such as saints; women were rarely accompanied by their husbands and appeared overall less frequently than men, but over time it became more common to find children being represented; and that they were found located in both the main and tracery lights.

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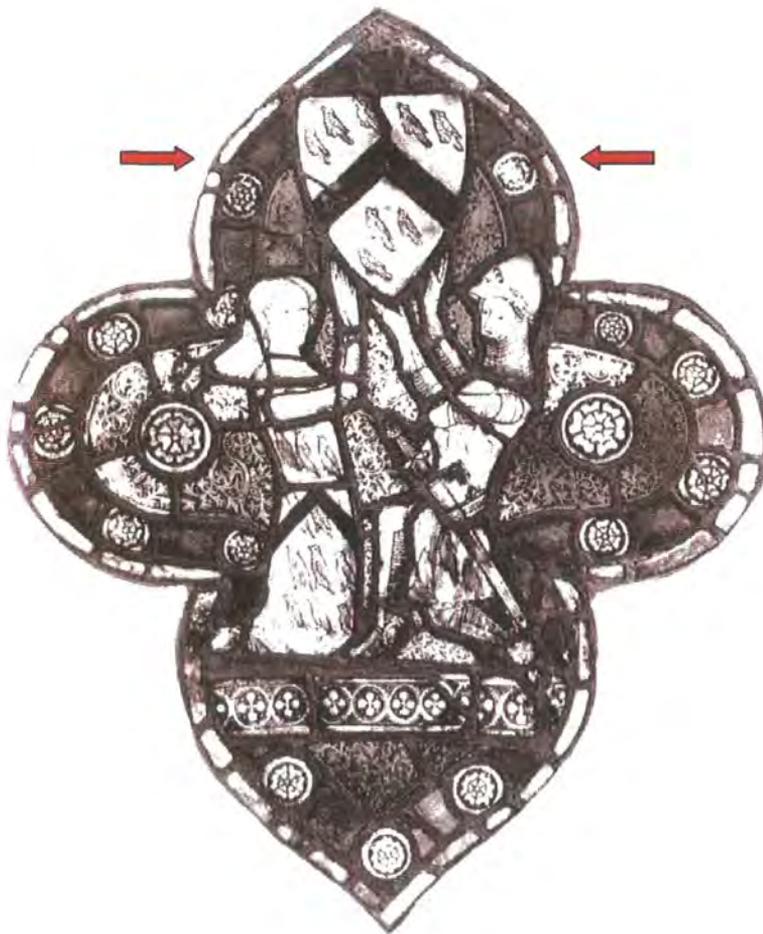
<sup>96</sup> Refer to Marks (1993:3, 6, 8) for further discussion on patrons, and (1993:8, 10-13, 16-19) for further discussion on donors.

<sup>97</sup> This is now far away from its original provenance since it can be found in the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, Australia.

From the late 14<sup>th</sup> Century sometimes patrons/donors are shown with their initials, mottoes, labels and invocatory texts either in Latin or French, as well as any heraldic devices or badges as illustrated in the roundels in figure 3.18 (Cole 1993:11-19). Examples include patrons/donors appearing by name such as Henry de Mamesfield, who is one donor whose name appears in association with a number of kneeling figures under canopies featured within the side windows of a chapel at Marton College in Oxford, dating to the late 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Osborne 1997:37). Cole, has also identified that the name of the patron/donor often appears on a roundel, or in the border of a roundel, as well as any heraldic identifications<sup>98</sup> (1993: xxi), e.g. the depiction of Robert Skelton below in figure 3.19.

**Figure 3.17.**

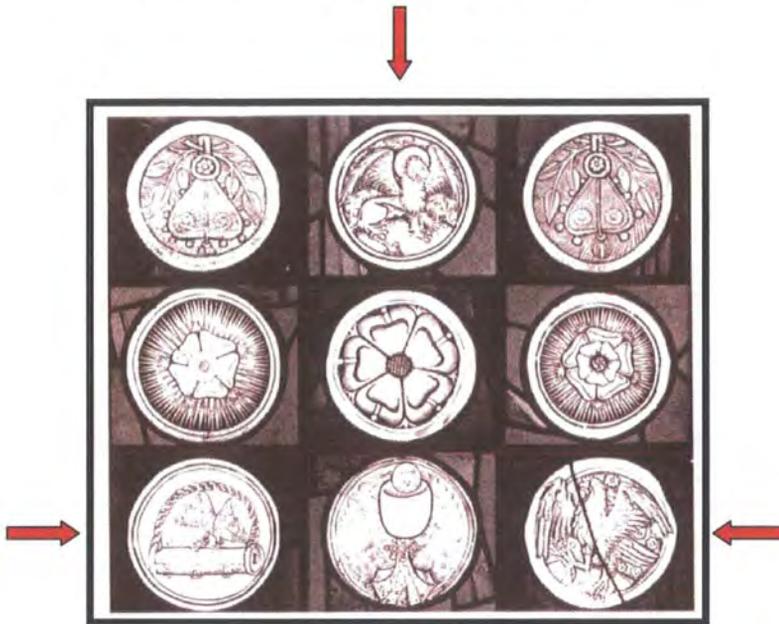
Sir John de Hardreshull and his wife (Marks 1993:11).



<sup>98</sup> However, Cole (1993) also suggests that by the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century there were indications that the iconography of these panels was changing, and more allegorical subjects were being added.

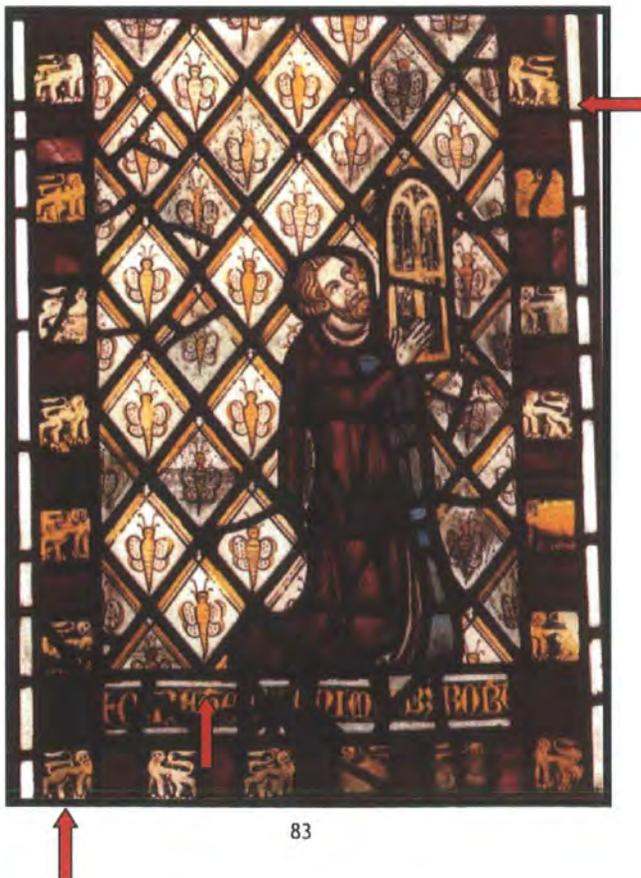
**Figure 3.18.**

Yorkist and Religious Devices and the Badge of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, Tattershall  
(Lincolnshire), c.1480 (Marks 1993:18).



**Figure 3.19.**

Donor Robert Skelton, St Denys Walmgate, York, c.1350 (Marks 1993).



The location of a scene within an ecclesiastical building was also of importance to a patron/donor. Therefore the proximity or location of the window to the altar and indeed the composition of a window could have had differing social or prestigious values to patron/donors. In consideration of these sources it has been suggested that patron/donors portraits become more frequent towards the end of the Middle Ages<sup>99</sup>. In comparison, roundels could have been commissioned by patrons for less selfish reasons, such as in order to celebrate important events such as marriage or death, commemorate entrance to a profession or master-ship of a guild. Cole therefore suggests that despite such secular themes, the majority of panels are “religious in their iconography, their domestic destination not withstanding” (1993:xxi).

Heraldry became an increasingly common subject as the centuries progressed, not only in glass, but also found in other areas of visual display such as architectural sculpture (Raguin 2003:161). Animals were often used as part of heraldic emblems. Marks (1993:10, 135) and Raguin (2003:159), both state that heraldic display was an important component of window design which emerged as a dominant art from the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century. Although few shields of arms are known before 1300 (Marks 1993:10), various affluent families were using glass to display their family shields in ecclesiastical settings e.g. the lion in the arms of Cornwall c.1254-9 in St. Edmund’s Chapel, Westminster Abbey illustrated below in figure 3.20.

In addition to these contexts, by the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Century it had become customary to install heraldic motifs in more secular or domestic settings such as palaces and castles e.g. Rochester Castle by Henry III in 1247 (Marks 1993:10), and also manor houses e.g. Ockwells Manor, Berkshire in 1460 (Raguin 2003:159-160). The increasing popularity of the depiction of heraldry is strongly linked with the self advertising of patrons/donors from by the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, as emphasised by Osborne, “The whole idea of including it in a scheme of stained glass was the same as that of the chantry chapel; it would, it was hoped, prompt people to pray for the soul and family of the person whose arms were depicted” (Osborne 1997:39).

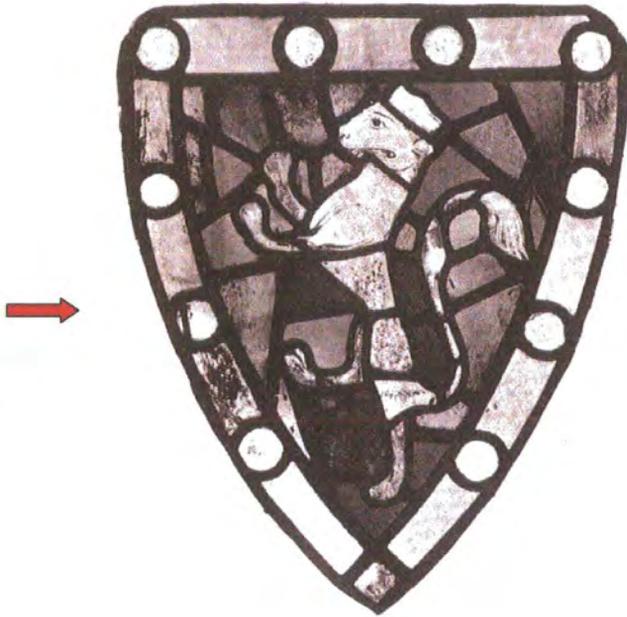
Needless to say, the following centuries saw much window glass being characterised by large scale heraldic installations which were strongly linked with particular donor’s facilitating family histories such as that at Fawsley Hall, Northamptonshire, dated to c.1537-42. Heraldry could also appear in conjunction with figures of saints, as well as features on figures themselves as arms displayed on their heraldic surcoats. Heraldry was therefore one means by which various creatures could be depicted. Many heraldic shields had animals as part of their design or emblems such as the Eagle, Leopard and Lion (the latter is illustrated below in figure 3.21).

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<sup>99</sup> Dr C P Graves (2004, Pers. Comm).

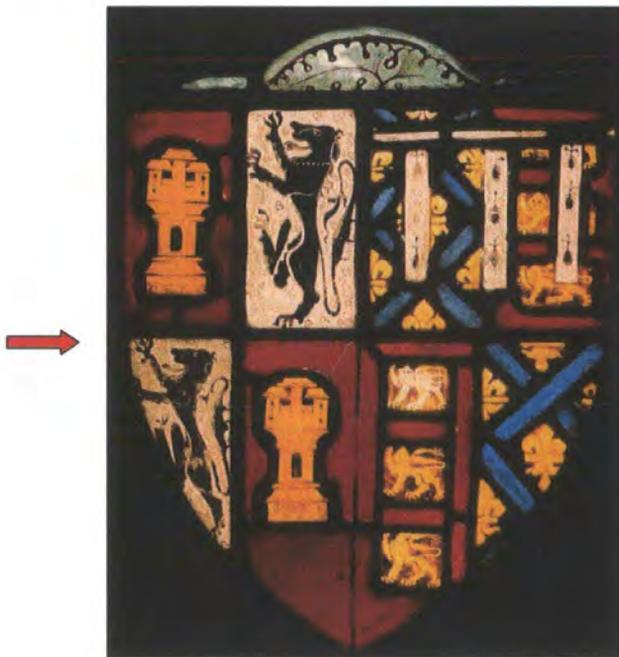
**Figure 3.20.**

The Arms of Cornwall, c.1254-9 (Marks 1993:10).



**Figure 3.21.**

The Arms of John of Gaunt, 1372-c.1393 (Williamson 2003:47).



Scenes from life can be identified from stained and painted glass (Marks 1993:85). The aspects of daily life represented range from the depiction of history during the 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> Century e.g. eight kings and queens are depicted in a chapter house window at York (Marks 1993:88); to festivities, monthly or seasonal activities that people were often engaged with e.g. a window from Morley, Derbyshire, depicts a ploughing scene from a saint's life with deer<sup>100</sup>, c.1482 (illustrated in figure 3.22, refer also to Fowler 1873). Other illustrations e.g. figures: 3.23 and 3.24 use animals to depict the Labours of the Months. Sometimes these themes are associated with occupations and processes which can also be depicted such as the making of objects e.g. The Bell-founder's Window at York Minster, 14<sup>th</sup> Century.

**Figure 3.22.**

Monks Ploughing and Harvesting (Osborne 1997:18).



<sup>100</sup> This is part of a particular scene from a saint's life, so not a typical or normal scene of daily life - especially since deer pulling the plough may not have been the most common domestic animal associated with this activity.

**Figure 3.23.**

Labours of the Months (March), Cassiobury Park, Near Watford, Hertfordshire, c.1450,  
(Williamson 2003:56, 58).



**Figure 3.24.**

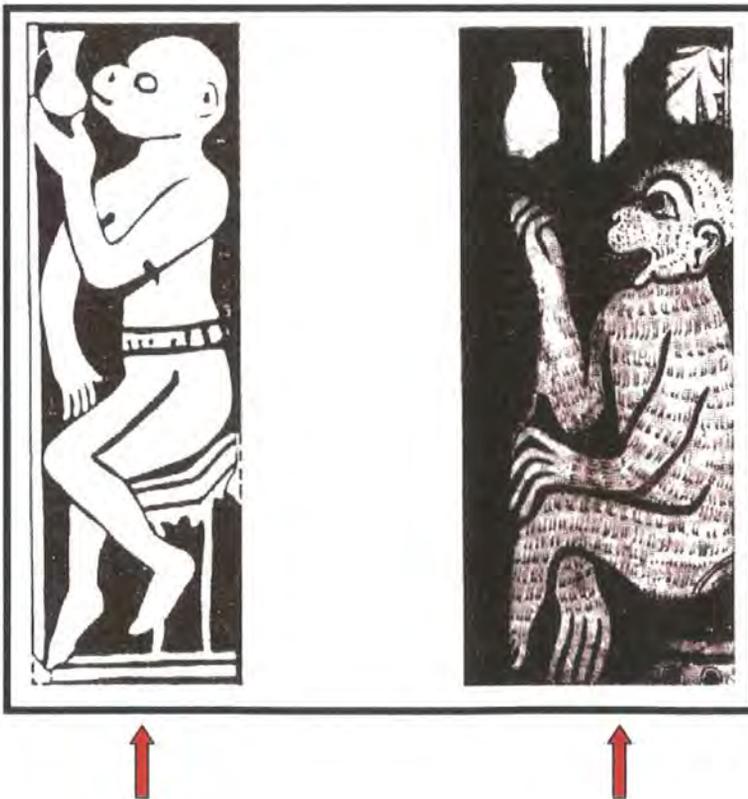
Labours of the Months (October), Cassiobury Park, Near Watford, Hertfordshire, c.1450,  
(Williamson 2003:56, 58).



Animals of the air, land, sea and mind, are frequently included within stained and painted glass themes in both realistic and more fanciful contexts, both in religious and secular contexts. The borrowing of designs from other media such as manuscripts, metalwork, painting and architecture has been previously highlighted, though Marks cites the example of the Monkey used in both tiles and stained glass, where there are recurrent designs that can be identified (motifs being circulated or copied between mediums) such as in the case of the use of the ape holding a urine flask on a tile from Dronfield (Derbyshire) and depicted on a window in York Minster, as illustrated in figure 3.25 below. Marks also discusses a tile mosaic pavement at Buildwas Abbey in Shropshire, which is decorated with hybrid monsters. He indicates that the type of these was common to the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, and even suggests that the design was copied “from a window similar to the tracery glazing windows sVII of St Lucy’s Chapel in Christ Church, Oxford” (1993:55).

**Figure 3.25.**

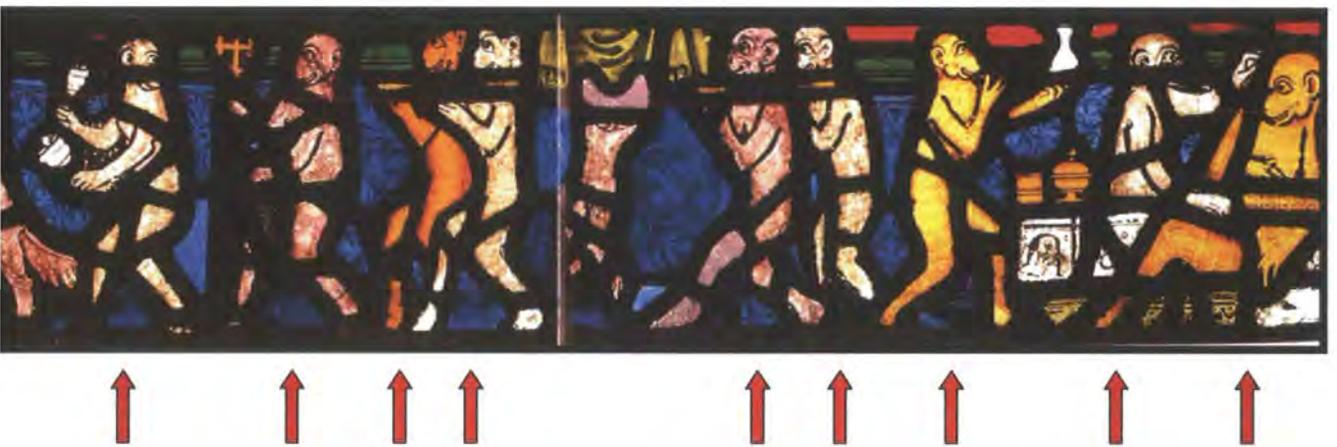
Ape in Floor Tiles (left), and Ape in Window Glass (right), 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Marks 1993:56).



In his discussion of secular and historical subjects, Marks further highlights the depiction of fabulous creatures and drolleries of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century (found principally in borders<sup>101</sup> and tracery) at Stanford on Avon (Northamptonshire), and again from Dronfield (Derbyshire). He comments that this expresses “the same indigenous taste for the amusing and anecdotal as is displayed in manuscripts and sculpture” (1993:85). He further adds, “Often their allusions remain elusive and few are as obvious as the well-known monkey’s funeral at York Minster which is a parody of the iconography of the Funeral of the Virgin” (1993:85-86), as illustrated below in figure 3.26.

**Figure 3.26.**

The Monkey’s Funeral at York Minster (Lockhart 2001:12-13).



The depiction of the scene known as the Monkey’s Funeral at York Minster, represents one of only two specific publications that have been presented on the representation of the monkey in stained or painted glass, and it was written during the time in which the research for this thesis was conducted<sup>102</sup>. The scene represents only a very small section of border decoration<sup>103</sup> in the Pilgrimage Window at York Minster, perhaps paralleling “As the ape, lacking human nature, still mimics humans, so must man, although lacking divinity, mimic the divine” (Hardwick 2002:297). These papers demonstrate, that with few articles available for consultation on this topic, the representation of creatures in stained and painted glass is an extremely under-researched field and emphasises that our knowledge of creatures in stained and painted glass is very limited. This is one reason why this medium was selected as a case study for research<sup>104</sup>, and why compiling data on creatures is of use.

<sup>101</sup> Refer to Camille’s *Image on the Edge* (1992) for further discussion.

<sup>102</sup> Refer to Hardwick (2002:290-298), and (2002:64-70).

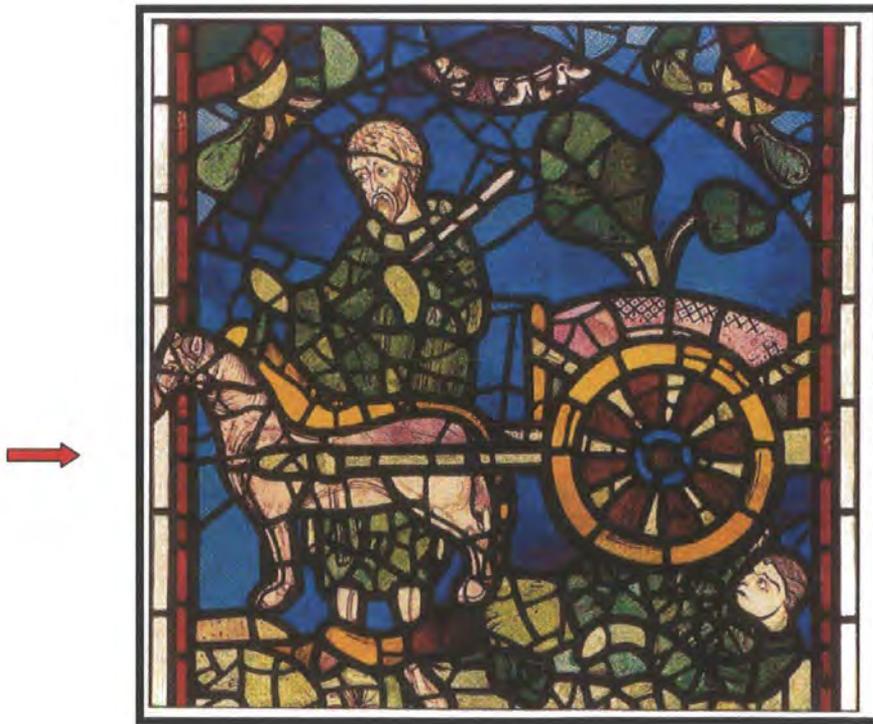
<sup>103</sup> This can be compared with a manuscript, where monkeys appear in the borders (refer to Chapter 2).

<sup>104</sup> This chapter can be regarded as a pilot for a viable national research project.

Creatures can be found depicted as part of hunting scenes, and providing transport/traction, as part of the depiction and display of heraldry on glass (Eden 1938, Tyson 2000); of festivities depicted on glass (Cole 1982); of months and seasons (Fowler 1873); as well as decoration in the margins of stained and painted glass windows (refer also to Camille 1992). Therefore there are a wide range of scenes that enable creatures to be depicted as characters and as decoration, from episodes associated with the Bible; to the portrayal of prophets, saints, apostles and angels; the illustration of allegory and morals, the emphasis of concepts and symbolism; the characterisation of gesture, patrons and heraldry; to scenes from daily life and most importantly for this thesis research, the representation of creatures as the main subjects.

**Figure 3.27.**

Window Glass with Stained and Painted Animal, from the legend of St Nicholas at York Minster, c. 1170-90 (Marks 1993: plate v).



### 3.3 The Results of the Investigation.

Stained and painted glass was chosen because it depicts a variety of themes and therefore it was considered a valuable source material from which research on the repertoire of creatures contained within medieval designs could be made. This was also a medium that represented a specialist area of professional expertise available from a supervisory point of view at the research institution. The data on glass that was collated for research was predominantly chosen from published collections of academically and professionally catalogued glass, much of which was in situ as window glass.

Although this type of material was targeted to offer a reliable and credible data resource, it also means that as a source of data it is biased and limited in a number of ways. For example, much of the glass is found in one context, i.e. an ecclesiastical context and in situ as window glass. Therefore the range of site type represented by the glass is not as varied as excavated finds of glass could demonstrate, and so more vernacular structures and secular contexts are largely ignored.

It would be an interesting development of this thesis to target collections of secular window glass for a further research project to see contextually if there were differences in the types of creatures that were being represented. The limited number of catalogues currently available from the CVMA also means the data are unable to offer the geographical diversity which may be offered by collections of surviving stained and painted glass fragments located from other sources, such as archaeological excavations and assemblages of excavated glass finds within archaeological units.

Although these type of published and unpublished site reports and archives were not targeted for data collection and presentation within this chapter, some of the more archaeological material was consulted in other chapters of the thesis. For example, this includes the artefacts represented in the archive locally held by EH<sup>105</sup> in Helmsley, North Yorkshire (presented as the RARD in Chapter 5). In addition to this were finds of glass identified in exhibition catalogues and museum archival collections acquisitions (refer to Rackham 1936; Spokes 1973; Skeat 1978-79, 1979-80 and 1980-1981; Marks 1987, and Cannon 1991). The nature of these share similarities with the roundels presented in this chapter.

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<sup>105</sup> English Heritage.

The final section of this chapter will present the graphical findings (results) of the creatures identified within the survey sample of stained and painted glass. This data represents a further analysis and synthesis of that available within the CVMA catalogue series, and additional details were supplemented by consultation of the JBSMGP and other relevant publications, as detailed. The stained and painted glass data collected was recorded in a series of Excel spreadsheets<sup>106</sup>. Over 1300 instances of creatures were revealed to be represented within the chronological parameters of the thesis research. Selected aspects were then analysed graphically for selected patterns in terms of the variety of animal species represented as discussed in section 3.3.1, the chronology of animal species representation in section 3.3.2, and the location of species representation in section 3.3.3. The discussion is followed by the graphical data representation for reference to this text.

### 3.3.1 Species.

The data was graphically analysed by pie chart to reveal the proportional representation of species. The species charts (figures 3.28 to 3.42 below) are presented for each type of glass and there are five charts for each: window glass (figures 3.28 to 3.32), roundels (figures 3.33 to 3.37) and glass vessels (3.38 to 3.42). The data was divided in this manner to reveal any distinction between the representations of species in different types of glass, and therefore avoided lumping of data. These graphs were further refined to reveal the proportions of species by each type of creature (i.e. one graph each for land creatures, one for air creatures, one for sea creatures and one for mind creatures).

Where there were five or more instances of a specific species being represented in any category this equated to up to a 1% pie slice being presented on the pie chart. If there were fewer instances than this percentage proportion, the creatures were not labelled individually and were collectively grouped into a category labelled as 'Other'. This accounted for 17% of the land creature sample, being composed of a wide range of animals represented in very small and proportionally less prominent quantities such as the beaver, boar, buck, cat, cattle, colt, donkey, fox, frog, hare, hound, lizard, locust, mule, pig, piglet, rabbit, sow, stag, and wolf, winged serpent, winged bull, winged ox, winged calf, golden calf, demi-lion, agnus dei, bear masks, and fur (ermine); and for 2% of the air creatures which was composed of representations of the hen, finch, hawk, parrot and peewit.

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<sup>106</sup> A sample of data is presented on the CD ROM found within the appendix. The complete database includes material published by the CVMA including Netherlandish and North European Roundels in Britain, but this is not included in the data presented in the final thesis.

Overall, the range of species depicted on all types of glass included a variety of real and imagined creatures from land animals to air creatures (birds), sea creatures (fish and shellfish) and mind creatures (imaginary animals). The general proportions of creatures revealed across each type of glass were relatively consistent (proportionally) which adds support to the consistency of use of particular types of creature in the medieval period.

The graphical data analysis clearly revealed that the land creatures were the most numerous creature types in all types of glass, representing 64% of those in window glass, 70% in roundels, and 45% in glass vessels. This indicated that almost half or in some cases significantly more than half of all representations are generally depictions of land species (figures 3.28, 3.33 and 3.38) in medieval stained and painted glass. Land species were the most common and accessible species to be viewed and engaged with by people in the medieval community.

The air creatures were the second most popular type of creature to be represented across window glass (23%), and glass vessels (32%); though in roundels it was the mind creatures which were the second most popular creature type to be represented (17%). The least popular creature type to be represented in all types of glass were the sea creatures with only 3% being depicted in window glass, 2% in roundels, and 8% in glass vessels as demonstrated by figures 3.28, 3.33 and 3.38.

The lion was the most frequently represented individual creature to be depicted in window glass (47%), roundels (15%), and vessel glass (67%), which indicates this was a creature that was being represented with distinct intention. The reasons why the lion (and other frequently represented creatures) may have been depicted are explored further within the thematic case studies in chapter 7. A wide range of additional land creatures were also depicted in smaller proportions as indicated by the percentage slices illustrated in figures 3.29, 3.34 and 3.39.

The eagle was the most commonly represented individual air creature in window glass (22%), whilst the pelican was most frequently represented identified bird in the roundels and glass vessels at 37% and 25% respectively (refer to figures 3.30, 3.35, 3.40). Unfortunately, the majority of birds represented in the glass vessels were not identified to a species type (as many as 75% of birds were unidentified), which could distort the data analysis.

It was a most notable contrast that the eagle did not appear at all to be catalogued in the roundels and glass vessels, and that in the window glass, the pelican was extremely poorly represented accounting for only 1% of the data sample. This is a strange result considering that numerous scholars have stated that the pelican (in particular) had great medieval significance, and out of all birds it would be expected to appear within the window glass of an ecclesiastical context<sup>107</sup>.

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<sup>107</sup> Refer to chapter 7 for discussion of the purported religious iconography of the pelican.

The number of sea creatures depicted in all types of glass was very small, particularly in the case of roundels and vessel glass. Nevertheless, the most frequently identified sea creatures catalogued in window glass were the dolphin (22%) and whale (15%), along with smaller proportions of edible sea and fresh water fish such as the herring and pike, and shellfish such as the cockle and scallop (refer to figures 3.31, 3.36, and 3.41).

All of the creatures identified on the roundels depicted the crab (100%), and all of those surviving on glass vessels were of the dolphin (100%). However, in view of the limited size of the data sample, the representation of sea creatures may illustrate no more than the character of the data, rather than revealing a picture of the animal visual culture of the medieval period.

The dragon (53%) and griffin (11%) were the most frequently represented mind creatures revealed in the window glass. At least a quarter of mind creatures catalogued in the window glass were not identified to an individual creature description or were describes as a composite creature and so were grouped together into a category labelled as 'composite' (25%).

This was also true of the roundels and glass vessels where 69% and 100% of the mind creatures were not specifically identified and were catalogued under this description. A small range of other creatures were however identified in small numbers in the window glass and the roundels including the wyvern, centaur, yale, unicorn, phoenix, mermaid/merman, and the Devil (refer to figures 3.32, 3.37 and 3.42).

### **3.3.2 Chronology.**

A series of column graphs present the chronology of creature representations in figures 3.43 to 3.54. These results were arranged in a similar manner to the species data, being presented by the type of glass: window glass (figures 3.43 to 3.46), roundels (figures 3.47 to 3.50) and glass vessels (3.51 to 3.54); and for each creature type from land animals to air creatures, sea creatures and mind creatures.

There are slightly different scales used in some of the column charts in order to better display the resolution of the number of instances (the number of times) that a species is depicted in a particular period e.g. the land and air creatures represented in window glass were five times more numerous than sea or mind creatures and this is reflected in the adjustment of the scale from up to 250 depicted instances in figures 3.43 and 3.44; to up to 50 depicted instances in figures 3.45 and 3.46.

In the roundels a similar adjustment was also applied; with up to 60 instances being used as the scale for the land creatures (figure 3.47), and a scale up to 12 instances being used for all other creatures (figures 3.48, 3.49 and 3.50); and an even smaller scale was used to emphasise the surviving glass vessels due to their small numbers.

A reasonable proportion of all the glass was not dated with a specific date, to a particular century or centuries (though was regarded as being generally medieval). Nevertheless, there were sufficient dated instances to examine the representation of creature type over time throughout window glass, roundels and vessel glass. The chronological period revealed was quite broad and covered a time span dating between the 12th Century and the 16<sup>th</sup> Century.

The window glass offered the sharpest chronological resolution for representations since it contained the largest numbers of depicted creatures within every century, most being found between the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Overall the 15<sup>th</sup> Century revealed a slight peak in the number of instances for real creatures (the land, air and sea creatures) in window glass; except for the mind creatures which were the most numerous in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century.

This pattern is also supported by the roundels where again the largest number of real creature representations (land creatures, air creatures, sea creatures) were attributed to the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, except again for the mind creatures which were most numerous in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century (as they were in the window glass). In both of these types of glass the creatures of the mind also demonstrated a decline from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century toward the 16<sup>th</sup> Century.

The glass vessels generally revealed a broader chronological range in terms of animals on glass vessels continue to appear long after the end of the medieval period<sup>108</sup>. As with the window glass and roundels, the chronological use of mind creatures revealed they were a more popular theme in the earlier centuries, since there were no representations dating after the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. This may support a trend in later periods for the more naturalistic representation of creatures, one of the themes picked up in the contextual interpretation presented in chapter 7, section 7.1.

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<sup>108</sup> This type of glass revealed a greater range of material than is included within this thesis and represents material from Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Czech Republic, and Iran - dating from the 12th to 19th Century.

### 3.3.3 Location.

The degree to which an investigation of location could be conducted and would be meaningful was limited from the data sample. Much of the material collated reflects only those locations that (to date) have received funding for medieval glass research and for medieval stained and glass to be catalogued. In this respect, the geographical representation of window glass parallels the current state of research progress by the CVMA.

There are many more churches and cathedrals that are listed as having medieval stained and painted glass and are scheduled for research and publication, meaning the graphical data presented here should not be utilised to offer a complete picture of the medieval period. Nevertheless, the existing published data was investigated in an attempt to highlight the character of the current location of the medieval window glass, and the origin/provenance (as known) of the medieval vessel glass in the sample data.

The findings were graphically analysed in a series of pie charts for window glass in figures 3.55 to 3.58, which demonstrates the proportions of different creature type at each of the locations for which catalogued data was available. There were four counties (Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and South Yorkshire) that accounted for between a third and over a half of all creature types represented (37%, 61%, 42% and 48% respectively)<sup>109</sup>. This makes sense considering the larger quantity of data generated by catalogues drawn from data around a county compared with that collated from an individual church or cathedral.

Nevertheless, particular creatures were better represented at particular cathedrals e.g. around half (49%) of all the land creatures represented in window glass were located at either: Wells Cathedral (18%), York Minster (17%) or Canterbury Cathedral (14%) and almost half of all the sea creatures were depicted at either Canterbury Cathedral (accounting for 32% of all depictions), and Kings College, Cambridge (15% of all). These results simply clarify the nature of the data sample - that medieval glass has been researched to date at these locations. However, due to the limited number of catalogues available for analysis, it would be too premature to investigate any medieval geographical distribution patterns further. Similarly, the results for the glass vessels are presented in figures 3.59 to 3.62.

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<sup>109</sup> These statistics are included to link the graphical findings to the text for the sake of completeness rather than as a statement of statistical significance.

There were a number of countries besides Britain that were attributed to the origin of the glass vessels in the data sample. This demonstrates the taste and demand for glass vessels decorated with creatures that were circulating in the medieval period and found their way into Britain. A number were sourced to France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and Iran. It is possible that these vessels were imported and/or given as gifts, and this may explain how they became part of the animal visual culture circulating in Britain.

The graphical analysis of the roundels was restricted to species and chronological analysis. It is not certain that all glass catalogued as roundel glass is roundel glass since some may actually represent glass from tracery panels or quarry glass. Much of the roundel glass throughout its life was also removed, replaced, re-circulated or re-located (for the reasons explored earlier in this chapter), and this makes it difficult to know exactly the origin/provenance for a roundel.

Roundels share a character similar to the finds and artefacts (discussed in chapter 5), therefore attempting any geographical representation would be an even more misleading exercise. The glass included within the data sample was collated from a wide variety of contexts ranging from collections held by private collectors and kept in domestic houses, to those stored in museum archives, kept in castle's, installed in hospitals, as well as being revealed in the glass at abbey's, churches and cathedrals.

**Figure 3.28.**

**The Variety of Species Represented in Window Glass.  
n=1219**

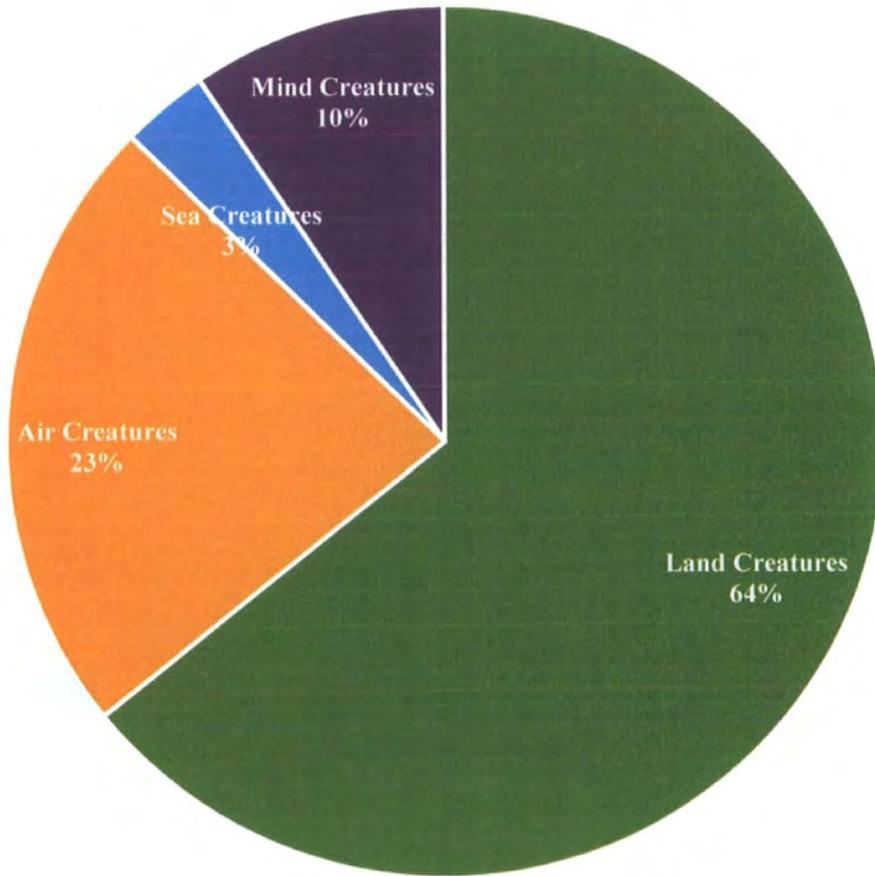


Figure 3.29.

**Land Creatures in Window Glass.**  
n=778

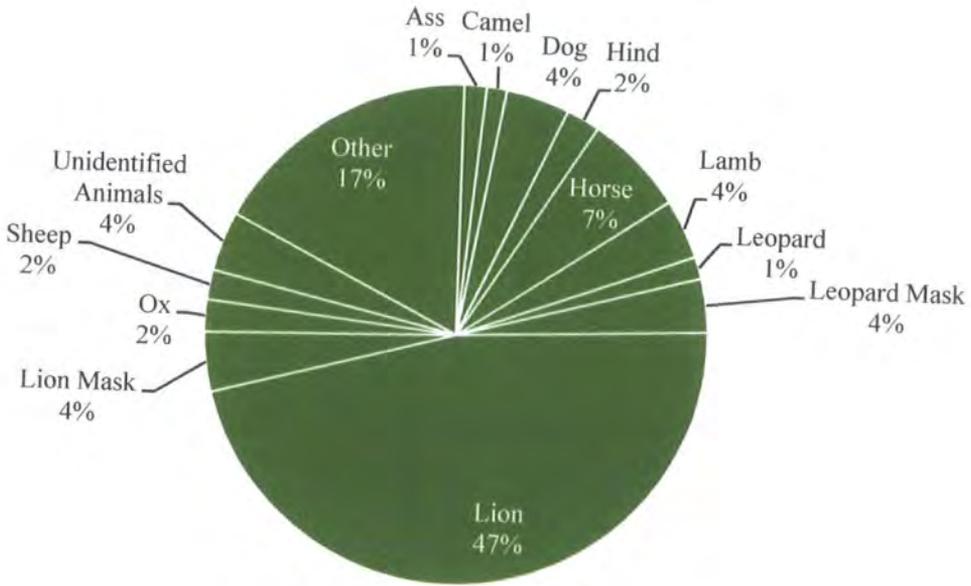


Figure 3.30.

**Air Creatures in Window Glass.**  
n=285

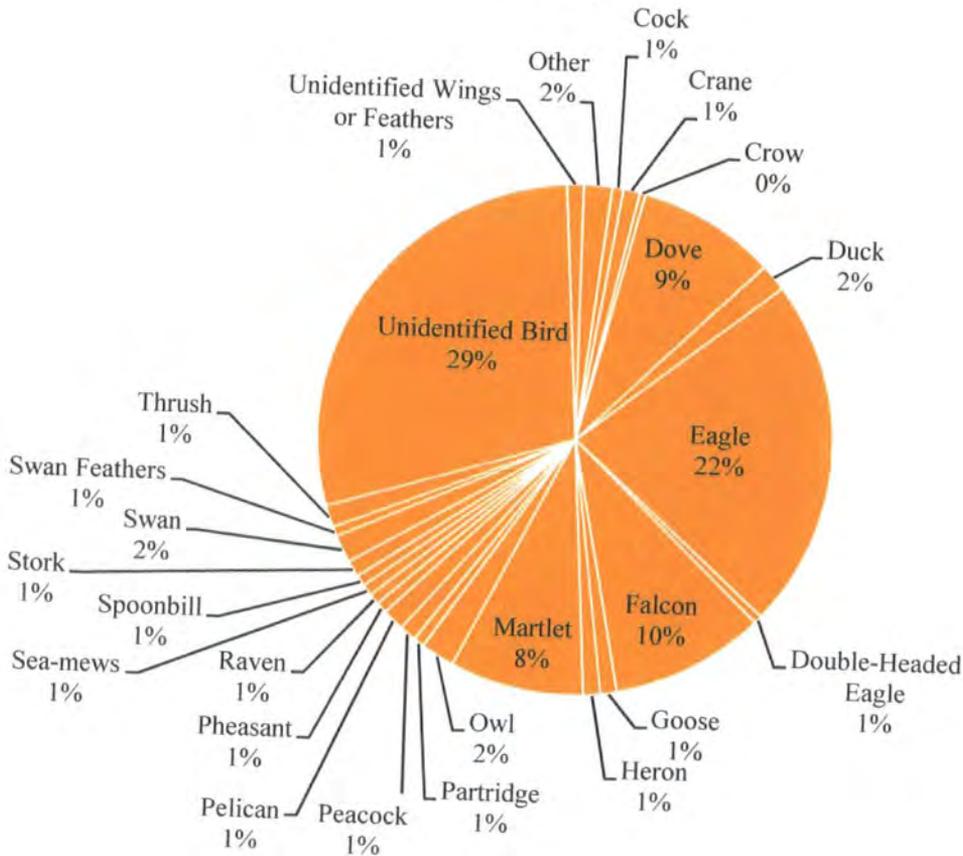


Figure 3.31.

Sea Creatures in Window Glass.  
n=40

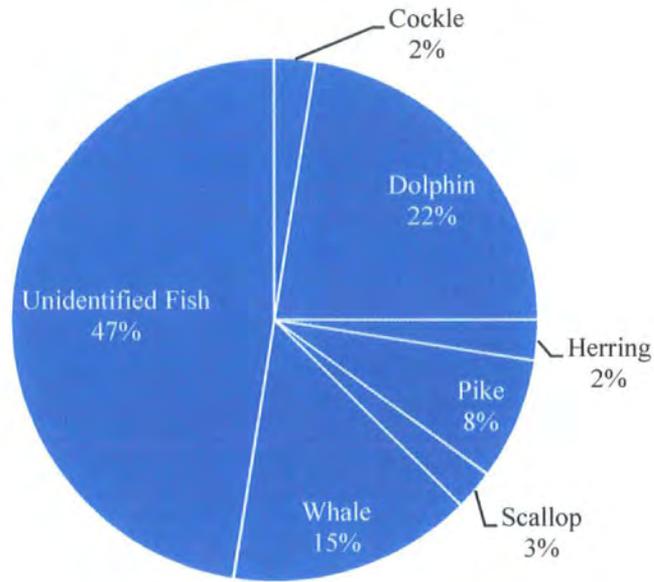


Figure 3.32.

Mind Creatures in Window Glass.  
n=116

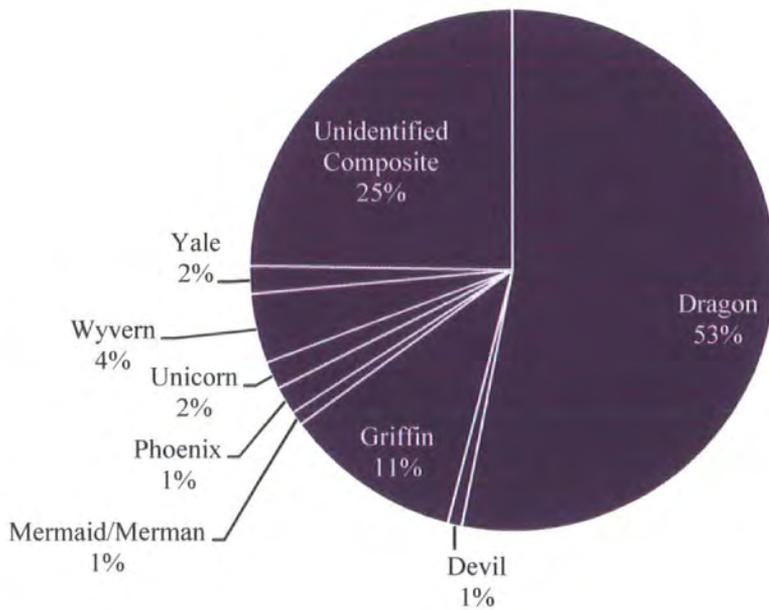
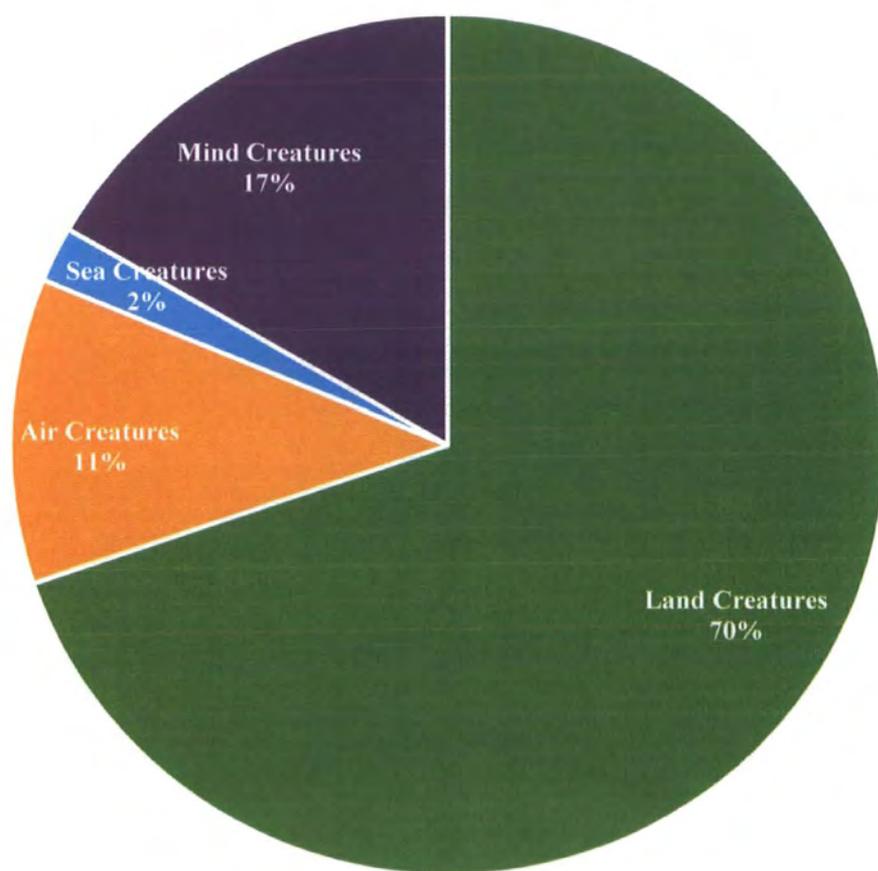


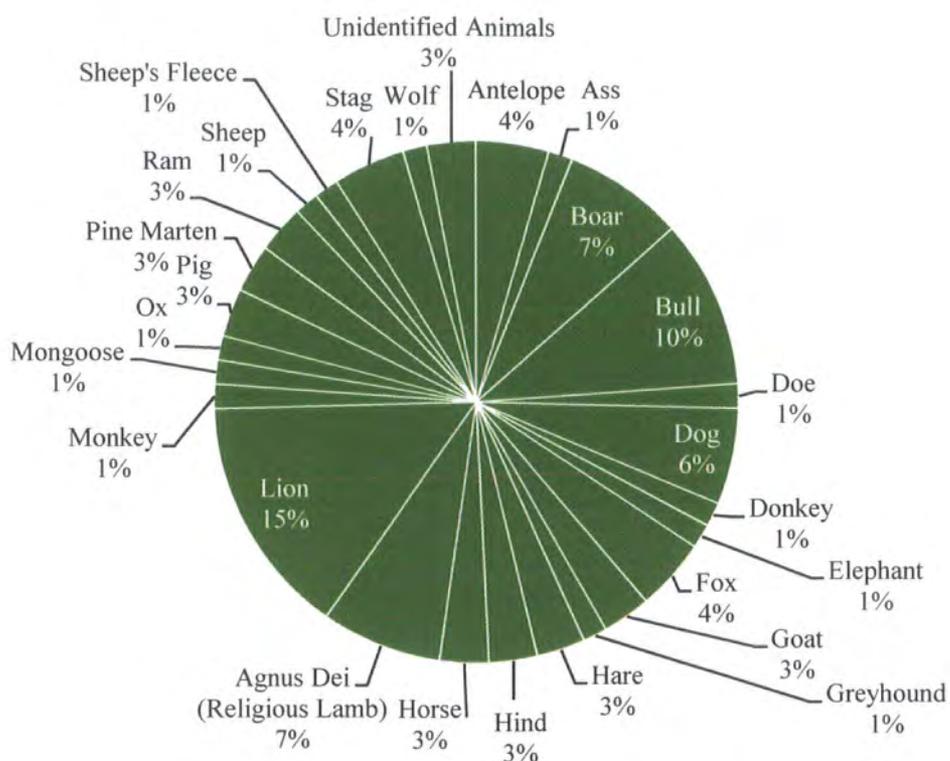
Figure 3.33.

The Variety of Species Represented in British Roundels.  
n=96



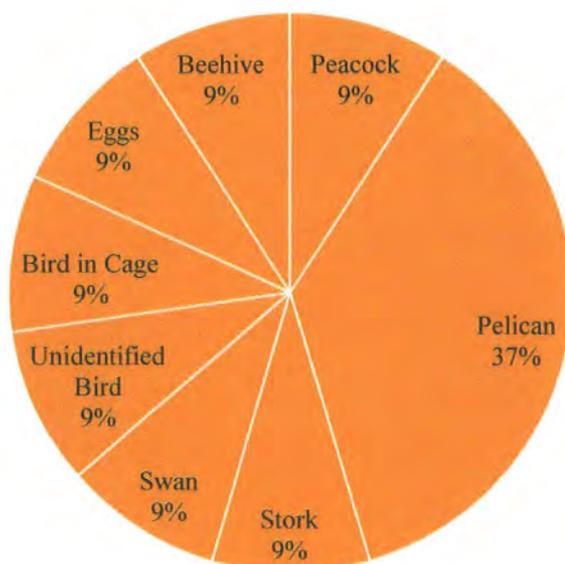
**Figure 3.34.**

**Land Creatures in British Roundels.**  
n=67



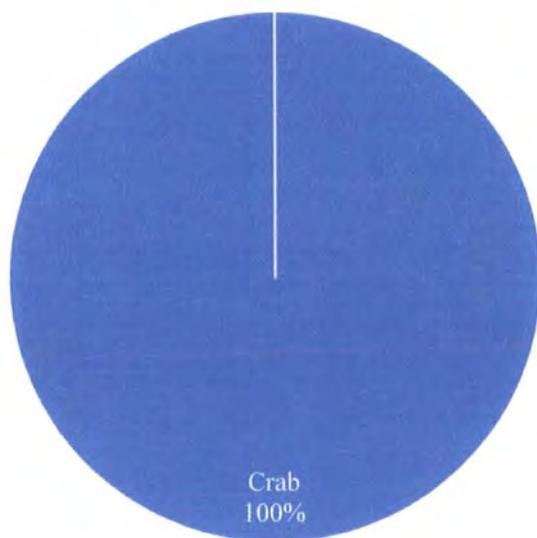
**Figure 3.35.**

**Air Creatures in British Roundels.**  
n=11



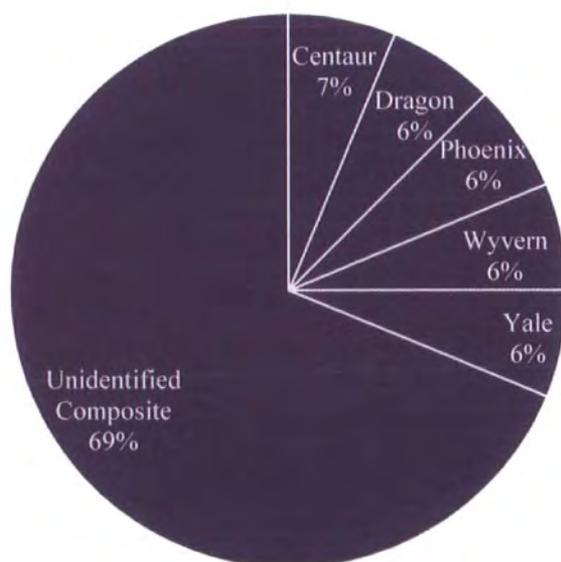
**Figure 3.36.**

**Sea Creatures in British Roundels.**  
n=2



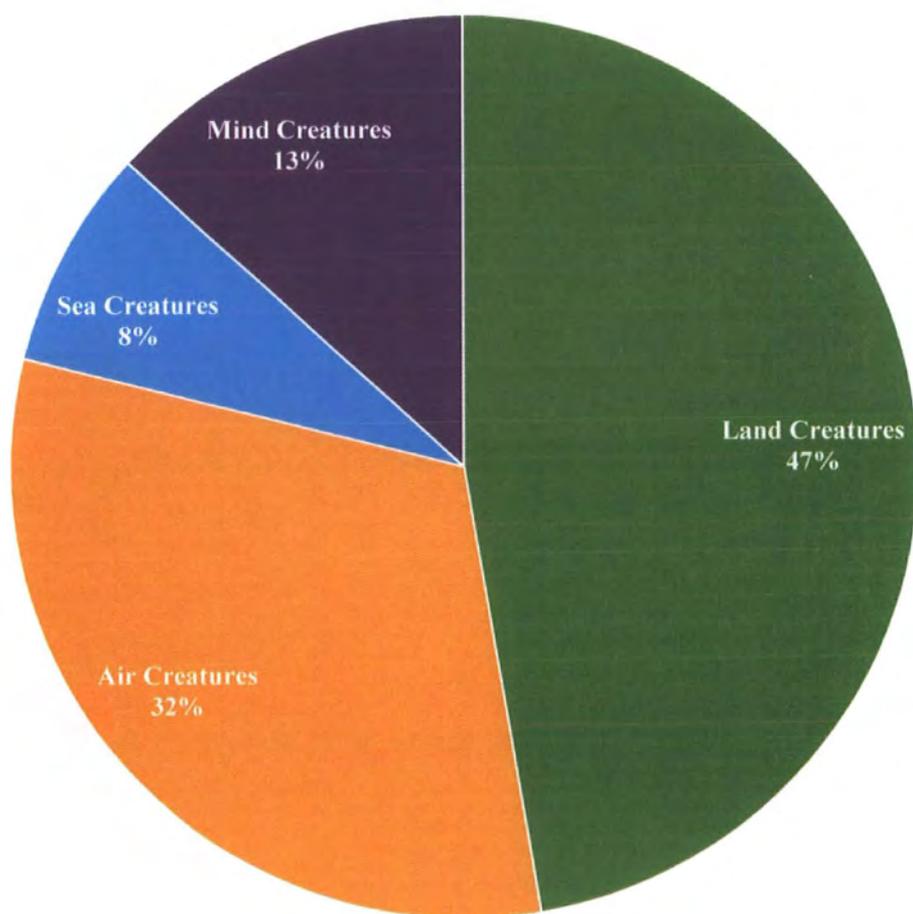
**Figure 3.37.**

**Mind Creatures in British Roundels.**  
n=16



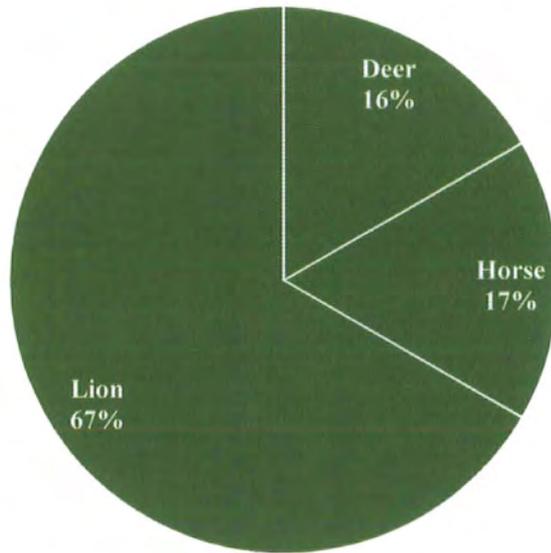
**Figure 3.38.**

**The Variety of Species Represented in Glass Vessels.  
n=13**



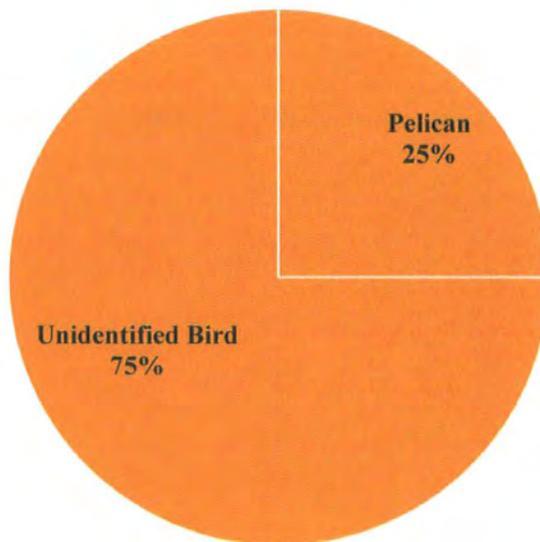
**Figure 3.39.**

**Land Creatures in Glass Vessels.  
n=6**



**Figure 3.40.**

**Air Creatures in Glass Vessels.  
n=4**



**Figure 3.41.**

**Sea Creatures in Glass Vessels.  
n=2**



**Figure 3.42.**

**Mind Creatures in Glass Vessels.  
n=2**



Figure 3.43.

Land Creatures in Glass Windows.  
n=778

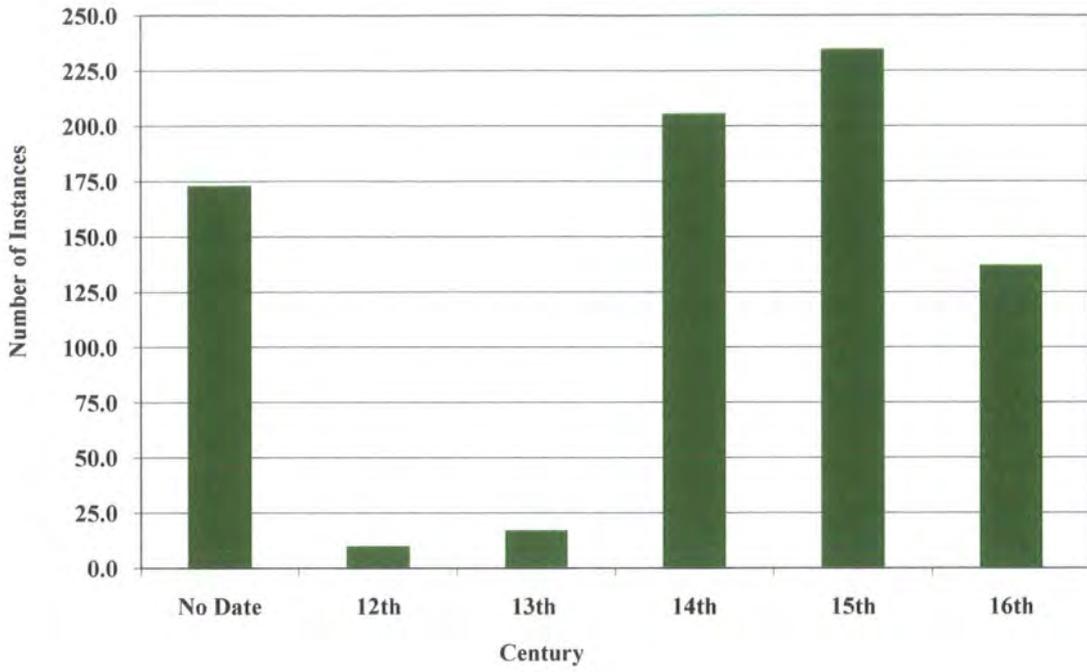
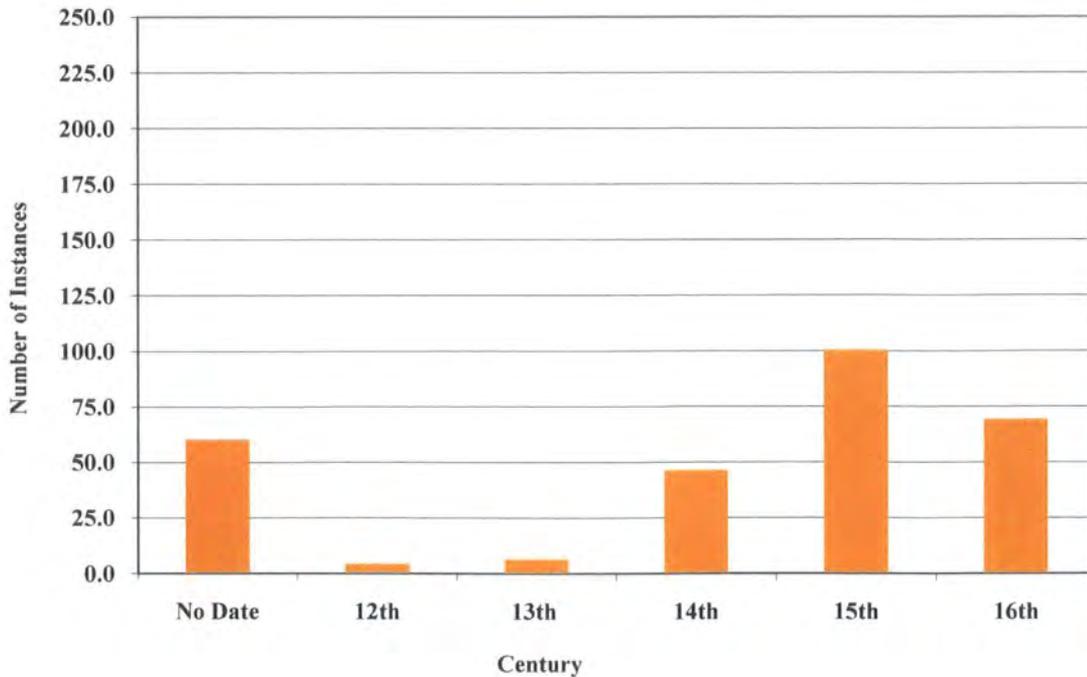


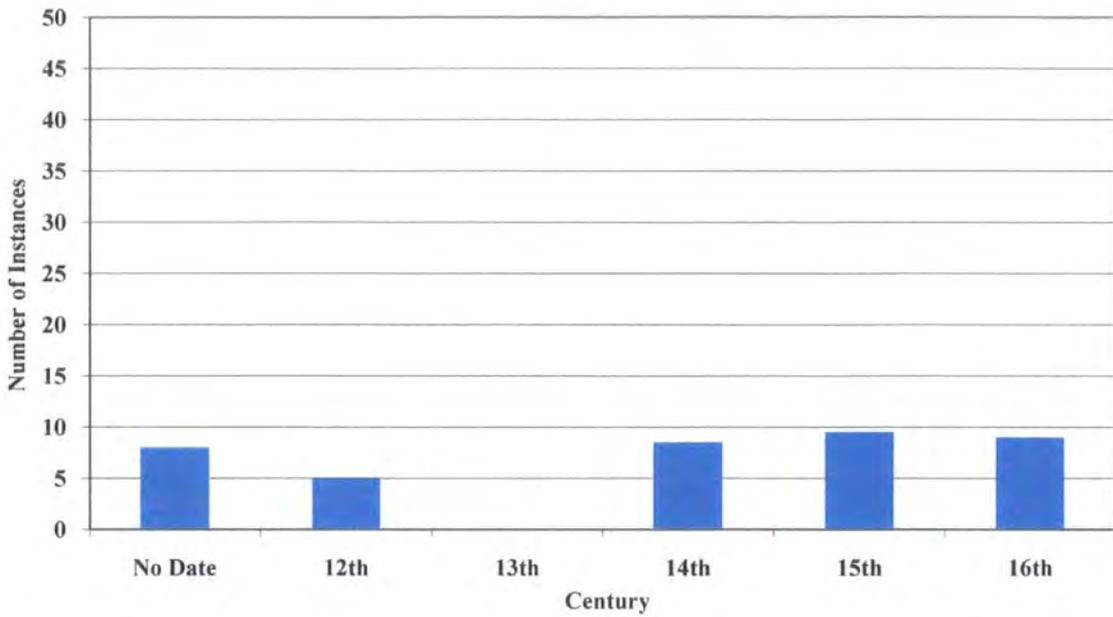
Figure 3.44.

Air Creatures in Glass Windows.  
n=285



**Figure 3.45.**

**Sea Creatures in Glass Windows.  
n=40**



**Figure 3.46.**

**Mind Creatures in Glass Windows.  
n=116**

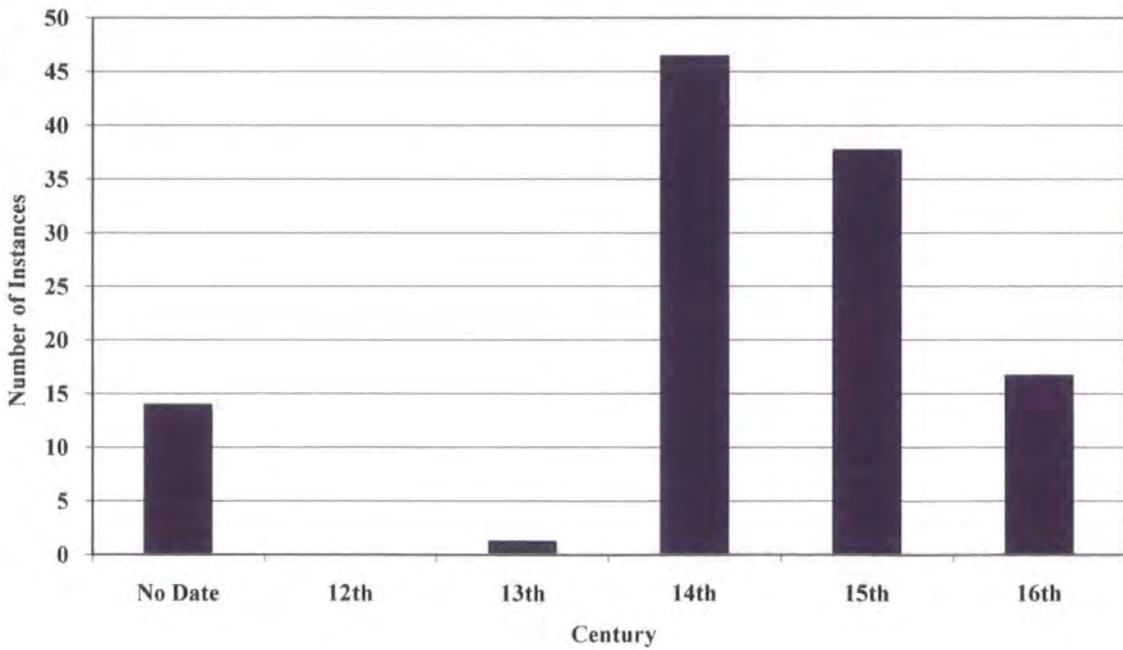


Figure 3.47.

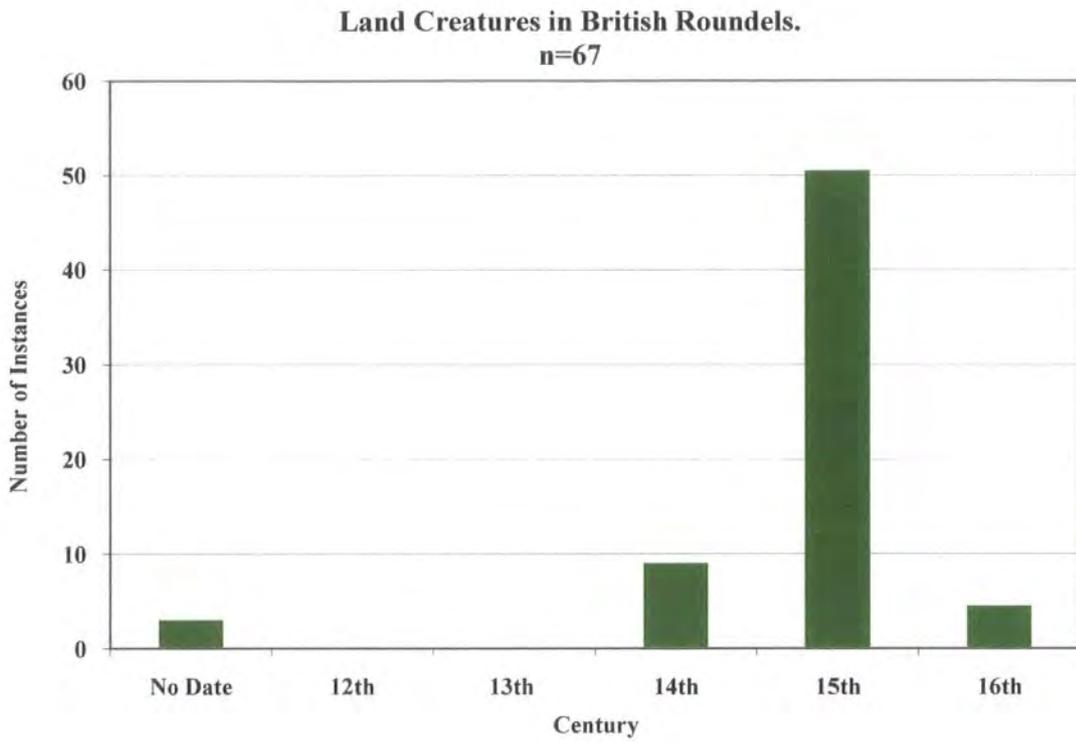


Figure 3.48.

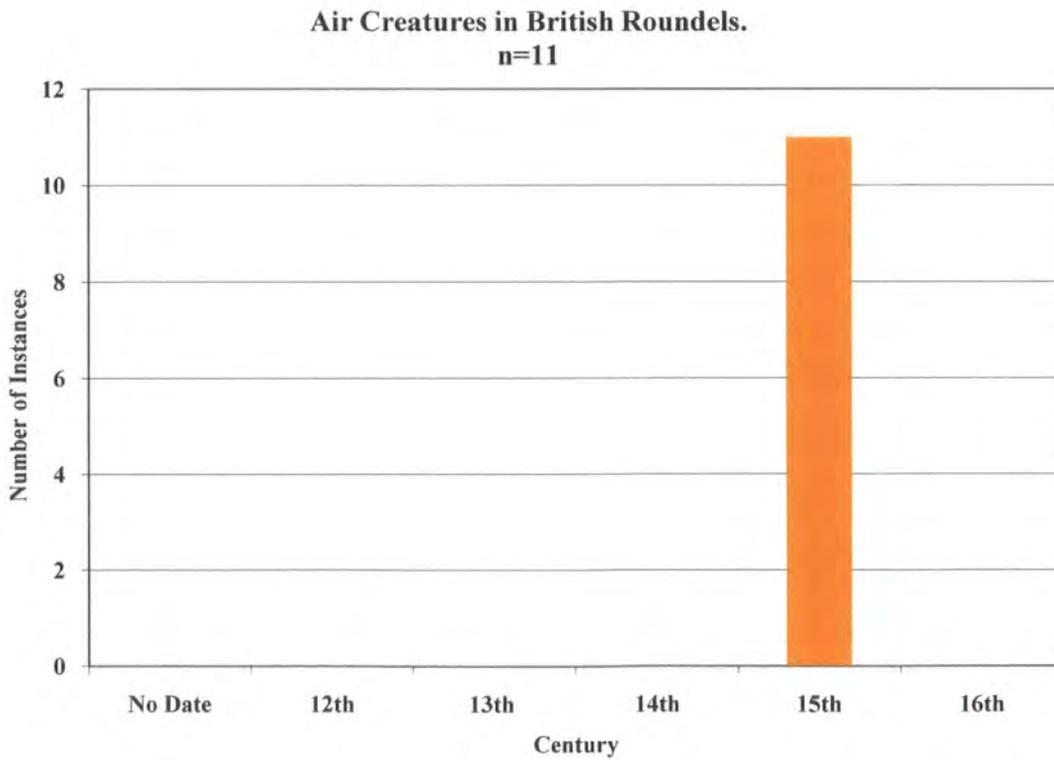


Figure 3.49.

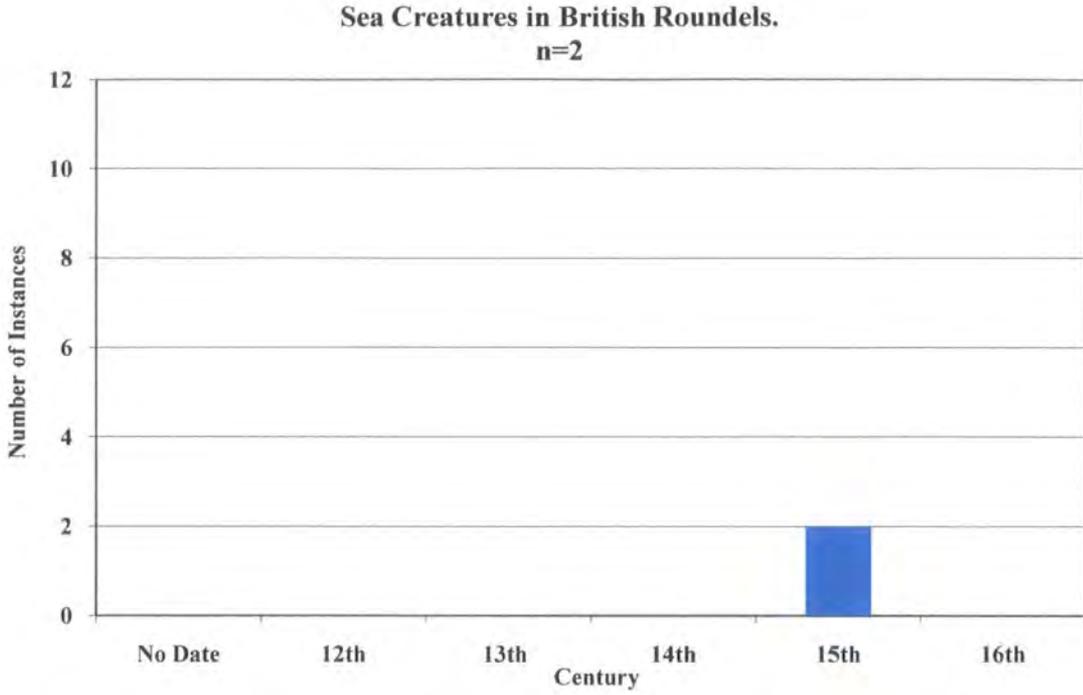


Figure 3.50.

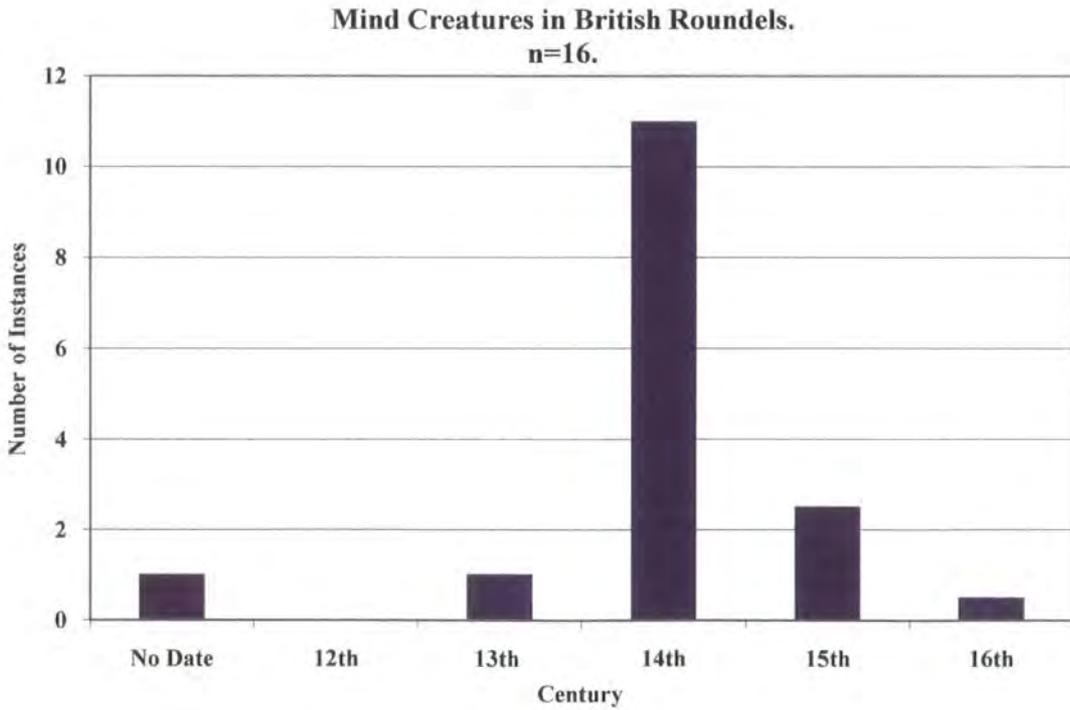


Figure 3.51.

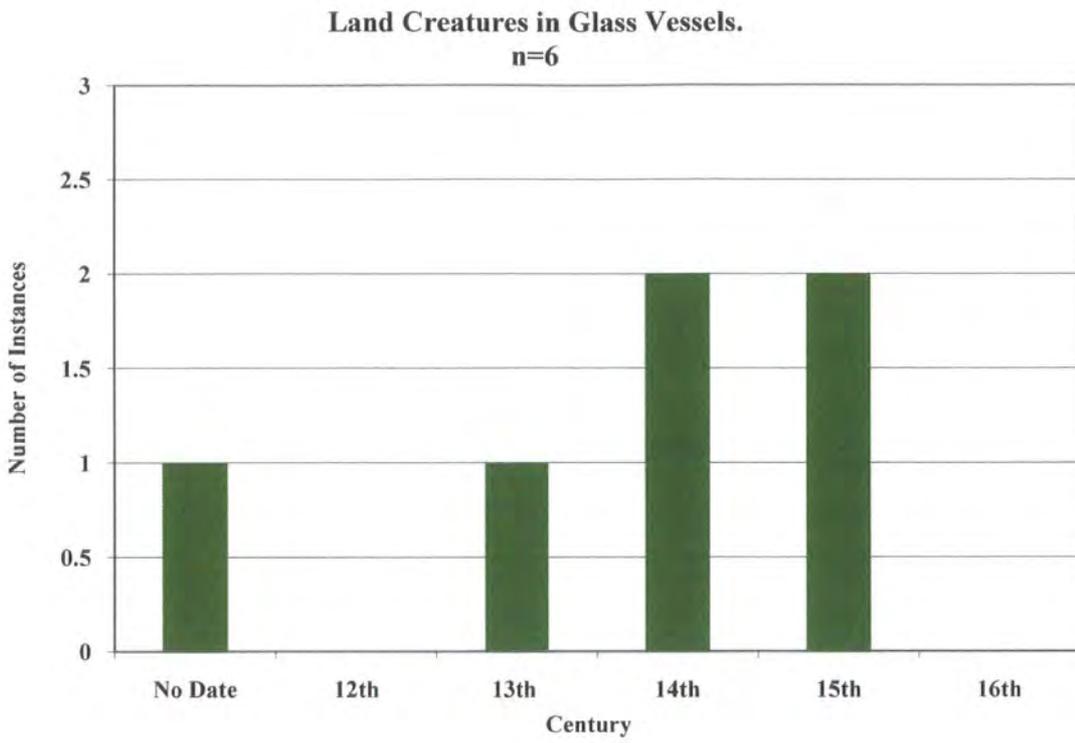


Figure 3.52.

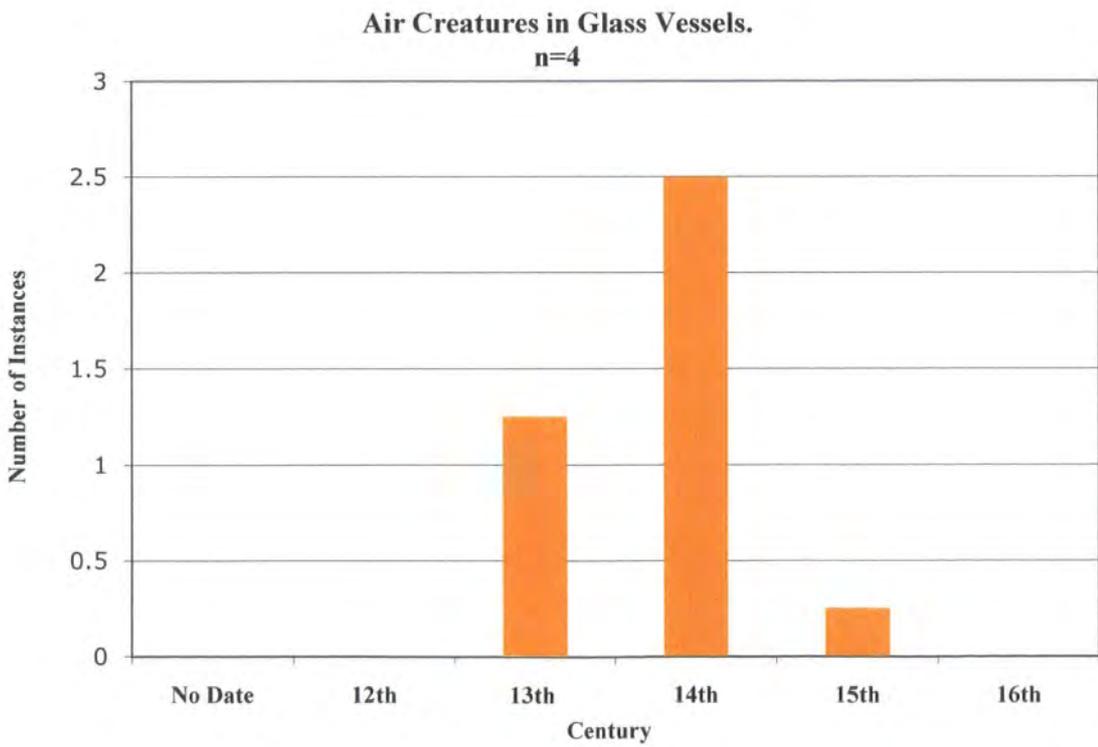


Figure 3.53.

Sea Creatures in Glass Vessels.  
n=1

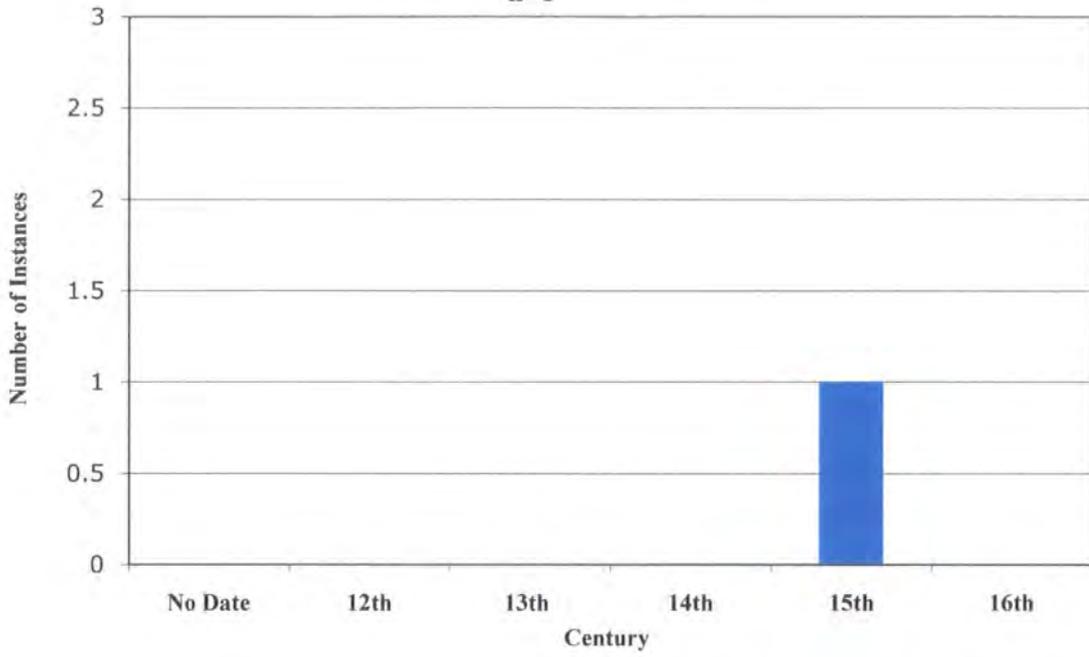


Figure 3.54.

Mind Creatures in Glass Vessels.  
n=2

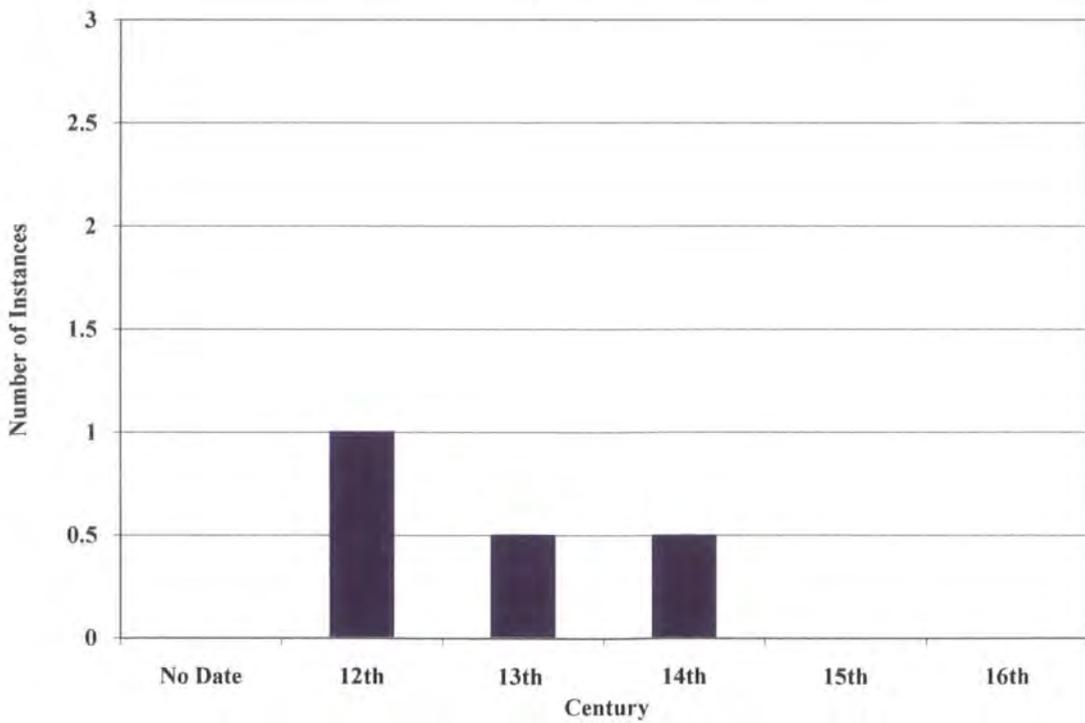


Figure 3.55.

Land Creatures in Window Glass.

n=778

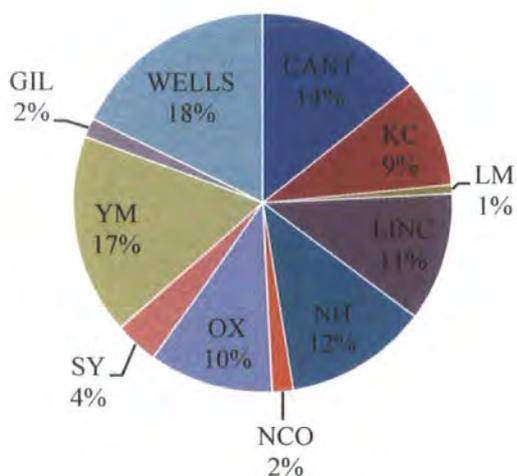
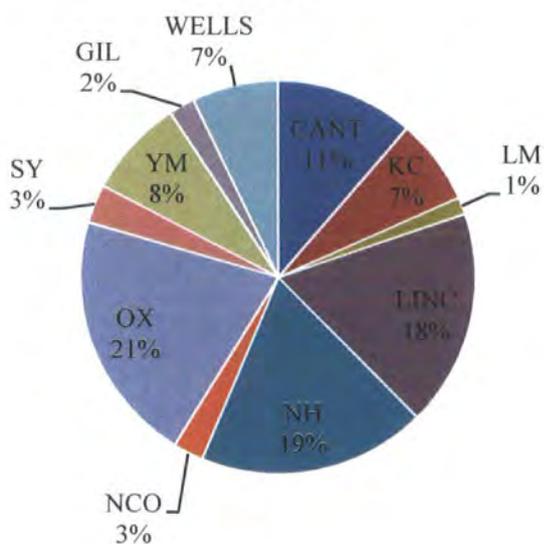


Figure 3.56.

Air Creatures in Window Glass.

n=285



Key to Locations:

CANT [Canterbury Cathedral], KC [Kings College, Cambridge], GIL [St Gilbert of Sempringham, York], LM [Lincoln Minster], LINC [Lincolnshire], NCO [New College, Oxford], NH [Northamptonshire], OX [Oxfordshire], SY [South Yorkshire], WELLS [Wells Cathedral], YM [York Minster].

Figure 3.57.

Sea Creatures in Window Glass.

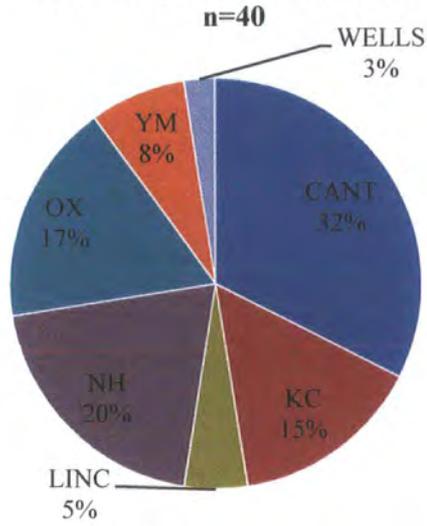
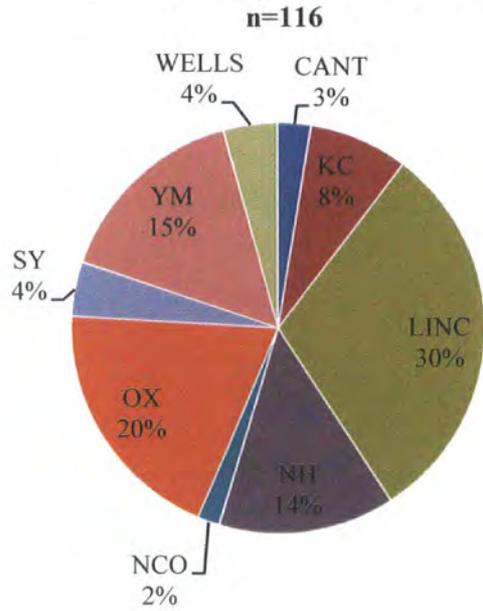


Figure 3.58.

Mind Creatures in Window Glass.



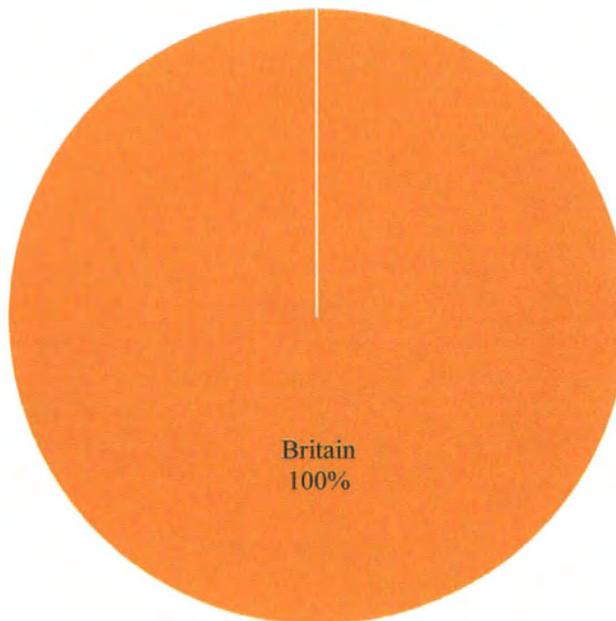
**Figure 3.59.**

**Land Creatures in Glass Vessels.  
n=6**



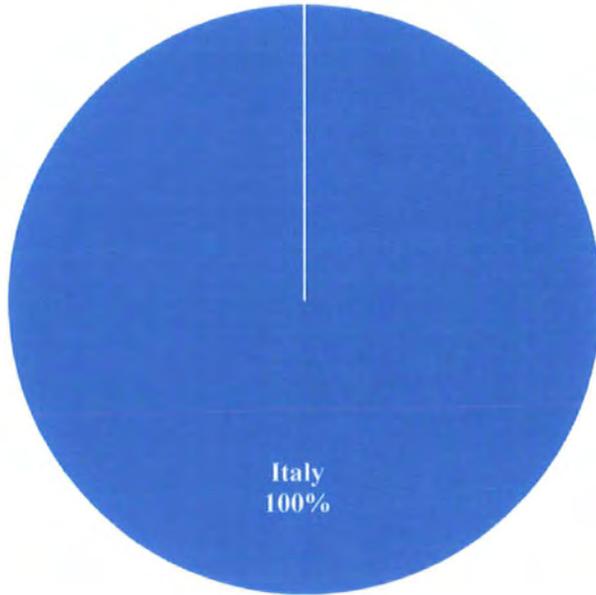
**Figure 3.60.**

**Air Creatures in Glass Vessels.  
n=4**



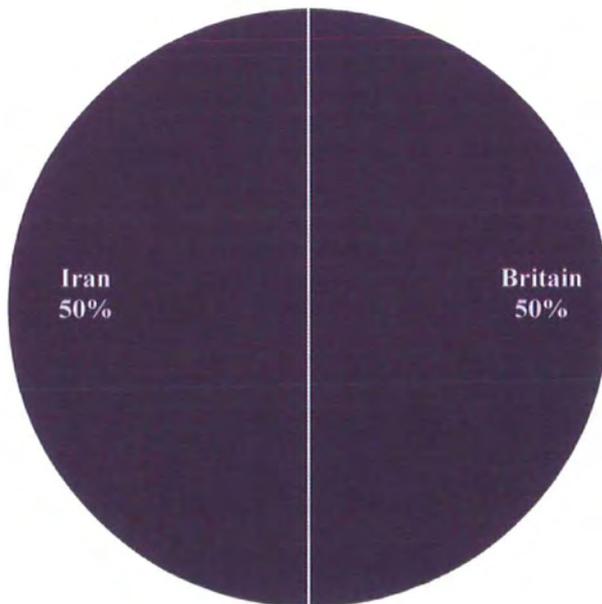
**Figure 3.61.**

**Sea Creatures in Glass Vessels.**  
**n=1**



**Figure 3.62.**

**Mind Creatures in Glass Vessels.**  
**n=2**



## CHAPTER IV

### 4.0 Introduction.

This chapter demonstrates the potential for investigating the representation of animals in misericords in the Middle Ages<sup>110</sup>. It makes a creature-focused contribution to the wider field of research in misericord studies. The chapter will begin with an overview of the literature available for research into medieval misericords in section 4.1. The discussion and interpretation in this section will consider various factors that need to be taken into consideration when regarding the appearance of animals in misericords<sup>111</sup>. The representations of animals in misericords will then be put into their visual context in section 4.2. The chapter is concluded with a graphical presentation of the results of the animals investigated in misericords in section 4.3.

### 4.1 The Misericord Literature Overview.

There have been a variety of amateur and professional scholars who have shown a strong interest in misericordia over the last two centuries. A number of these have made significant and seminal contributions to the study and understanding of misericords over the last 150 years including: Bond, Druce and Anderson. Francis Bond's monograph on wood carving in English churches (1910) is one of the earliest works regarded as able to serve as a standard reference book of misericordia. George Druce published numerous articles (1908, 1910, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1919, 1931, 1934a, 1934b, 1936, 1938, 1939) including work specifically on misericords (1913-14, 1931, 1938, 1939); and introduced discussion of other forms of decorative art (1919-20); as well as numerous papers on the animals depicted themselves (1908, 1910, 1911, 1914, 1919, 1934a, 1934b, 1936). Mary Anderson also published a number of works over a thirty year period (1935, 1938, 1954, 1955, 1959, 1963, 1967, 1969, 1971); including works on medieval carving (1935); animal carving (1938); choir stalls (1967); misericordia (1954, 1959, 1960, 1969); imagery (1955, 1963, 1971); and the iconography of misericords (1969) as will be highlighted in further discussion.

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<sup>110</sup> It does not offer a complete record of every finding of a creature in the UK, but aims to demonstrate the potential of investigating misericords for creature representations.

<sup>111</sup> The factors considered are consistent with those in the previous chapter on stained and painted glass.

However, very few new works on English misericordia have been published in the twenty-first century. Those that have, include the extensive and most comprehensive ‘Corpus of Medieval Misericords’ in progress by Block. This is comprised of a number of volumes for countries and regions<sup>112</sup>. Block is one of the most significant living and active scholars in the field, having written a variety of works on misericords and their iconography<sup>113</sup> (1991, 1992, 1995, 1998, 2003a, 2003b, 2004 and those currently in press, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c).

Over the last 25 years, other significant scholars have included Charles Tracy. Tracy<sup>114</sup> remarks that “The aspect of choir-stalls that has received most attention in the past from either nineteenth-century antiquarians or church and art historians has been misericords” (1987:xxi). Tracy contributes to the body of literature with a number of publications focused on choir stalls dating from 1200 to 1540 from a variety of churches and cathedrals<sup>115</sup> (1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1997) and Jones and Tracy (1991).

A significant number of works on misericords have also been written by Christa Grössinger<sup>116</sup> (1975, 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1991, 1997, 2002), who published analysis on misericords in 1987, 1991 and 1997. In the earlier part of her career, Grössinger published an exploration of the relationship of misericords to manuscript illuminations (1975), followed by works on other misericords and prints at Beverley Minster (1989b), at Ripon Cathedral (1989c), as well as commenting on the humour and folly to be found represented within misericords (1989a). In addition to the above works is the most well known and utilised catalogue of all for misericordia in Great Britain, published in 1969, by Remnant. This text was used as the major work from which data was collated and analysed for this chapter<sup>117</sup>.

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<sup>112</sup> These cover France; Iberia; Germany, Switzerland and Italy; Belgium and the Netherlands; and the UK (the latter two are currently in preparation by Block).

<sup>113</sup> Block is president of ‘Misericordia International’, the leading body for misericord research, and is herself a specialist in the depiction of proverbs in misericords across Europe.

<sup>114</sup> Now retired.

<sup>115</sup> These include: Rochester, Salisbury, Chichester, Winchester, Wells, Hereford, Ely, Lancaster, Gloucester, Norwich, St. David’s, Bristol.

<sup>116</sup> Now retired.

<sup>117</sup> However, as the case studies in chapter 6 reveal, this catalogue should be used with caution, and supplemented where possible with a wide range of additional regional works as a means of verifying and checking data where field visits are not practical.

There were a number of book sections which offered a specific treatment of, and highlighted the animals to be found in particular misericords. Beyond this, there are only a few publications that are available for consultation specifically on a particular animal or bird found to be depicted in misericords or at a particular location (e.g. Block 1991 for cats; Miyazaki 1999 for owls; Hardwick 2004 for poultry; Phillips 2005a for birds (and in press), and for other animals 2005b, 2007a and 2007b). The representation of creatures alone as a focus on misericords has therefore been a rather under-researched field. This emphasises that there is certainly scope for our knowledge of creatures in misericords to be enhanced. This is one reason why this medium was selected as a case study for research<sup>118</sup>.

The publication of research on misericords can be found targeted at a variety of levels of consumer from short pamphlets and populist books to catalogue volumes with academic analyses. The largest number of available publications, consist of qualitative/descriptive studies of misericords and illustrated survey works with hand drawn sketches, black and white or colour photographs. Many general, introductory or thematic works on misericords are helpful to explain the development of misericords, sources of misericord themes, meanings of their imagery, and even how to photograph<sup>119</sup> misericords e.g. Roe (1927); Smith (1968 and 1974); Hayman (1989); Challis (1997); Harding (1998); Wood and Curry (1999); and Jewitt (2000). Nevertheless, the vast majority of works are focused on particular churches or cathedrals. The existing works available on misericords therefore offer a more readily accessible and geographically complete survey of the surviving material throughout this country, than was available for the investigation of stained and painted glass, and in this respect enabled a more comprehensive investigation of misericords at a geographical level.

However, unlike the CVMA, the level of treatment, accuracy and error between publications is neither consistent, nor monitored. Nevertheless these publications were consulted to clarify or supplement the data recorded for a particular city or county as documented below. In the late nineteenth century there was a focus on misericord carvings from choir stalls in particular cathedrals and churches such as at: Beverley Minster by Wildridge (1879) and Jones (1991b); Lincoln Cathedral by Wickenden (1881); Manchester Cathedral by Letts (1886); Brampton by Middleton (1888-91); Ripon Minster by Wildridge (1889); and Carlisle Cathedral by Henderson and Henderson (1891).

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<sup>118</sup> This chapter can be regarded as a pilot for a viable national research project.

<sup>119</sup> Laird (1986).

In the early twentieth century, a larger number of studies were carried out which focused on choir stalls in particular cathedrals and churches, e.g. Church (1907), Colchester (1975) and Smith (1975) for misericords at Wells Cathedral; Wolfgang (1911) for misericords in Lancashire and Cheshire Churches; Corry (1974) for the misericords at St. Mary's Parish Church, Nantwich in Cheshire; Clarke (1920) and Tracy (1985, 1986b) for the misericords at Exeter Cathedral; Harris (1927) for those in Coventry; Druce (1938) for misericords in Herefordshire Churches, and the misericords in St. Mary of Charity's Church in Faversham.

Post-Second World War works on misericords include those of Jeavons (1947-48) for South Staffordshire; Bennett (1965) for Stalls at Chester Cathedral; Hereford Cathedral by Morgan (1966); the Collegiate Holy Trinity Church by White (1974); Agate (1980) for benches and stalls in Suffolk Churches; Farley (1981) for misericords in Gloucester Cathedral; Remnant and Steer (1961), Steer (1961), Tracy (1986a) and Foster (1998) for misericords at Chichester; Remnant and Steer (1962) and Steer (1963) for misericords in St. Mary's Hospital in Chichester; Steer (1973) for those in New College, Oxford; and White (1974) for misericords in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford Upon Avon. Grössinger has also produced regional studies, such as those for Ripon (1989a) and Beverley (1989b); the misericords of Christchurch Priory have been published by Wiltshire (1991); Whittingham (1981) and Rose (1994) focused on those at Norwich Cathedral; Calle (1994) and Hooper (1996) for Winchester Cathedral; Rees (1995) for St. David's Cathedral, Pembrokeshire; Chapman (1996) for Yorkshire; Klein (1986) for Ludlow; Grundy for St. Nicholas Church, Newcastle, Hexham Abbey and Durham Cathedral (1994, 1997a and 1997b); and Tracy (1997) for Whitefriars Church in Coventry.

The vast majority of regional studies are therefore focused on English churches and cathedrals, with a poor representation for those in Wales, Scotland, and nothing for Ireland. Iconographical themes of analysis and analogy run frequently throughout many of these works. The middle of the twentieth century brought a greater emphasis on analytical work such as re-assessments of the dating of misericords, design, and sources of inspiration for the themes carved. In addition to these works there are those related to the understanding of misericordia such as publications on wood sculpture (Baxandall 1980), wood carving (Cave 1953 and Cockburn 1962); church furniture and architecture (Cox and Harvey 1908, Crossley 1918, James 1933); whilst a multi-national work was offered by Kraus and Kraus (1976).

In investigating the literature further, a selection of those works cited will now be drawn upon in more depth and detail to demonstrate an understanding of the medium in terms of definitions in **4.1.1**, the various types of misericords that can be found in **4.1.2**, the chronology of the medium in **4.1.3**, an insight into the making and decoration of the medium in **4.1.4**, its commissioning in **4.1.5**, its viewing in **4.1.6**, and the location of the surviving medieval misericords in **4.1.7**.

#### 4.1.1 Definitions of Misericords.

Misericords are discussed in the extant literature under a variety of names, as emphasised by Wildridge (1879:3), whose lists contains terms such as, “miserere”, “patience,” “subsellium” (Gr. Sumpsellion), “sediculum” or “sellette”. The origin of the term, including a definition of the term ‘Misericord’, can be found in a number of recent authors e.g. Laird (1986:6), Grössinger (1997:11), Hayman (1989:4) and many others, who all make reference to the Latin word ‘misericordia’ as meaning ‘pity’, or in the case of Remnant (1969:xvii) an act of ‘mercy’. The context of the words ‘pity’ and ‘mercy’ could be applied, and understood as taking pity or having mercy upon those who had need for physical support and so use misericords in their functional sense, or could be applied to those represented on them.

The monks and canons of the medieval church had to stand in the choir stalls for long periods of time in daily prayer and devotion (Grössinger in Alexander & Binski 1987:122), whilst reciting the divine offices<sup>120</sup>, and during the recitation of psalms, canticles and hymns during a service/mass. The need to stand for such long periods of time was no doubt tiring and in some cases difficult for any sick, weak or old members of the ecclesiastical community. Therefore, the installation of full or half seat ledges served to offer relief, as a means of providing rest/support to the occupant of the choir stall.

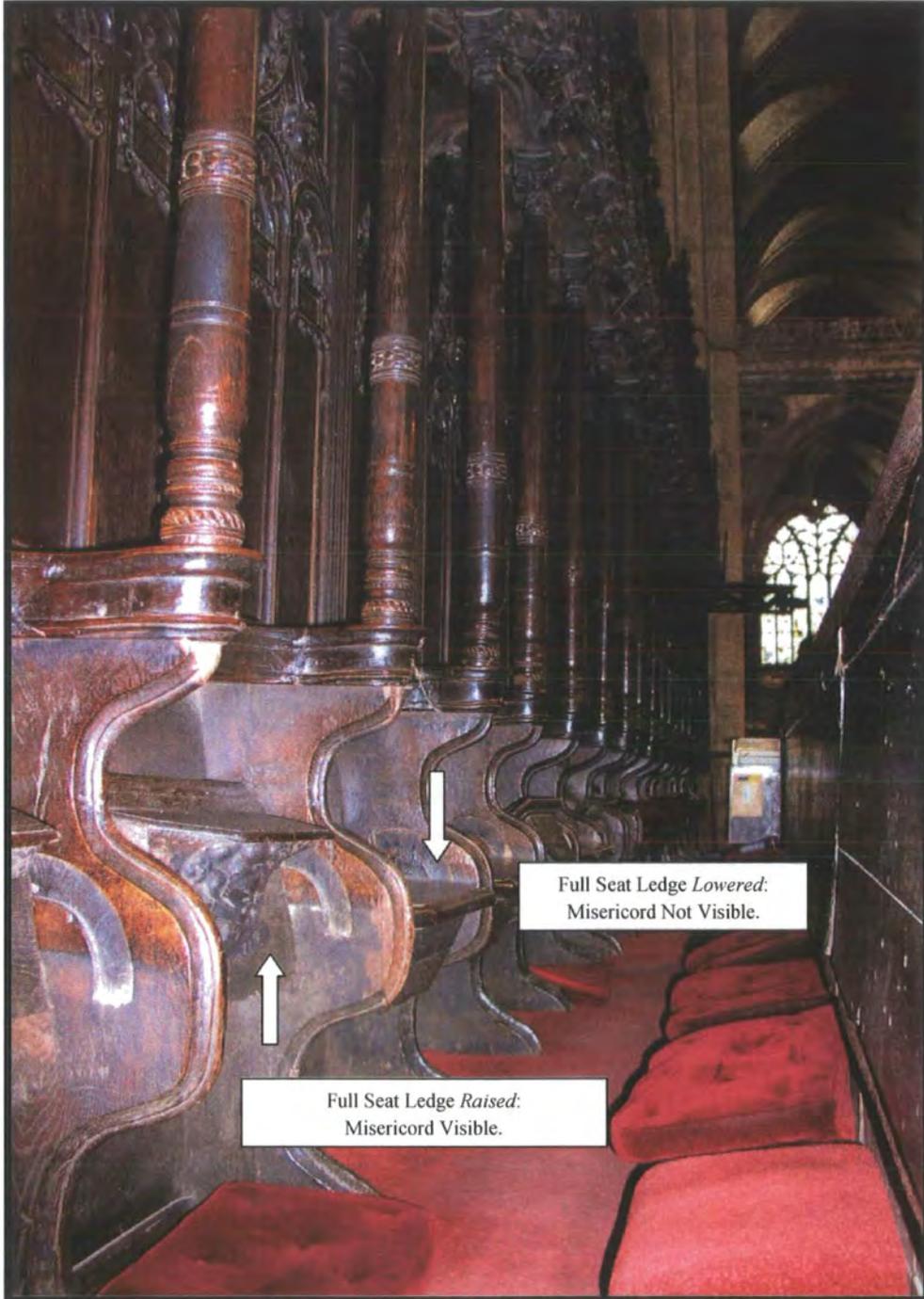
The design of the seat ledges further enabled those in the choir stall to give the appearance that they were still standing in some cases, whilst they were really propped up, half sitting or fully seated depending upon the design of the misericords and the height of the stall occupier. They can be understood, defined and described in terms of a type of hinged seat or ‘tip-up’ type of seat (Laird 1986:6), consisting of a ledge supported by a corbel known as a misericord. These seat ledges are found within in the choir stall of a church or cathedral or college, as illustrated in figure 4.1 below.

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<sup>120</sup> Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline.

**Figure 4.1.**

Location of Choirs Stalls (South Side) and Misericords in Durham Cathedral,  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



#### 4.1.2 Types of Misericords.

Misericords were carved out of the wood installed within the main choir stall. Laird suggests that “They are fashioned from the same (usually oaken) block as the pivoted seat itself” (1986:6). Misericord seat ledges could be smooth and blank, or made with a main carved image to be found on the underside of the ledge. Grössinger comments that misericords “are thus part of a larger ensemble of carving, including the elaborately carved backs of the stalls with their canopies, pinnacles and bosses, the stall ends, poppy heads and stall elbows” (1997:11). It is these carved images to be found on the main seat ledge that are being explored for this chapter. An example of a completely blank (left) and carved (right) misericord within the same row of choir stalls in Durham Castle are illustrated in figure 4.2 below.

**Figure 4.2.**

Choir Stalls. View of Choir Stalls in Bishop Tunstall’s Chapel, Durham Castle,  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



### 4.1.3 The Chronology of Misericords.

It is possible that misericords were in use as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> Century, and that by the 12<sup>th</sup> Century misericords were in use. Support for this can be found from Wildridge (1879:5-6) quoting from Walcott<sup>121</sup>, who writes:

“In 1121 Peter of Clugny appears to allude to the misericorde when he speaks of the scabella sediliis inhaerentia, which were raised at a particular part of the service. At the same time, at the convent of Hirsau, in Germany, the word misericorde is distinctly used, and the stalls are called sedilia”.

Laird (1986:6) also seems to allude to the same source in presenting an early reference to misericords:

“In 1121 the Cluniac Benedictine, Abbot Peter the Venerable, became the first to record the existence of scabella, small sitting places attached to the seats as an indulgence. These were now mentioned as ‘misericords’ at the German Monastery of Hirsau. They clearly solved the problem of taking the weight off one’s feet better than the earlier device of reclinatoria, or leaning staffs<sup>122</sup>”

Tracy (1987:xx) refers to the original 1121 source, and thinks seats were generally adopted by this date. Further support for this is provided by Grössinger (1997:11), who is also confident that misericords “must have been in use in England by the twelfth century, because the Canterbury wooden choir-stalls were destroyed by fire in 1174, as described by the monk Gervaise”<sup>123</sup>.

There are also a number of misericords surviving in situ from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, though some have been restored since this date, such as those from Exeter Cathedral (as discussed by Tracy 1985, and Laird 1986:8), those at Cartmel Priory (15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Century) in Lancashire; whilst others were carved new such as those at Brancepeth (17<sup>th</sup> Century), in County Durham (Laird 1986:15). However, some misericords are difficult to date because they were not completed during the same period of time:

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<sup>121</sup> Walcott, M.E in *Sacred Archaeology* (folio 548, 1858).

<sup>122</sup> Originally, those who were weak or old were probably afforded crutches the leaning staff referred to, is illustrated on a misericord from New College, Oxford (Laird 1986:7).

<sup>123</sup> Refer also to Woolnoth (1816:16).

“Twelve of Wells’ sixty-four misericords were never completed. While these carvings are said to have been made by ca 1340, it was not unusual for such work to proceed slowly - at Exeter Cathedral, for example, it had been spread over nearly fifty years. Work may well have been proceeding on some at the plague visitation, the death of a key craftsman leaving his carvings unfinished. Again, at Gloucester the southern misericords date from ca 1340; but the northern ones were not completed until about 1360. These vigorous and innovative carvings, like those of late 14<sup>th</sup> Century Worcester Cathedral, exhibit an unusual number of Scriptural subjects. Could this reflect renewed personal preoccupation with things religious among those carvers still active after a pandemic that killed more than a quarter of England’s population?”. “Across the Channel, the progress of church construction and decoration was impeded by not only the Black Death, but also the Hundred Years’ War. The quality of French misericords carved during these years lagged accordingly” (Laird 1986:13).

Misericords were being carved during the Middle Ages from the 12<sup>th</sup> Century right across Europe. Therefore, there are examples of misericords with animals originating from a variety of chronological periods (refer to section 4.3.2) and geographical locations (refer to section 4.3.3). Remnant, citing Anderson (1959) states that “it must be immediately emphasized that it is virtually impossible to date misericords really accurately” (1969: xxii). This is because the methods used to date misericords are not scientific by archaeological standards, but relative, subjective and tentative. As a consequence, misericords are very difficult to attribute an absolute date of creation and/or finish to.

This means that any data presented on misericord chronology should be regarded flexibly, understood along with its limitations, including an awareness of the possibility that the dating is inaccurate. Unfortunately, this makes being able to identify distinct changes and developments in misericord themes through time and space extremely difficult.

In order to clarify the main features used by scholars in the field to attribute a date to a set of misericords, a number of indicators of date are used and these are summarized below in figure 4.3. These dating indicators are derived from Remnant (1969:xix-xxii). The clues to dating rely mainly on the appropriate stylistic details being carved, that the carvings survive in complete clarity to identify period characteristics, and that the carvings themselves are original and accurate.

**Figure 4.3.**

Six Relative Dating Indicators for English Misericords<sup>124</sup>.

<b>INDICATOR</b>	<b>EXAMPLE</b>
<b>(1)</b> <b>Shape of Seat Ledge.</b>	<i>e.g. stylistic variations of the choir stall and misericord seat ledges.</i>
<b>(2)</b> <b>Stylistic Detail.</b>	<i>e.g. the way foliage, armour, clothing is depicted.</i>
<b>(3)</b> <b>Carving of Historical Date.</b>	<i>e.g. a carved date on the misericord.</i>
<b>(4)</b> <b>Carving of Donor/Patron Name.</b>	<i>e.g. a carved name on a misericord.</i>
<b>(5)</b> <b>Heraldry.</b>	<i>e.g. a carved crest, coat of arms or cognizance.</i>
<b>(6)</b> <b>Contemporary Documents.</b>	<i>e.g. manuscripts, church archives, building accounts, wills.</i>

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<sup>124</sup> NB: not listed in order of priority.

**A. Use of Shape:** Both Druce (1931:252), and Grössinger in Alexander & Binski (1987) draw upon Remnant (1969) to offer stylistic criteria for dating. The latter suggest that the shape of the misericord seat ledges can give a general indication of date as they have a change from relative plain misericords with limited molding showing a “semi-oval curve in the thirteenth century” (1987:122) to a more angular form with greater molding displaying a “concave front with central point in the late fourteenth century” (1987:122), though “most of the post-Reformation misericords revert to the simple plan of a seat with a straight front, usually for reasons of economy” (Remnant 1969:xx).

**B. Use of Style:** The main limitation of stylistic indicators is that if your depiction (main or supporters) does not have period foliage or armour or clothing, then this indicator of dating is of no support. With regard to foliage, Remnant suggests for the early 13<sup>th</sup> Century, that ‘conventional foliage’ such as ‘trefoil or cinquefoil’, was characteristic, and that this was refined by the middle of the century and replaced by more ‘naturalistic foliage’ toward the end (1969:xxi). In the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, Remnant suggests bulbous foliage made an appearance, and comments “The effect of the bulbous design resembled that produced by beaten metal, and the carvers may have been copying this type of ornament” (1969: xxi). By the 15<sup>th</sup> Century Remnant, suggests that the ‘naturalistic foliated ornament’ became unfashionable, and “In most parts of England the foliated capital tended to be supplanted by the moulded capital. Foliage was conventionalized once more and standardized, the favourite form being the lozenge-shaped or square flower, with or without stalks” Remnant, (1969:xxi). The foliage of the first half of the sixteenth century is described as “conventional and uninteresting, but it returned occasionally to naturalistic forms of complicated and novel types” Remnant (1969: xxi). However, unless animals are depicted along with foliage, this indicator of date is of no use to the thesis research. With regard to armour, identification of features such as the evolution of the helmet from flat-topped to visored with pointed-top, and later to close-fitting and skull shaped, as well as parallels in the evolution of body and horse armour have been cited in Remnant (1969:xxii). Therefore, unless animals are depicted wearing armour, or there are humans with animals who are wearing armour, this indicator of date is of no use either. Further, the type of clothing worn (tunic, shoes, hat) and hair, beard or moustache style can be misleading as to the period they are believed to portray.

**C. Use of Historical Date:** The main limitation of historical dates as indicators is that if your animal depiction does not have a carved date then this indicator of date is of no support. However, the main problem of having a carved date is how can you know whether the date carved is accurate or is related to the date of carving and not commemorating another event, such as a person’s birth, marriage or death.

**D. *Use of Donor:*** The main limitation of this particular indicator is that if your depiction does not have a carved name then this indicator of date is of no support, further how do you know that the name relates to the donor ? Again, unless the named donor is depicted with animals, this indicator of date is of limited use.

**E. *Use of Heraldry:*** The main limitation of this particular indicator is that if your depiction does not use heraldry e.g. have a carved shield then this indicator of date is of no support. Therefore, unless animals are depicted with heraldic emblems or part of heraldic emblems, this indicator of date is of no use to the thesis research.

**F. *Use of Documentary Evidence:*** The main limitation of this particular indicator is the cited rarity of such documents for Britain, and even Remnant (1969:xxi) recognizes the rarity of these forms of evidence, and whilst documentation regarding the foundation of a monastery or college may exist, he suggests that this might not be a reliable indication if rebuilding or re-furnishing has occurred at a later date. Further to this, there are problems of accuracy and bias that come with documentary information.

Unfortunately, although attempts at general dates have been made using stylistic criteria (refer also to Grössinger 1987:122), this does not account for use of historical stylisation of earlier carvings by later carvers, attempts at copies of other media from earlier patterns, illuminations and pictures in older manuscripts and books (Anderson 1959), fashion of other or older periods, ornament from other media such as stone carving, or in fact the differing levels of skill and expertise of the craftsmen, and variation in the work and work rate of different carvers of the same period as observed at Worcester and Lincoln Cathedrals by Remnant (1969:xxii). All these factors can make the misericords produced seem different, even if they were produced at the same time.

#### 4.1.4 The Carving (Production) of Misericords.

We do not know to what extent it was true to say that “anonymous lay workers were of necessity assuming the major role in church construction and decoration” Laird (1986:12). This is because it is difficult to establish in every case who was responsible for carving misericordia in England. A series of carvers at all levels of experience could have worked on one or more misericords, at one period of time or over an extended period of time. Grössinger suggests that it “can be ascertained that several hands were usually working on the larger sets of misericords, e.g. Exeter, Chichester, Gloucester, Wells and Lincoln Cathedrals” (1997:26). Anderson (1969) suggests that it was unlikely that “the most distinguished carvers of any period were employed in making them, except, perhaps, during their apprentice years” (quoted in Remnant 1969:xxiii). The involvement of the inexperienced is further supported by Laird who claims that misericords were “a place where apprentices learning their craft could try their skill” (1986:8).

However, on the continent, where we have greater extant documentary sources for misericords being made it has been suggested that that there was no distinction made between levels of skill or experience, and who worked on carving misericords (Kraus and Kraus 1976: xiii-xiv). Indeed a case can be made for quite the opposite point of view, in consideration of the “extraordinary skill” required to execute some of the surviving, ornamental and elegant carvings. Kraus and Kraus, cite the case of the Flemish sculptor, ‘Pol Mosselmen’, who worked on the choir stalls at Rouen, in France, and who received ‘top billing in the fabric’s Comptes [accounts] as “sculptor of statues”’ (1976:xiii). Nevertheless, those carving the stalls in England were significant enough and taken seriously enough to warrant inclusion in some of our extant misericords as illustrated below in figure 4.4, which shows a carver at work, and figure 4.5, which shows the carver sitting at a table with a mallet, chisel and gouges.

However, it seems the case that a number of assumptions regarding the making and carving of particular misericords have been made by previous scholars. Anderson (1969)<sup>125</sup> for example suggests that “the misericord of the Sovereign’s stall in St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, would probably have been made by William Berkeley, since he was then the chief carver on the pay roll”. Nevertheless, she remarks that “The names of men who actually carved particular misericords are never recorded”, this is not entirely correct, and more a statement made out of a lack of available published research into this area, since Laird (1986:15) tells us that, John Cosin “saw to the carving of England’s last ‘real’ misericords in Co Durham” during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, and he suggests that there was at least one named misericord carver known by name, James Clement from Durham.

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<sup>125</sup> In Remnant (1969:xxiii).

Laird (1986), comments that this was the “handiwork of not only the last of the pure line of English misericord carvers, but also the only one whose name is almost certain” (1986:16). Grössinger (1997) accepts that there is a “dearth of named carvers” (1997:26), and that few documented records of work exist specifically on choir stalls. It is thought that “choir-stalls were part of a larger programme of carpentry work under the direction of a master-carpenter” (1997:23), and the “master-carpenters probably designed the choir-stalls overall, and handed patterns in the form of drawings and, later, prints to the misericord carvers” (1997:26), and she cites the names of some of these master carvers e.g. St. Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster (William Hurley); Westminster Abbey (Master Alexander and his assistant Master Odo); St George’s Chapel, Windsor (William Berkely); Wells Cathedral (John Strode and his assistant Bartholomew Quarter), and Ripon Cathedral (William Bromflet of Ripon).

Unlike the stained and painted glass discussed in the previous chapter, there does seem to be less information available in the general literature about the carving of misericords. It would be interesting to know how many wood carvers were specifically employed on the pay roll to work on choir stalls, as we know for glaziers working on stained and painted glass windows. Some information is available from surviving contracts on the continent, where fees are also often mentioned for making stalls. However, as Kraus and Kraus (1976:xiv) rightly point out, even where finances or the magnitude of the job or quantity of wood to be carved are mentioned, the prerequisites or conditions of a contract are bound to be more complex. There are various details of a contract that might not be documented and only agreed verbally, such as the responsibility for the supply and storage of raw materials, accepted payment schedules for completed work, and other bonuses or payments in kind such as board and lodging for travelling craftsmen, and that without consideration of these aspects, medieval remuneration can be mis-understood (for further discussion on medieval building refer to Salzman 1952; and for masons see Knoop and Jones 1933).

Nevertheless, Tracy (1987) does attempt to estimate of the numbers of carvers required to complete the carving of particular stalls e.g. an expenditure of £839.00 was required for the stalls, screens and the embellishment of the chapter house at Canterbury Cathedral, of which about a fifth or £150 pounds has been estimated to have been the cost of the choir stall work. At Wells Cathedral:

“the budget of seventy-five pounds would have covered the cost of materials at say fifteen pounds and the wages of two master-carpenters and an assistant for three years, the period required by this number of men to complete the work” (1987:27).

**Figure 4.4.**

Master-Carpenter Misericord with Initials/Monogram, cat.78=W.54-1921, V&A Museum, London, from St Nicholas Church, King's Lynn (Tracy 1988:65).



**Figure 4.5.**

Master-Carpenter Misericord, V&A Museum, London, from Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, (Tracy 1988:66).



A further consideration of the making and carving of misericords was their decoration or colouration. This would have been particularly important in identifying particular animal species that have similar diagnostic features (such as birds). Jones and Tracy (1991) discuss the trace of pigment on a stall end at Haddon Hall, which indicates that it was possible that misericords could have been painted. Baxandall's (1980) work on wood sculpture helps us appreciate the different effects that colour could have on woodwork in enhancing the carving.

Unfortunately, there is little obvious reminder that paint was applied. There is no published literature available on research into pigment identification on misericords, no use of special photographic exposure techniques, no wood samples being taken from misericords, though this reflects the lack of scientific research methodology applied to the research of the carvings in this field, and the destructive nature this type of research might cause to the misericord if it were. Finally, we can only imagine what misericords may have looked like to their medieval audience. Tracy (1987:xx), comments that:

“We can get but a feeble impression from the material that has been passed down to us, of the sheer sumptuousness of the original furniture. The unabashed gawdiness of the red, blue and gold painted decoration can be paralleled only in the few surviving contemporary pieces of metalwork”.

#### 4.1.5 The Commissioning of Misericords.

It is difficult to establish the extent to which the crafts-persons, artists, or audience controlled the themes or images contained within misericords from the published literature<sup>126</sup>. Tracy (1987: xx) suggests that:

“When new choir-stalls were erected, the proposed format and embellishment would have been the subject of close interest to the entire community. It is most likely that in English secular cathedrals at least the prospective stallholders were given the opportunity to specify the design of their own misericord. Choir-stalls were, after all, objects of daily personal use”.

On the continent we have more revealing sources. Kraus and Kraus (1976) state that “A considerable numbers of stall donors are known” (1976:xii). They suggest that the list of donors included leading churchmen, laymen, kings, princes and high nobles. They also indicate that the carpenter had considerable freedom in the themes carved and suggests that whilst some clerics played little part in initiating the subject matter of the misericords, others played a larger role:

“It has been said that churchmen paid little attention to the misericords, and that this explains the frequent coarseness and even obscenity of their subjects. Such a view does little justice to the lusty-mindedness of the early clerics. Certainly it would have been strange if they persisted in paying for work that shocked or disgusted them” (1976: xii).

Other evidence as to a donor can be found within the carving itself. Kraus and Kraus (1976) cite the finding of a carved portrait within the choir stalls of Jehan de Vitry, the master builder of the choir stalls in the Cathedral of St Pierre in St. Claude. They also discuss the name of “Jan Trupin”, one of the sculptors who worked on the choir-stalls at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, in Amiens (1976: xiii, figure 5) who was carved into the choir stall. This emphasises why caution must be exercised in assuming an inscribed name relates to a donor.

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<sup>126</sup> Refer also to chapter 7, and further to Martindale 1992.

#### 4.1.6 The Viewing of Misericords.

It seems that many people chose to represent animal themes, and depending upon the role and function of the patron who commissioned the misericord within the church e.g. a canon, this may indicate what function the viewing of that misericord held. It may be the case that for some they were intended to reflect expressions of anti-clericalism, atheism, profanity and subversion (by clerics) in response to rising tensions regarding their social, religious and moral duties and status.

Misericords could also have been installed in an attempt to demonstrate the wicked thoughts and deeds that they had considered or committed could literally be put behind them (by being carved and installed within the choir) and further that these were now beneath them. As section 7.1 highlights, certain members of the congregation may at times have occupied certain stalls (for further discussion of seating in churches refer to Aston 1991, and Hardy 1892). Though, generally, it is debatable whether anyone other than the clergy was visibly aware of the misericords in the choir stalls unless they had contributed towards their commission or installation.

When visiting many misericords today, they are often turned down, and have to be lifted up to be examined. Laird suggests that misericords were turned down when they were “not in use” (1986:7). Wildridge says of misericords that they are “concealed from vulgar gaze, - enwrapped in “minster gloom” (1879:2). To these authors, the wooden carvings within the choir stalls would not have been on display and would have been turned down as illustrated in figure 4.6. In comparison, other misericords are turned up when they are not in use, and this would mean they would be easy to see for those with a wandering mind.

Whilst it is true that when they were up, misericords could be seen, I do not believe that it is logical that they were up all the time, it entirely depends on their function. If they were intended to be decorative, one might suggest they were raised up, especially if they were painted. However, even at the times when they were up, they might not have been so easy to view - depending upon their style, position and conditions of natural or candle light. Indeed when the stalls were being occupied such as during a service, a member of the clergy would be standing in front of the misericord so would obstruct view of it (whether it was up or down), and if it were being utilised it as a seat, the carvings definitely would not have been seen. It could have been true that misericords were therefore not on obvious display and were regularly located out of sight. Tracy (1987: xx) suggests from his research on choir stalls from 1200-1400 believes that this was the case since “the seats were up most of the time so that the existence of elaborate carving underneath as a constituent of the display of sculpture on the furniture is perfectly logical”. What is not logical, are the large proportion of non-ecclesiastical themes represented.

**Figure 4.6.**

Seat Ledge Face Down (Misericord Not Visible)<sup>127</sup>, Durham Cathedral,  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



<sup>127</sup> For an image of the misericord to be found hidden under this seat please refer to chapter 6, figure 6.10 in section 6.1.2b.

#### 4.1.7 The Location of Misericords.

Some churches, cathedrals and colleges have misericords and others do not. Understanding why this is so comes down to survival bias and can be compared with assessing why certain artefacts and ecofacts are excavated at a particular site, and others are not, so the reasons are numerous. The most natural cause is the environmental conditions as illustrated in figure 4.7.

The environment has caused damage to misericords over the years through dry rot, fungus, wood-boring insects e.g. Kraus and Kraus (1976:xii) recount the case of the Abbey Church of St-Martin-Aux-Bois where “a tornado in the mid-nineteenth century had blown out part of the vault, which remained unrepaired for decades. The mould that attacked the beautiful stall-work has now reached an advanced state”. Natural disasters can influence the deterioration and destruction of carved wood e.g. Grössinger (1997:23) comments on the destruction of Lincoln Minster following an earthquake in 1185; whilst Remnant (1969) cites examples of how fire damage can perish the stall work “At Sherburn Hospital Chapel, Durham; Holy Rood, Southampton; and York Minster, amongst others, the stall-work perished by fire” (1969: xviii)<sup>128</sup>.

Unfortunately a number of misericords have been lost in more recent years due to bombing during the Second World War, and removed for fuel. Kraus and Kraus (1976) comment how “modern wars have stripped several departments of the north-eastern invasion routes almost entirely of their carvings” (1976: xii). However, environmental deterioration is not to blame for the majority of misericord losses. Grössinger (1997) reminds us that earlier misericords and stall work could have been destroyed to make way for new ones during refurbishment of parts of the structure now considered passé in terms of design or through remedial rebuilding work e.g. in 1458 part of the central tower at Ripon Cathedral collapsed destroying the choir surviving from the 12<sup>th</sup> Century.

Numerous publications comment how the Reformation was influential in certain contexts being destroyed e.g. Remnant (1969) comments how “many stalls have been lost by sheer neglect, or at the hands of iconoclasts, or in Victorian and even later ‘restorations’ and Laird (1986:14) discusses how Henry VIII’s dissolution of the monasteries resulted in numerous Benedictine monasteries, Cistercian abbeys, Cluniac priories and others being lost through unroofing, pillaging, defacing, destruction, torching, and general desolation. Remnant (1969: xviii) recalls the infamous William Dowsing of Dorset (c.1643)<sup>129</sup>, regarded as a “smasher of images, glass and pictures” who reported in his journal: “Destruction very complete” (refer to edition by Cooper 2001 for an account of destruction in East Anglia).

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<sup>128</sup> Refer to Toy (2002) for details of the fires at York Minster.

<sup>129</sup> Refer to chapter 3 for further discussion of Dowsing’s campaigns.

Anderson (1969) comments that ‘at Chester five misericords were destroyed by Dean Howson on the grounds that “they were very improper’ (in Remnant 1969: xxiii). This might have been the reason why particular misericords are missing and appear to have been removed from otherwise complete runs within a set of stalls (figure 4.8).

The combined result of all this activity, was that the associated choirs or choir stalls with misericords were destroyed, or did not always survive, whilst in comparison other misericords remain unscathed. Both Remnant (1969) and Laird (1986:16) refer to the Puritan iconoclasts<sup>130</sup>, recalling an incidence at St Nicholas, King’s Lynn, during a ‘restoration’ when ‘a carpenter’ was told to ‘burn’ the stall work required to be removed.

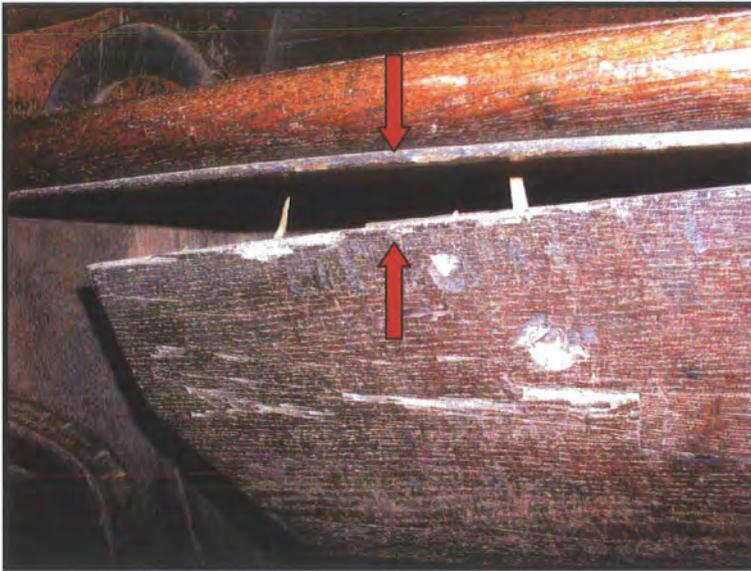
Both authors comment that several important misericords instead came into the possession of the Architectural Museum at Westminster, others to London’s Victoria & Albert Museum; and cites in a book published as recently as 1932, where Long states that “even since I have been studying church carvings, some of the cruder and more objectionable miseries have been removed or censored”. Therefore we have lost an unknown quantity of misericords in the UK and an unknown proportion of our animal visual culture represented by this medium.

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<sup>130</sup> Please refer to chapter 6 for further discussion of iconoclasm.

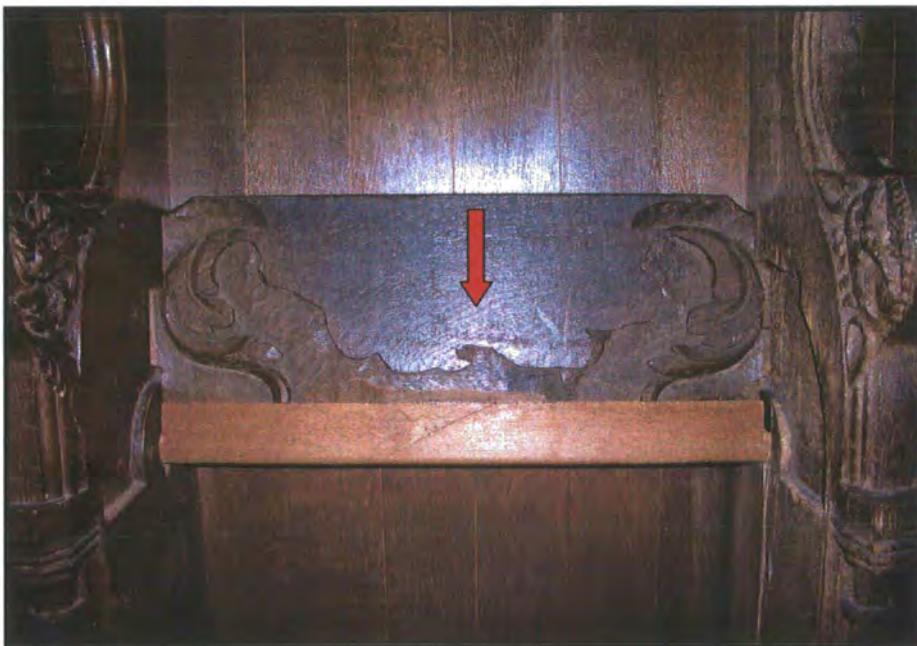
**Figure 4.7.**

Deterioration of Misericord in Durham (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 4.8.**

Removal of Misericord in Durham (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



## 4.2 The Visual Images in Misericords.

The subject matter depicted in misericords has been said to be similar in all countries where they are found i.e. most countries of Western Europe before the Reformation (Grössinger 1997:15). If this is so, this has an implication for consistency to be investigated within the representation of animal visual culture. Sources of inspiration for the carving of misericord themes are discussed by various authors including Anderson (in Remnant 1998:xxiii), Wildridge (1879:2) who says of “Misereres” that they are, “generally designs independent of the object on which they are placed, they lose conventionality, and are therefore nearer to strict portraiture and truth”; Laird (1986:9) who suggests “there was clearly much freedom of choice about what was carved”; and that there is “always likely to be a measure of speculation over the precise source of a particular carving”, and claims “speculation has been and will necessarily remain inseparable from the interpretation of misericords” (1986:22). He says of the sources used as a model for misericords that:

“first and foremost comes the evidence of their own eyes. From the outset, they copied stiff leaf and other foliar designs, Signs of the Zodiac, animals and monsters from stonework in churches where they worshipped and worked. It has been suggested that the deep understanding of early misericords at Exeter betrays the actual hand of the stonemason” (1986:17-18).

Laird suggests that immigrant craftsmen would have “certainly seen Romanesque carvings and perhaps manuscript illustrations too”, and that these would have served as a source of inspiration behind a carving. But this doesn’t mean they had a free reign on the subject, more used such sources as a model, and comments:

“Doubtless, too, friendships were struck up between wood-carvers and monks. The latter, while working at copying tasks or studying, must sometimes have been impressed by the suitability as a model for a particular misericord subject that had been discussed of a marginal illustration; itself perhaps derived from figured silk, carved ivory, or some other Eastern souvenir bargained for or looted during the Crusades or afterwards imported as business prospered. A cleric would probably have been as reluctant to bring a precious manuscript to the work-site as to invite a somewhat grubby craftsman to the library. However, dashing off a sketch and handing it over would have meant little trouble to him while stimulating his carving acquaintance” (1986:17-18).

Grössinger (1997:13) comments that the misericord representations rarely concentrate on a single subject; “themes are strewn pell-mell throughout the misericords with dragons and other monstrous beasts acting not only as space fillers, but also serving as an admonition against the devil”.

Thus, she argues, “there is little consistency in the arrangement of the imagery, nor in the juxtaposition of sacred and profane subjects”. She further adds that “Scatological subject matter is a common factor in the decoration of misericords of all countries. This usually takes the form of an attack on the clergy, because of its unchaste and debauched life-style” (1997:19). In a recent work by Grössinger (2002), a more light hearted side is emphasized to the medieval world in her interpretation of prints. This attitude is a strong general influence upon the author’s interpretations of misericordia who comments in an earlier work that misericords “can be compared to drolleries in the margins of manuscripts” and that they “represent profane, rather than religious subject matter” (Grössinger 1997:13); and that the themes depicted in misericords “are much concerned with the shortcomings of human nature, and the carvings are part of the vernacular world, giving an insight into the concerns, traditions and especially the humour of people in the Middle ages” (Grössinger 1997:13). This view has remained for at least ten years;

“Generally, the carvers delighted in humorous depictions from everyday life, fables, proverbs and romances, and the large number of misericords required an imaginative repertory of monstrous beasts and foliage ... the playfulness of the subject-matter relates them to marginal drolleries, and in important cases sources of inspiration may have been illuminated manuscripts; but more often the craftsmen derived their ideas from pattern books or other misericords in neighbouring centres” (Grössinger 1987:123-4, in Alexander & Binski 1987).

It has also been said that whilst they can be found to be “concentrating on secular scenes of humour and admonition, different aspects of the same theme were often emphasised” (Grössinger 1997:15). However, there are differences between continental and British misericords, as Laird (1986:6) clarifies, that in addition to the main misericord design found under the seat were “Supplementary, or wing, carvings, termed ‘supporters’, ... a primarily British innovation”. Laird (1986:8) adds that “Supporters, although present in 80% of British misericords and their outstanding national characteristics, are not peculiar to Britain”. Laird (1986:9) further claims that “about two percent of the supporters of English misericords have the same design as, or similar to, that of the centre piece, or are known to interact with the latter”. Laird further comments that:

“In continental Europe, the great majority of misericords consist of an unsupported centrepiece. Although the 3400 or so remaining in the United Kingdom and Eire are considerably less than half the number of those surviving in France, the fact that most have two supplementary carvings besides that of the corbel gives them the largest number of subjects in what from the standpoints of originality, workmanship and interest is the finest regional collection of all” (1986:7).

This view is supported by Grössinger (1997), who recognises that stylistically, both continental and English misericords share general period characteristics, but differ in terms of the supporter, which she considers “unique to England”, while on “the Continent, in general<sup>131</sup>, supporters were traditionally not included” (Grössinger 1997:15). This means that if the English misericords have supporting carvings either side of the main one, there is scope for a wide variety of theme. The only author who attempts to quantify the depiction of themes is Laird (1986)<sup>132</sup>. He highlights the top five most popular themes that can be found in English misericords: *Flora*, *Fauna*, *Humans*, *Heraldry* and *Humanoid Monsters*.

The first most common subject depicted in misericords according to Laird (1986:10), is **Flora**. Laird, suggests that “Rather more than 4,000 (about 48 per cent) of British misericord centrepieces and supporters (particularly the latter) include plant subjects.” This is an enormous proportion of all extant misericords, two of which are illustrated in figures: 4.9 and 4.10. Laird suggests that in terms of this theme: “These range from stylised foliage through naturalistic fronds, flowers, fruits and seeds to material derived from herbals and the Physiologus”, and that there were also “conventional trees, foliate masks and even cloves in the arms of the Grocers’ Company”; and further “most of the plants that were carved are either centrepieces, or supporters so conventionalised as to defy unravelling into their plant components” (1986:32).

The second most common subject depicted according to Laird (1986:10), is **Fauna**. Laird (1986) suggests that “in order of abundance”, animal subjects are the next most numerous and represent “about 24 per cent of the whole” or a quarter of all misericords as illustrated in figure 4.11. Laird suggests the animal subjects include “mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fish and a few invertebrates, not to mention borrowings from one or more of these valid groups for the hybrid horde of monsters, many of which have a dash of humanity as well” (1986:10).

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<sup>131</sup> Grössinger (1997:15, 174) drawing upon the work of Kraus, D and H (1986) comments that the misericords in Barcelona Cathedral, are an exception, the master carver responsible might have seen the misericords in Gerona.

<sup>132</sup> No methodological statement however is provided to clarify how these figures are quantified.

**Figure 4.9.**

Foliage Misericord, Salisbury Cathedral, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Grössinger 1997:12).



**Figure 4.10.**

Foliage Misericord, Lincoln Cathedral, 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Hayman 1989:5).



Laird suggests that only “a few species were naturalistically shown on misericords”<sup>133</sup> (1986:11, figures 55, 63, 123), and he suggests that the expected or appropriate ecological background was also depicted sometimes. Laird attests invertebrates were “rare” (1986:29), vertebrates “of most major groups occur” such as fish and birds. Of the birds represented, Laird (1986:31) suggests “there are more examples of ‘the Pelican in her Piety’ than any other identifiable bird”; whilst other animals are represented as heraldic symbols or monsters. Of the data collated on the variety of animals represented in English misericords a total of over 100 individual species (real and imagined) were sourced from Remnant (1969), and analyses of these are presented within this chapter. Indeed, Grössinger states that:

“the influence of the Renaissance in Beverley Minster is felt not so much in the elegance of style, as in a new individual approach to human feeling, demonstrated by the intimate relationship between human beings and their animals” (1997:22).

**Figure 4.11.**

Misericord Illustrating ‘*A Shepherd and Dog*’, Beverley Minster, 1520 (Harding 1998:21).



<sup>133</sup> This view is not supported by the author.

The third most common subject depicted according to Laird (1986) is **Humans**. Laird suggests “Humans themselves, from the highest to the lowest, with their homes, hopes, fears, quarrels, ailments, pleasures, tales and sayings, are third in line as proportional subjects (about 18 per cent of the total)” (1986:11). The fourth and least common subject depicted according to Laird (1986:11), include **Heraldry** as illustrated in figure 4.12 which accounts for about 3 percent of subjects.

**Figure 4.12.**

Heraldry Misericord of Bishop of Norwich, St Margaret’s Church, King’s Lynn, 14<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Grössinger 1997:39).



Finally, **Humanoid Monsters**, account for the “remaining 2.5 percent is made up of subjects bridging different groups of living beings, humanoid monsters in particular” as illustrated in figures: 4.13 and 4.14.

**Figure 4.13.**

Misericord Illustrating ‘*A Blemyae*’, Ripon Cathedral, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Harding 1998:18).



**Figure 4.14.**

Misericord Illustrating ‘*Humanoid Monster*’, Gloucester Cathedral, 14<sup>th</sup> Century, (Harding 1998:62).



The types of motifs that are represented in these misericord carvings range from a single motif, or a set of scenes related to a theme or story. Obviously, the more complex the theme was, or the use of the story, meant that a greater the amount of carving space was required - yet this was limited by the space into which the scenes could be carved underneath the seat. This may have therefore influenced the manner in which an image was presented as a misericord - for example the proportional size, dimension, direction, poise and stance angles that a subject was portrayed as illustrated in the complex scene of the 'Rabbit's Revenge'. This fact considered can account for the distortion of a subject away from the manner a more realistic or naturalistic scene would be sculptured or illustrated in another media. In addition to the most common subjects cited for depictions in misericords by Laird (1986), there are a variety of other themes that will be outlined, these include: Religious Themes; Books, Manuscripts and Prints; Legends, Romances and Folktales; and Scenes of Real Life.

#### **4.2.1 Religious Themes.**

Laird (1986:9) suggests that "most misericord compositions are secular", and that, "only about 4.5 per cent of Britain's almost 8,600 surviving centrepieces and supporters have primarily religious significance, and 1.5 per cent are Scriptural" this is compared with over twice that number of the misericords in France<sup>134</sup>, Laird (1986:10). Nevertheless, Laird (1986:20) comments that "The Bible inspired specifically religious misericords indirectly as well as directly", as illustrated in figures: 4.15 and 4.16. But was it the priest who requested the theme depicted from the Bible, or a religious patron of a church? Grössinger (1987:123 in Alexander & Binski) supports Laird's view and suggests of misericord subject matter that it is rarely religious, "although some seemingly humorous depictions have moral implications" (1987:124). This is quite ironic taking into consideration of where misericordia are found i.e. in a religious context, and in a particularly sacred part of the church, and is further support to the idea that some misericords were crafted to serve a rather subversive function.

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<sup>134</sup> French and northern European misericords could be investigated as one avenue as part of future comparative research with English misericordia.

**Figure 4.15.**

Misericord of Noah's Ark, Ely Cathedral, 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Grössinger 1997:127).



**Figure 4.16.**

Misericord of The Judgement of Solomon, Worcester Cathedral, 14<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Grössinger 1997:127).



#### 4.2.2 Books, Manuscripts and Prints.

Grössinger (1997:21) describes how the carvers of misericords used the pattern book, sketchbook, manuscripts and prints as inspiration for new designs. In her recent work on prints (2002), and in an earlier work on misericordia (1997), she cites prints by German artists such as ‘Master bxg’<sup>135</sup>, Albrecht Dürer and Israhel van Meckenem, as sources utilized for motifs by artists and craftsmen working in different media including misericordia, bench ends and stone friezes<sup>136</sup>. The popular image of the woman wheeled in a three-wheeled barrow shown as an engraving by Master bxg is shown below in figures: 4.17 and in misericords in figure 4.18 and reversed in figure 4.19<sup>137</sup>.

Grössinger (1997) further identifies a connection between marginal drolleries in manuscripts and English misericords, particularly during the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. A close iconographical relationship continuing between the centre misericord and its supporters can be identified, and the supporters can also represent subsidiary scenes expansive of the same narrative unlike those on the continent which tend more to confine the narrative to the centre piece. Ten years earlier, Grössinger (1987) also discussed the iconographic and iconological potential of misericordia and suggests that:

“There is rarely a consistent scheme of iconography, indicating that the carvers were free to choose their subject-matter, probably according to the availability of patterns. The monsters depicted are exactly those which St Bernard had already condemned in 1125, fearing their power of distraction from holy thoughts: monkeys, lions, fighting knights, hunters, monstrous centaurs, half-human beings, many bodies with one head or many heads with one body. The animals carved on the misericords are generally of mythical and symbolic types, for example a lion fighting, symbolising Good fighting Evil: patterns for these could be copied from the bestiary. However, only a small selection of animals is repeated, probably those of which the carvers understood the symbolic meaning, such as the pelican which feeds its young with its own blood, as Christ shed His blood on the Cross for the salvation of humanity; or the unicorn which could only be caught when it laid its head in the lap of a virgin, symbolic of Christ, born of a virgin and crucified” in Alexander & Binski (1987:123-124).

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<sup>135</sup> This was a German working in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century.

<sup>136</sup> Parallels in different media have been located in Ripon, Durham, Baden-Baden and Wroclaw (Breslau).

<sup>137</sup> It is possible that the woodcarver saw this image from a block - therefore the opposite way around.

**Figure 4.17.**

“Master bxg” Engraving (Grössinger 1998:21).



**Figure 4.18.**

Misericord, Ripon Cathedral, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Grössinger 1998:21).



**Figure 4.19.**

Misericord, Durham Castle, 16<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>138</sup> (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



<sup>138</sup> These images are included as comparanda.

Laird, discusses the 'Physiologus' as a source of inspiration. This work had a long historical tradition, and says of it that it:

“gathered an assemblage of fact intermingled with folklore going back through Pliny and ancient Egyptian sacred symbolism to long before the time when the first horsemen sweeping down into northern Greece were rationalised as Centaurs. By the 12<sup>th</sup> century few Western monasteries could have lacked a manuscript version of the works of the 'Physiologus' ('Natural Philosopher') as processed through Alexandrian hermeneutics and even (in the 6<sup>th</sup> century) denounced as heretical. In classical and several vernacular renderings the book had become the clerical guide to pseudoscience” (Laird 1986:18).

Laird also suggests that it “must have been familiar in medieval ears as Bible teaching” and that, “An 11<sup>th</sup>-century version long served as a schoolbook in the later Middle Ages” (Laird 1986:19). In addition to the Physiologus were the numerous 'Bestiaries', which were more widely available from this period according to Laird (1986:19) who further defines the latter as:

“These were illustrated derivatives and transmutations of the Physiologus. They blended (often wildly misinterpreted) observations of animal characteristics and behaviour with much misinformation and allegory, designed for the chief purpose of representing all creatures great and small as existing solely to reveal some of God's will” .... “Manuscript Bestiaries were adorned with marginal illuminations confirming textual errors and adding more of their own. For example, animals from mammals to insects were commonly shown as three-toed.”

#### **4.2.3 Legends, Romances and Folktales.**

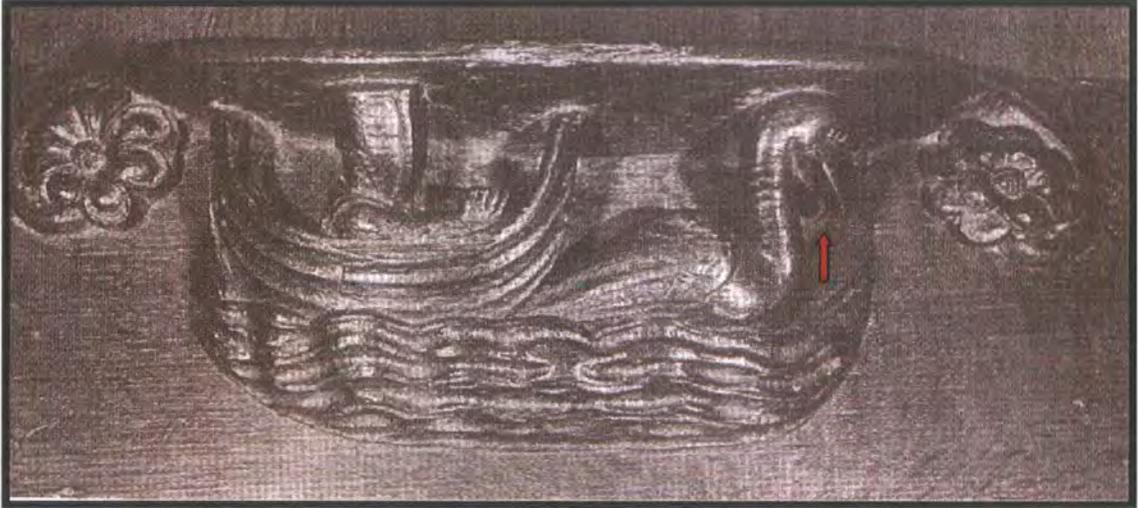
There were other writings that were a source of inspiration for misericord themes. Laird (1986:19) suggests that “Legends, romances and folktales were always rich sources of inspiration for misericord-makers”. These were not always of this country and French inspiration is outlined from a variety of sources such as the 12<sup>th</sup> Century Tristan and Iseult, Chevalier au Cygne; as illustrated in figure 4.20; the Roman de Renart manuscripts<sup>139</sup> (refer to figures 4.21 and 4.22) and even the “Rabbit's Revenge” (figure 4.23).

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<sup>139</sup> Romance of Reynard the Fox.

**Figure 4.20.**

Chevalier au Cygne Misericord, Exeter Cathedral, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Hayman 1989:5).



Laird also discusses the Travels of Sir John Mandeville, and how the late 15<sup>th</sup> Century editions included woodcuts of humanoid monsters to be expected in foreign lands. Laird suggests another popular book of the period was “Le Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers”<sup>140</sup> which circulated woodcuts of “the Occupations of the Months and related Zodiacal and Ages-of-Man subjects already familiar from manuscript Shepherds’ Calendars, Livres d’Heures and Psalters”, and that:

“By the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century printed versions of the earlier manuscripts and encyclopaedic texts based upon them, were being marketed - sometimes, as in early printed herbals, the same woodcut was made to serve for more than one subject. Such texts included *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, *Hortus Sanitatis* and Albertus Magnus’ *The Book of Secrets*. As an example, an English version of the second, *The Noble Lyfe & Natures of Man* ... appeared about 1521 complete with many 15<sup>th</sup>-century woodcuts showing a diversity of actual and imaginary beasts, still sporting three toes”.

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<sup>140</sup> This was published in Paris in 1493.

**Figure 4.21.**

Tibert the Cat<sup>141</sup> Attacks the Priest's Genitals. Woodcut of Wynkyn de Worde, 15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> Century, (Grössinger 1997:118).



**Figure 4.22.**

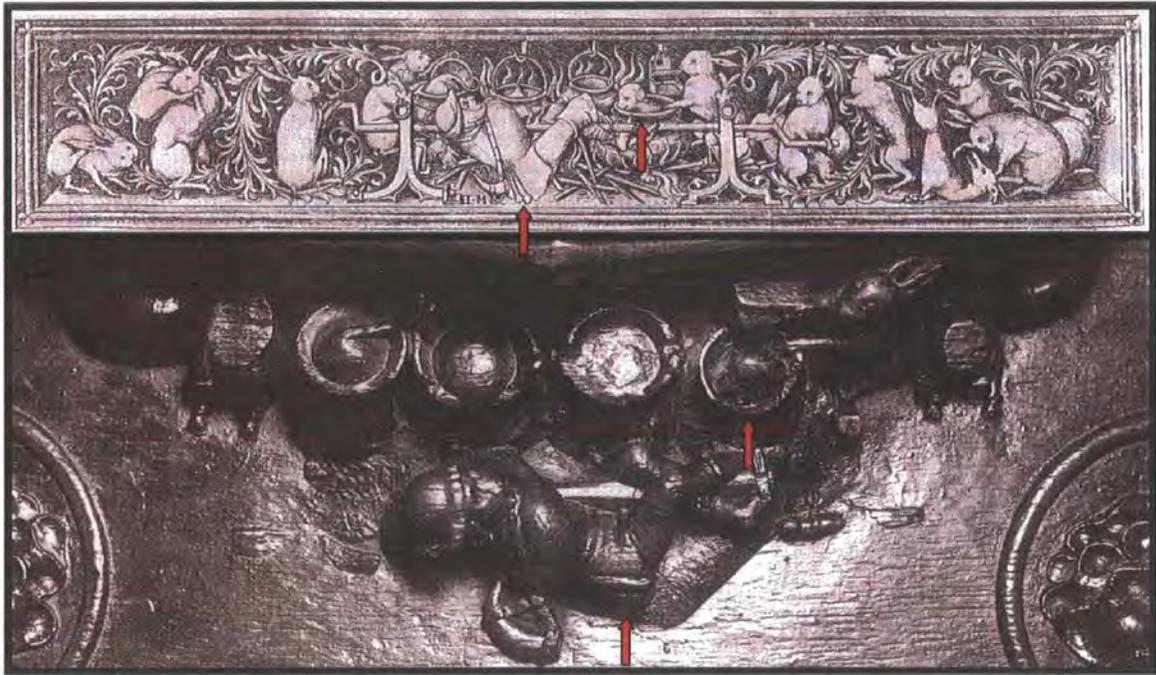
Misericord of Tibert the Cat Held on A Rope, Bristol Cathedral, 16<sup>th</sup> Century, (Grössinger 1997:118).



<sup>141</sup> This is an episode from the Romance of Reynard The Fox.

**Figure 4.23.**

Engraving of Israhel Van Meckenem of “The Rabbit’s Revenge” and Misericord from Manchester Cathedral, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Grossinger 1997:66).



#### **4.2.4 Real Life.**

Remnant provides an iconographical index of subjects found in misericords (1969:219-231). There are a variety of subjects listed, including religious subjects from the old and new testament, saints, angels and devils. There are proverbs, popular sayings, popular tales, allegories, tales of warning and scenes of morality. Those of greatest interest to the archaeologist might include scenes from daily life, such as domestic scenes between a variety of persons and their activities, entertainers, musical instruments, sports and games as well as occupations and trades, buildings, plants, animals and skeletal remains.

There are a wide range of depictions that represent crafts and trades which are specifically relevant to animals e.g. 'Cook', 'Farrier', 'Shepherd'; there are also depictions of sporting activities which relate to animals e.g. bating, hawking, hunting; and further calendrical depictions which serve as indications of seasonal activities relating to creatures e.g. bird-scaring, pig fattening, pig-killing, sheep shearing, shoeing horses, milking. Whilst, some of the themes depicted may be incomprehensible to modern eyes, plants, animals, humans, heraldry and monsters can frequently be identified. We do not know if factors such as proportion and size were intended, are accurate or significant in understanding the subject matter, nor originally if colour was applied for clarification.

### 4.3 The Results of the Investigation.

The final section of this chapter will present the findings (graphical results) of the creatures identified within misericords. In the main, the data represents a further analysis of that available for analysis in published format. The data was organised to collate a variety of information, and clarify the representation of creatures by species, century and location. The data collected was recorded in a single Excel spreadsheet<sup>142</sup> and the results were presented as pie charts, column or bar graphs. Overall there were over 1500 entries that described creatures on misericords, either as the subject matter of the main misericord and/or as the supporting carvings (on supporters)<sup>143</sup>. As was done with the stained and painted glass, the representations of creatures were organised by creature type (figure 4.24), and there is one chart or graph each for land creatures, air creatures, sea creatures and mind creatures, both for proportions of species (figures 4.25 to 4.28), chronology (figures 4.29 to 4.32), and location (figures 4.33 to 4.37).

#### 4.3.1 Species.

The range of species depicted from the misericords available included a wide variety of creatures from the land, air, sea and mind (figure 4.24). The most common creature type represented was that of the land creature (figure 4.25). The most frequently represented individual land creature was the lion<sup>144</sup> which accounted for at least a quarter (26%) of all named land creatures represented in the sample of misericords<sup>145</sup>. This equated to depictions of both lions (18%) and lion-masks (8%). The lion was also the most popular creature that was represented in the stained and painted window glass (refer to chapter 3), thus the misericord data adds support to the use of the lion as a creature consciously chosen for representation. The domestic and wild canines were the next most popular creatures to be represented (accounting for 21% of the sample). This equated to depictions of both domestic dogs (9%) and hounds (3%), as well as those of wild foxes (9%); and thirdly depictions of monkeys (9%) were the next most numerous<sup>146</sup>.

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<sup>142</sup> A sample of data is presented on the CD ROM in the appendix.

<sup>143</sup> The entries were duplicated where more than one creature was named on an individual misericord in order to count the instances of a specific creature appearing in individual misericords.

<sup>144</sup> Refer to chapter 7 for further discussion of various creatures within thematic case studies.

<sup>145</sup> Any creatures that were catalogued but that appeared infrequently (less than 4 instances represented less than 1% on the chart) and were grouped together within a pie chart slice labelled as 'Other' and included: the calf, dromedary, cow, deer, doe, donkey, fawn, greyhound, hedgehog, hippopotamus, hog, hyena, kid, kitten, lioness, piglet, porcupine, reptile, rhinoceros, salamander, winged serpent, slug, tigress and weasel as well as representations of the horse-shoe, hobby-horse and leopard-masks.

<sup>146</sup> This group is comprised of all primate depictions catalogued e.g. apes and monkeys.

The second largest group of creatures depicted (about a third (32%) of all creature misericords) were the mind creatures (figure 4.28). The most popular mind creature was the dragon (27%), followed by the wyvern (11%), the griffin (10%), the mermaid or merman and the wodehouse or wildman (both 7%) and the unicorn (5%). However, a fifth (21%) of all creatures of this type were unidentified beyond a generic description such as a beast, composite beast, grotesque, animal headed or winged monster.

In third place were the air creatures (figure 4.26) which represented about a fifth (21%) of the misericord sample. The most popular birds to be represented were the eagle and double-headed eagle (16% collectively). The goose (12%), pelican and owl (both 9%) were the next most popular birds, followed by a range of others in smaller numbers such as the hawk and cock (both 6%), swan (4%), and the bat<sup>147</sup>, crane and dove (all 3%)<sup>148</sup>, amongst others<sup>149</sup>.

In the stained and painted glass data the eagle and pelican appeared with reasonable popularity. They were strongly symbolic birds (refer to chapter 7). However, more than a tenth (14%) of all air creatures were unidentified beyond a generic description such as a bird or an unidentified bird. If these were identifiable, the results could *alter* in terms of the species proportions as the differences between numbers of the eagle, goose, pelican and owl are only very small.

The least well represented creature type was that of the sea creature, accounting for only 2% of all misericords. The most frequently represented sea creature was the dolphin (34%) which again was a popular creature noted in a proportion of the stained and painted glass analysis. The next most numerous creatures were edible species such as the eel and the whelk (both 10%)<sup>150</sup> and a number of others in small proportions such as the salmon, scallop, conch and otter<sup>151</sup>.

However, about a third (34%) of all sea creatures were unidentified beyond a generic description (e.g. a fish or an unidentified fish), and this is a large proportion which may again enhance the diversity of species represented with further analysis to pin down (if possible) a species for these depictions. Is it possible that these were at one time identifiable, perhaps if painted as was the case with other woodwork.

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<sup>147</sup> Although a winged mammal, the creature was regarded as a bird in the medieval period.

<sup>148</sup> Refer to chapter 7 for further discussion of a variety of air creatures within thematic case studies.

<sup>149</sup> There were over 10 creatures within the group 'Other' including the blackbird, demi-eagle, hawfinch, hoopoe, osprey, partridge, pigeon, plover, raven, snipe, sparrow, spoonbill, teal woodpigeon, and depiction of identifiable species parts such as ostrich feathers. At least 2 instances were required to make up a 1% proportion of all creatures of that type.

<sup>150</sup> Where there was one instances of a sea creature being represented, a 1% proportion of all creatures of that creature type.

<sup>151</sup> The otter was included in this group due to its habitation in a largely marine environment.

### 4.3.2 Chronology.

The chronological range of creature type is represented by a series of column graphs (figures 4.29 to 4.32). A proportion of the misericords were not dated such as those whose origin is unknown, following being detached from their ecclesiastical context, and subsequently recovered and archived by a museum. This emphasises that many of the misericords are only datable because they remain in context, and beyond style, their dating is assisted by the survival of records relating to commissioning of woodwork, within which they may have been included. The chronological period of those that were dated revealed was quite broad and covered a time span dating between the 12th Century and the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, though the full data record available reveals a range exceeding the chronological parameters of the medieval research focused upon in this thesis<sup>152</sup>. The column graphs (figures 4.29, 4.30, 4.31 and 4.32) revealed that there were no creatures represented prior to the 13th Century (of those that were dated); and that the most popular period for representation for all creature types (land, air, sea, mind), was the 15th Century with proportions generally rising from the 14th Century to the 15<sup>th</sup> Century and falling off more notably from the 15<sup>th</sup> Century to the 16th Century<sup>153</sup>. A similar chronological pattern was observed in the stained and painted glass.

### 4.3.3 Location.

The degree to which an investigation of location could be conducted and is meaningful, again was limited in so far as much of the material reflects only those locations catalogued. Nevertheless, the existing published data highlight that the vast majority of the misericords came from England (96%), with only small numbers coming being revealed from Wales (2%), Scotland (1%) and Ireland (1%), and the proportions of each creature type are illustrated in figure 4.32. This result can be explained by a research prejudice in favour of analysis of material predominantly from England, and this certainly was the case with the stained and painted glass. The geographical data may be characterised by a basic bias, in that the current location of misericords with creatures is likely a reflection of those locations where misericords survive.

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<sup>152</sup> This includes the misericords from Durham Cathedral dating to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century.

<sup>153</sup> The same scale of up to 350 instances was used for comparability between the land, air and mind creatures (figures 4.29, 4.30, 4.32), but due to the small numbers of sea creatures depicted, it was more appropriate that a scale of up to 10 instances was used for greater clarity in figure 4.31.

A number of counties will also collectively represent more misericords than others simply because a larger number of churches and cathedrals have been recorded. Nevertheless, whilst one church may reveal only a single medieval misericord e.g. Durham Cathedral<sup>154</sup>; others will reveal almost a hundred such as at St. George's Chapel, Windsor which has 96 misericords, and Lincoln Minster which has 92 misericords.

Churches and cathedrals were very prominent social and religious centres during the medieval period (and particularly those locations with one or more) are areas likely to reveal larger numbers of surviving misericord representations of all types. This is because if a greater investment was afforded in the furnishing and decoration of religious centres in those locations, and even accounting for poor survival of certain types of materials, those areas are still likely to present greater scope for revealing animal visual culture than those that experienced less medieval cultural investment.

As the bar graphs indicate (figures 4.33 to 4.37), the numerical popularity of particular creature types can to some extent be linked to the location of major medieval centres e.g. York and Lincoln - but this is not so in every case as the destruction of misericords in Durham demonstrates. The counties of Yorkshire, Berkshire and Lincolnshire revealed larger numbers of misericords with land, air and mind creatures than many other counties (but not sea creatures - though there were fewer representations of sea creatures to display any patterns).

The data from Yorkshire<sup>155</sup> included the widest variety of churches and cathedrals, followed by Lincolnshire<sup>156</sup> and Berkshire<sup>157</sup>. It may not be possible to identify an exclusive geographical pattern unique to creature type. However, in order to do this most objectively a geographical analysis would have to be made of all surviving misericords throughout the country (including all non-creature subjects) in order to compare those results with the 1550 misericords investigated for this research into animal visual culture.

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<sup>154</sup> Refer to Chapter 6 for discussion as to why this is the case.

<sup>155</sup> e.g. St. Mary, Old Malton; St. John, Halifax; St. Mary the Virgin, Sprotborough; Beverley Minster, Ripon Minster and York Minster.

<sup>156</sup> e.g. Lincoln Minster; St. Botolph's Church, Boston; and Holy Trinity College Chapel, Tattershall.

<sup>157</sup> e.g. St. George's Chapel, Windsor; and St. Peter & St. Paul, Wantage.

**Figure 4.24.**

**Creature Type Represented in Misericords.  
n=1550**

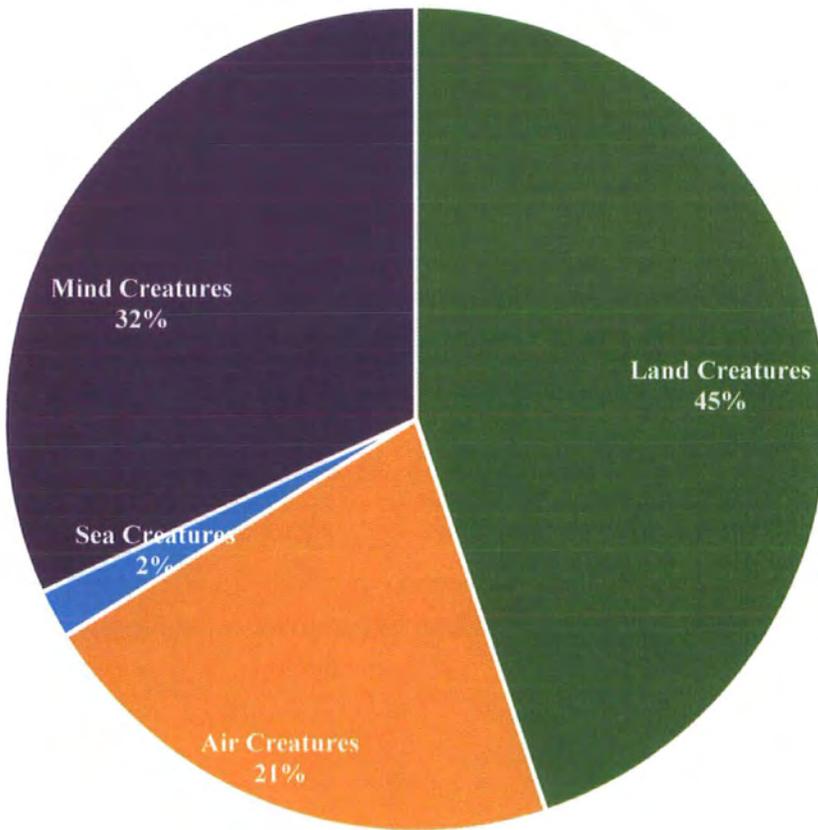


Figure 4.25.

Land Creatures in Misericords.  
n=696

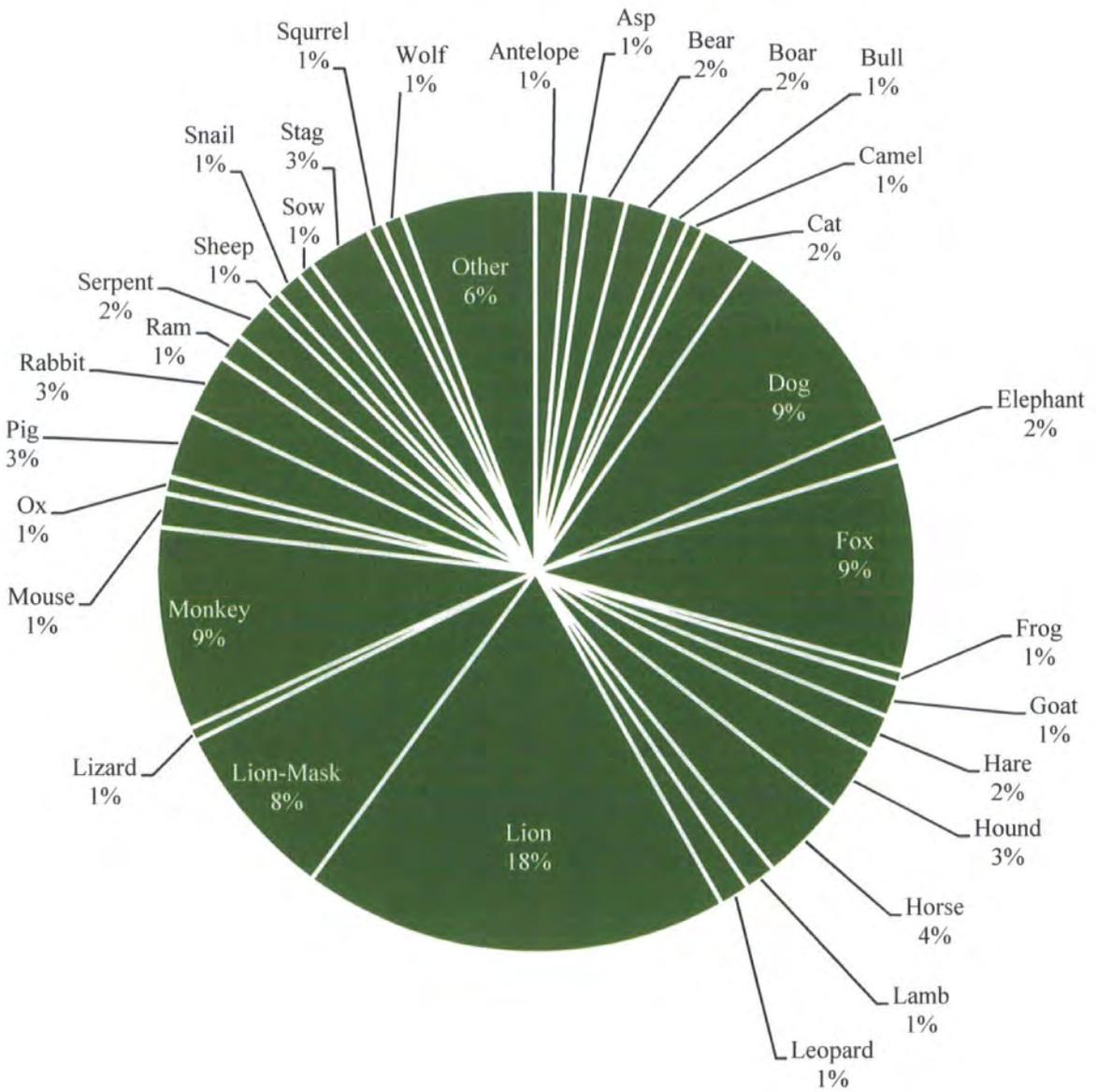


Figure 4.26.

**Air Creatures in Misericords.**  
**n=330**

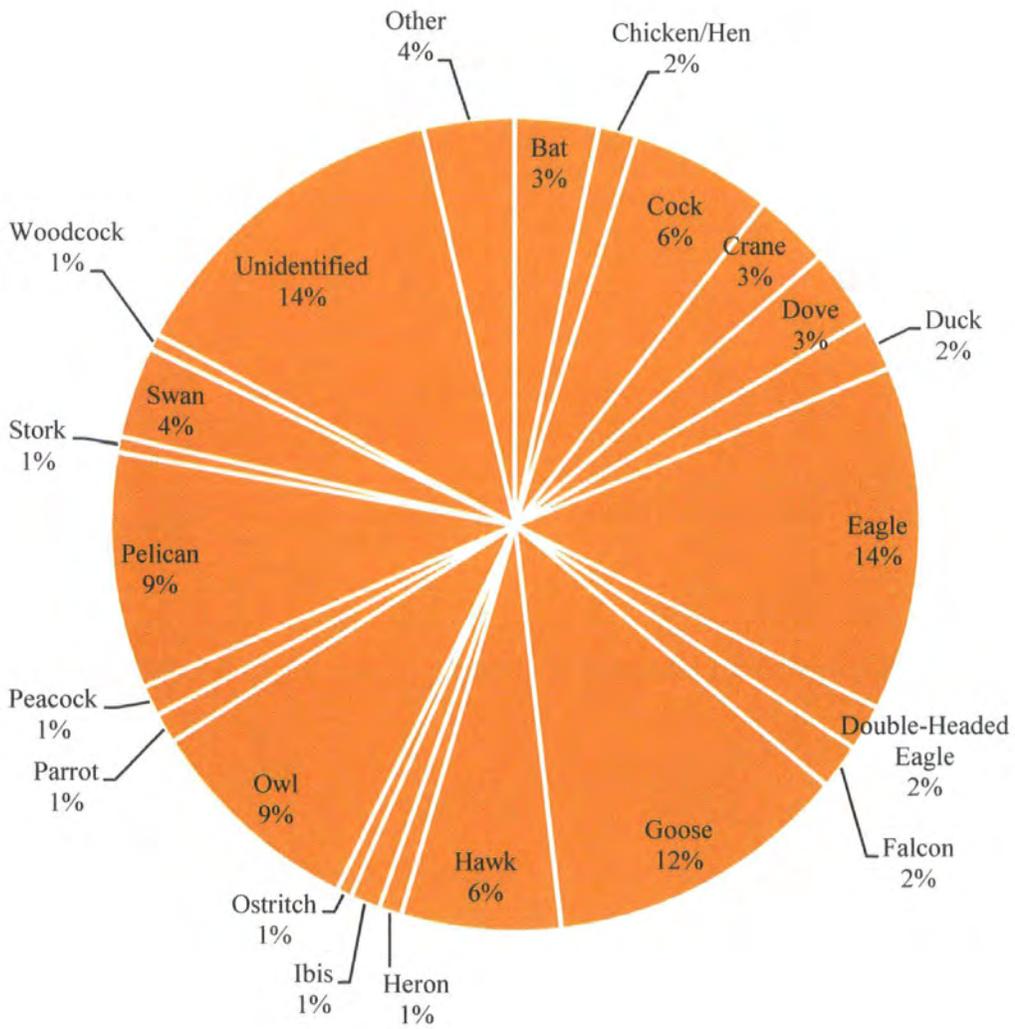


Figure 4.27.

Sea Creatures in Misericords.  
n=30

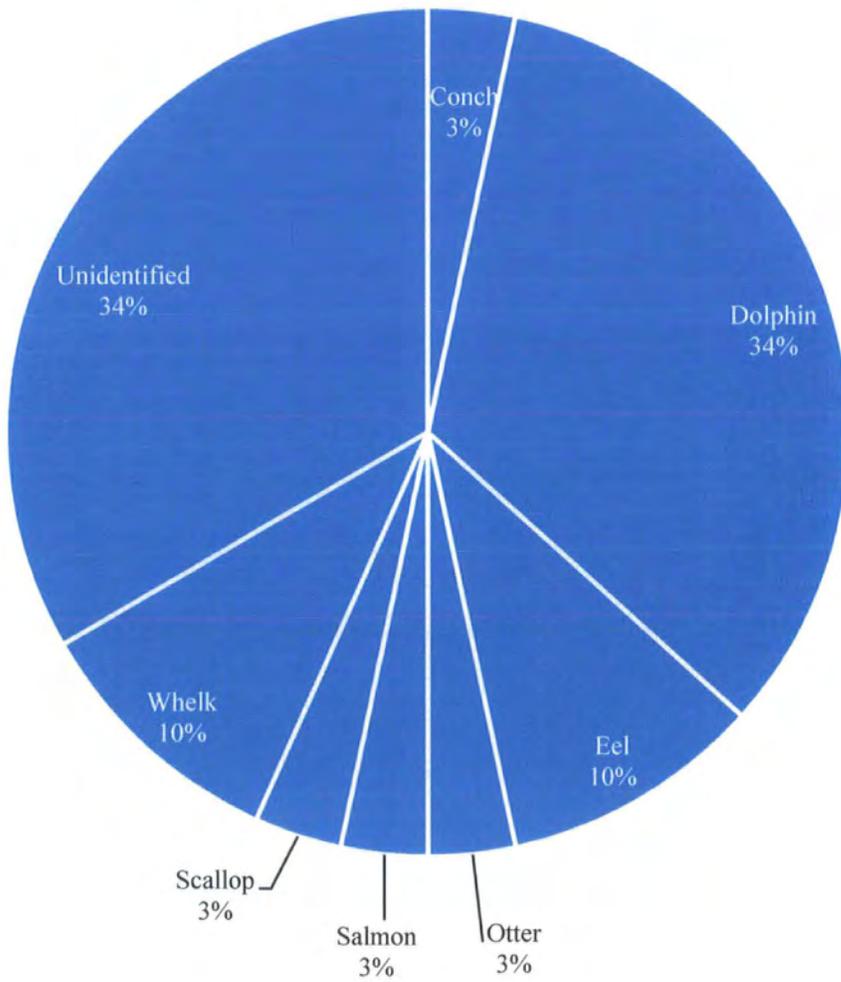


Figure 4.28.

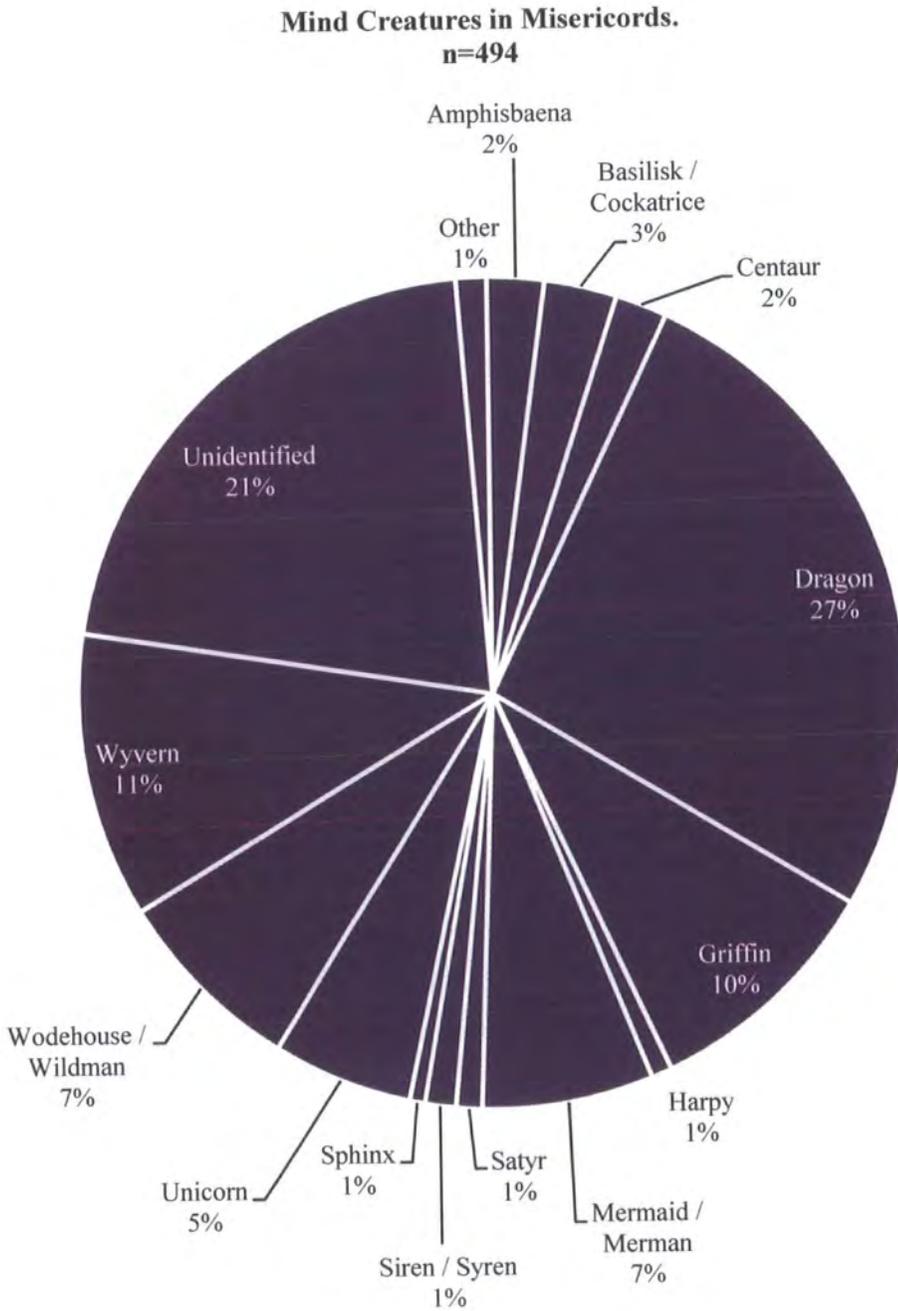


Figure 4.29.

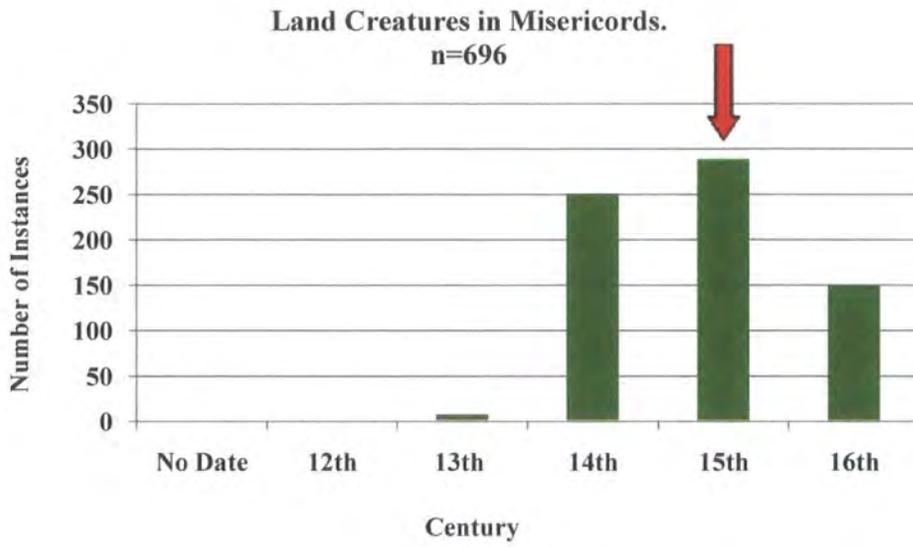


Figure 4.30.

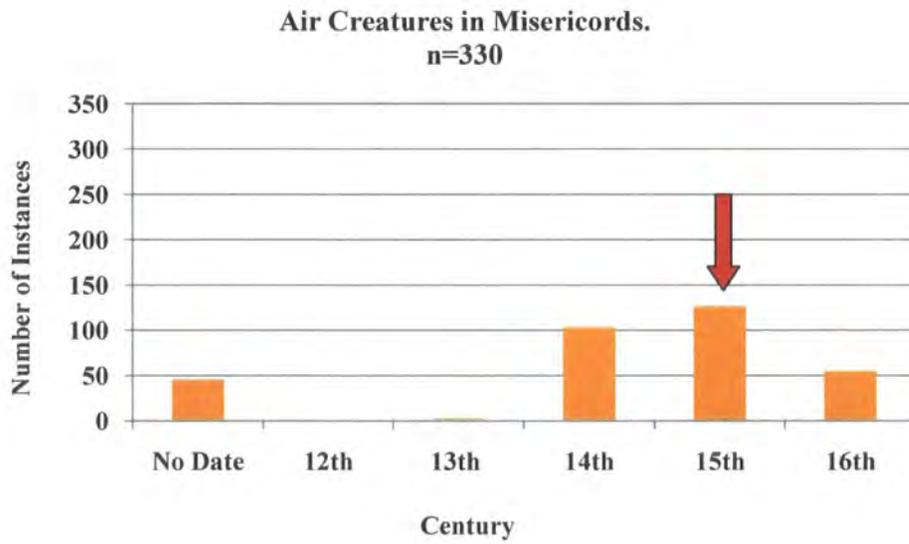


Figure 4.31.

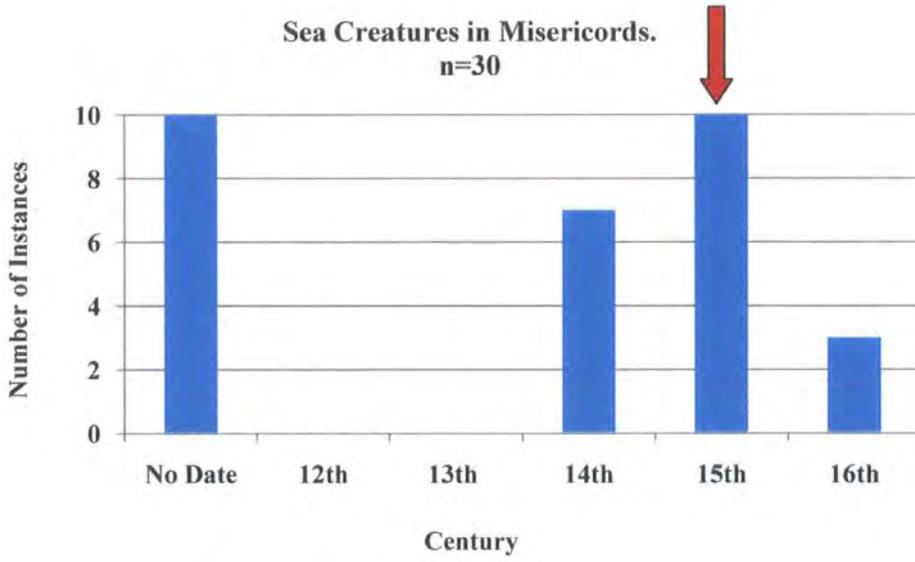
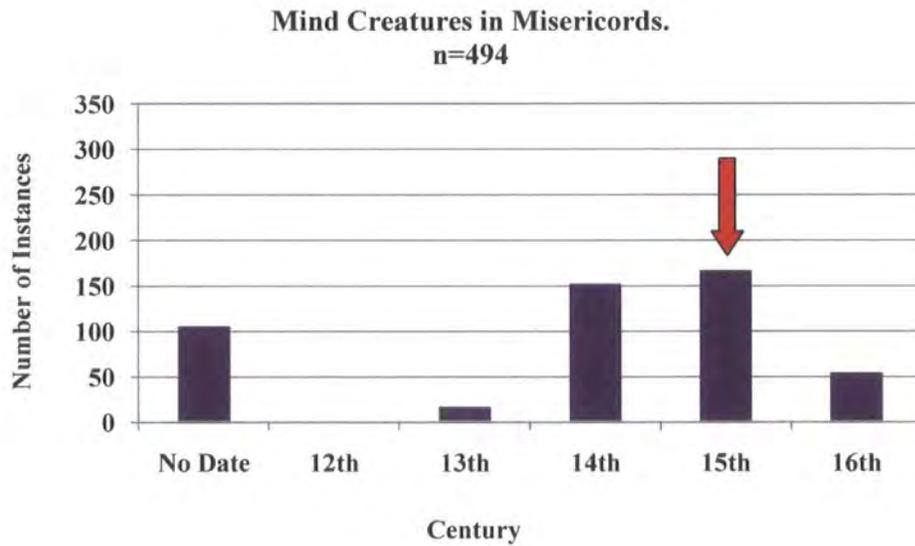
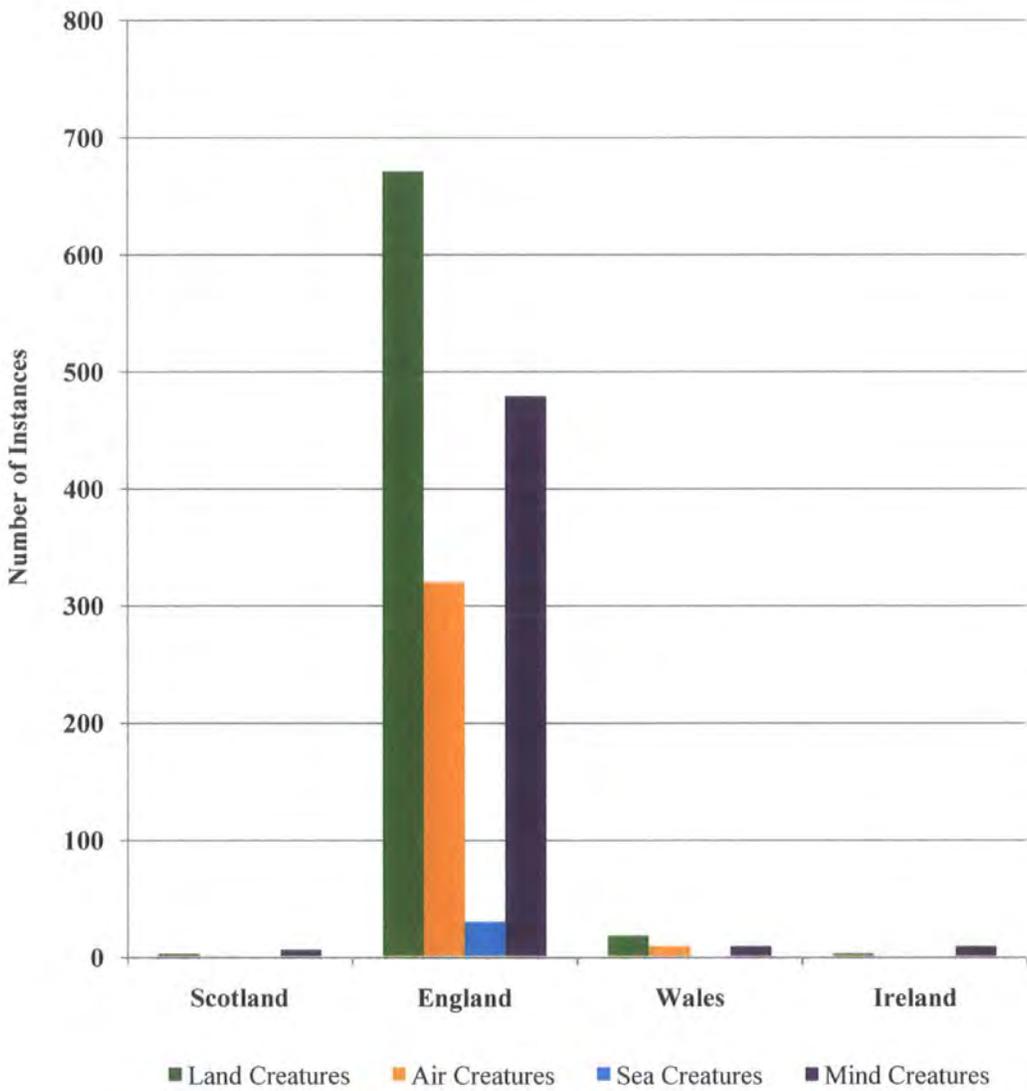


Figure 4.32.



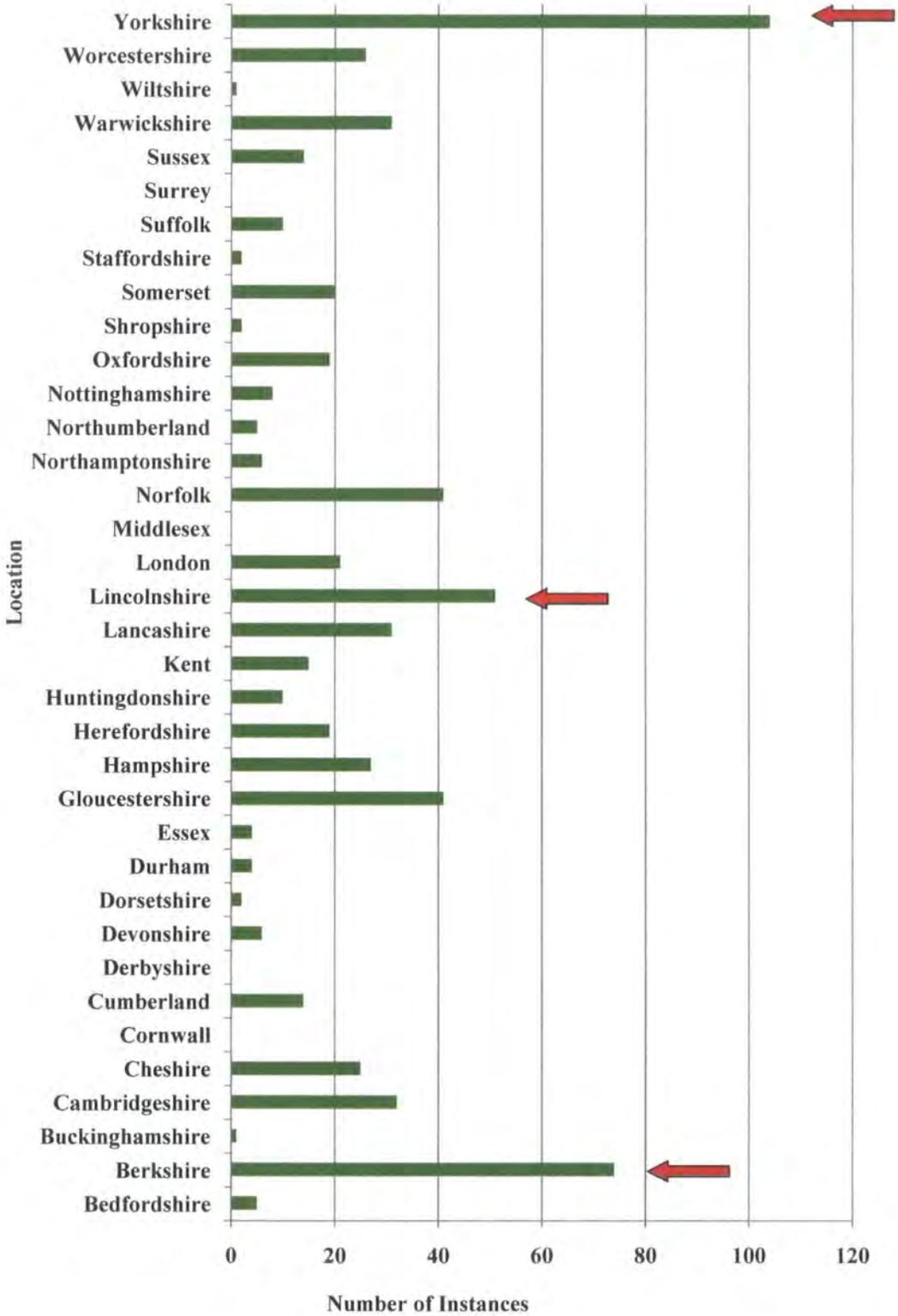
Figures 4.33.

Distribution of Catalogued Misericords in Britain.  
n=1550



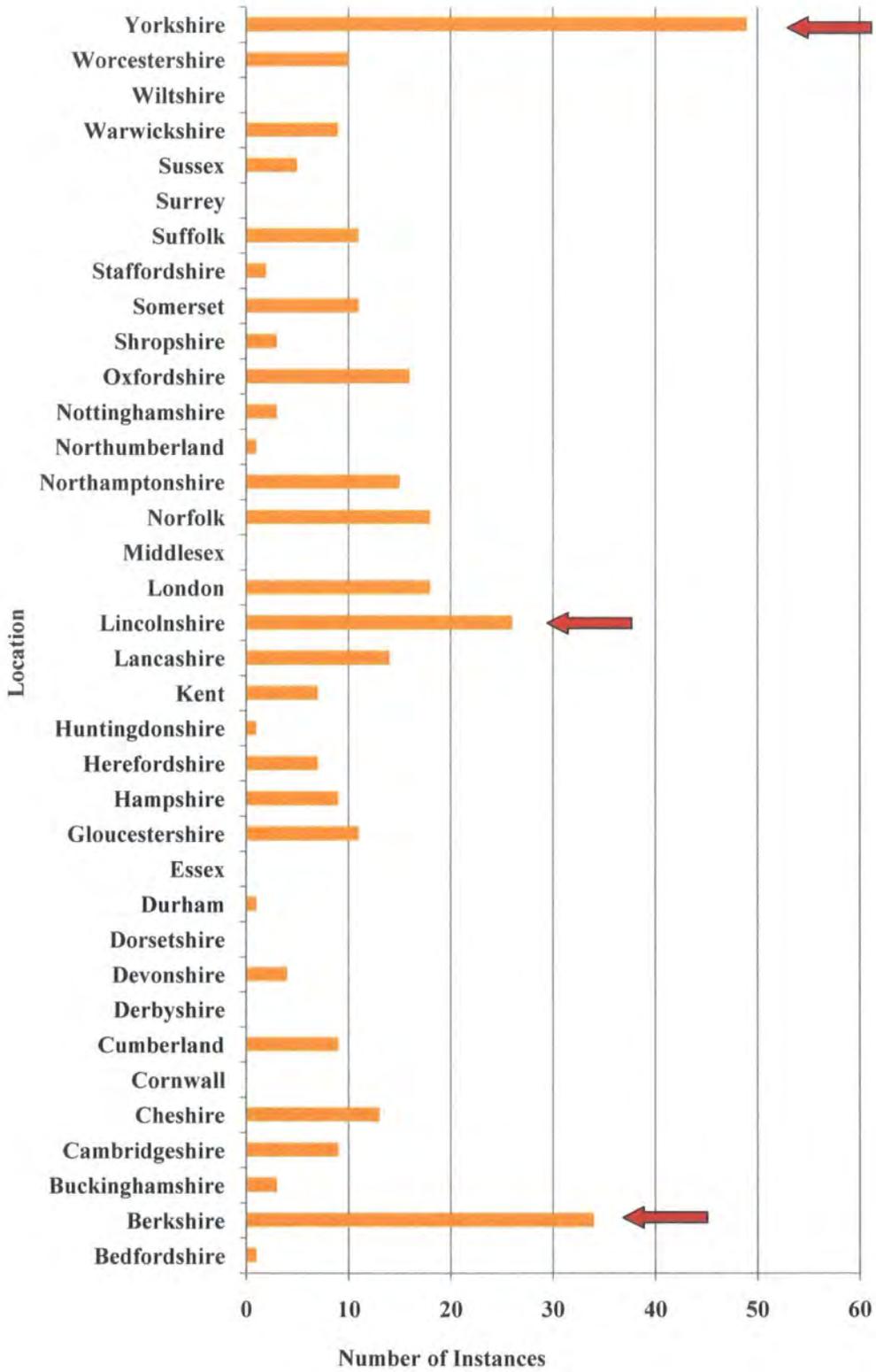
Figures 4.34.

Land Creatures in Misericords.



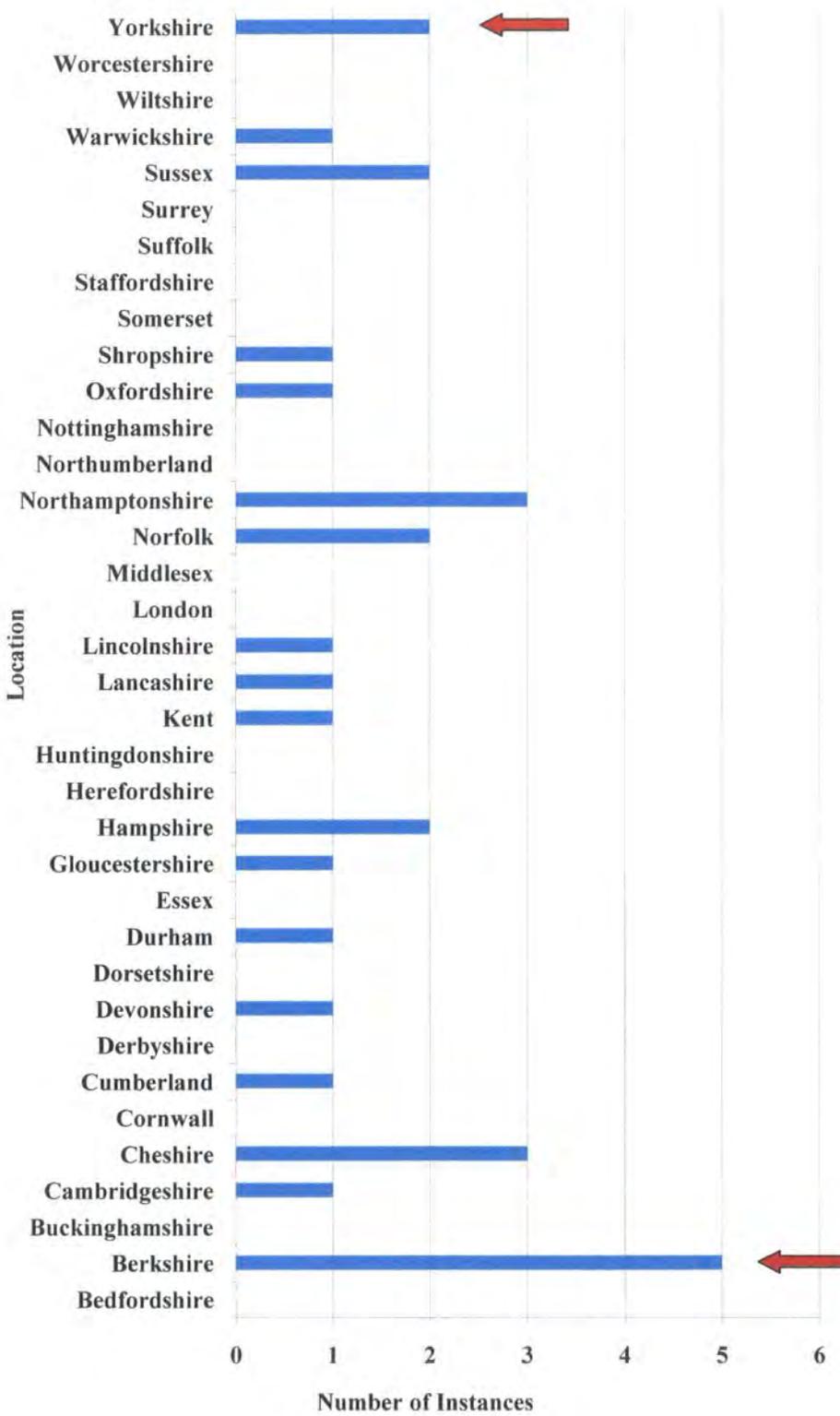
Figures 4.35

Air Creatures in Misericords.

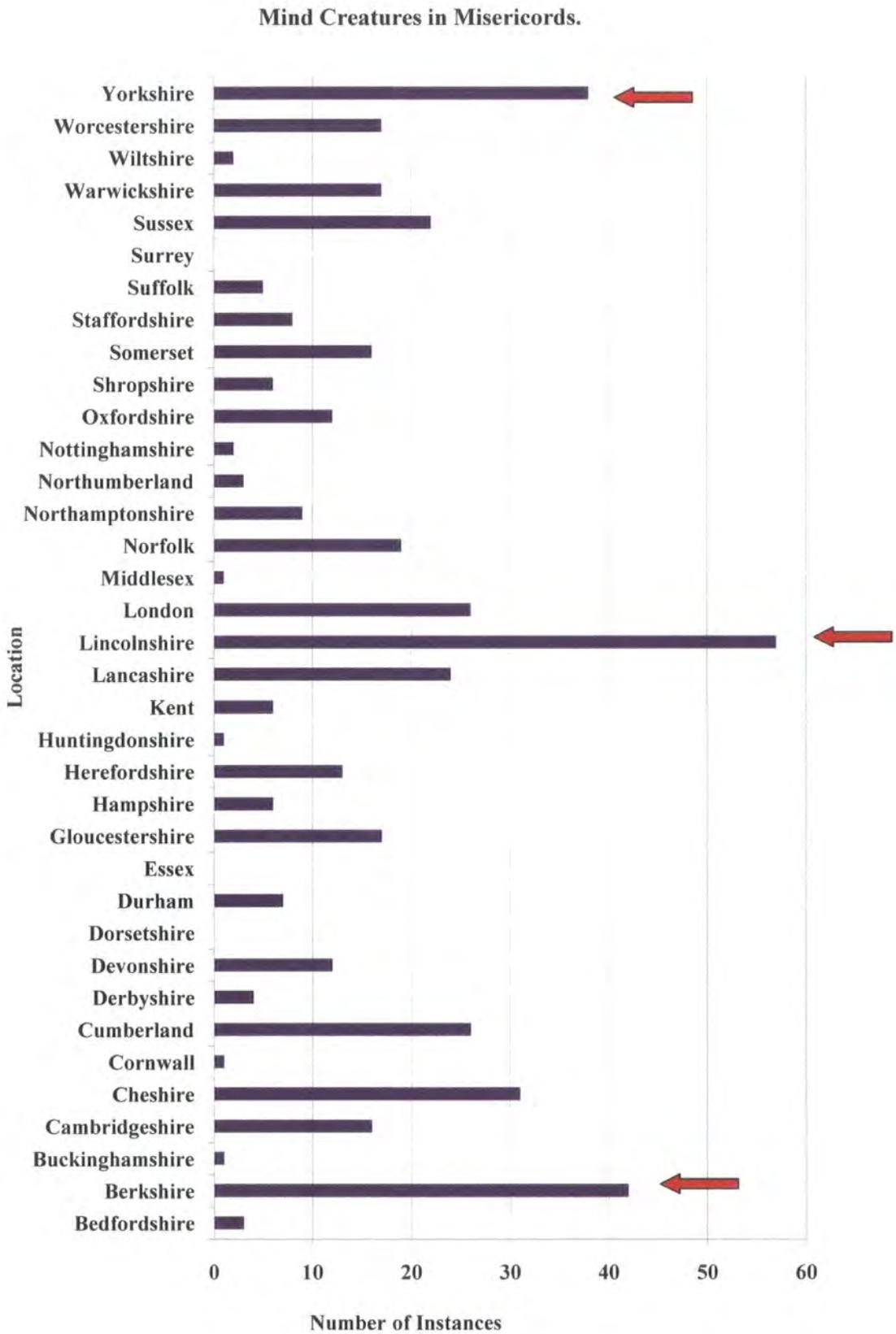


Figures 4.36.

Sea Creatures in Misericords.



Figures 4.37.



## CHAPTER V

### **5.0 Introduction.**

This chapter demonstrates the potential for investigating the representation of animals in portable material culture (archaeological finds and artefacts) in the Middle Ages<sup>158</sup>. It makes a creature-focused contribution to the wider field of research in medieval material culture studies. The chapter will begin with an overview of the literature available for research into medieval finds and artefacts in section 5.1. The discussion and interpretation will consider various factors that need to be taken into consideration when regarding the appearance of animals in medieval finds and artefacts. The representations of animals will then be put into their visual context in section 5.2. The chapter is concluded with a graphical presentation of the results of the animals investigated in medieval finds and artefacts in section 5.3.

### **5.1 The Portable Material Literature Overview.**

This chapter investigates the general representation of creatures across a wide range of medieval material culture, and highlights the different types of artefacts used to represent animals through time. The data analysed represents a variety of published and unpublished sources ranging from catalogues to archives and excavated records. Unlike the previous chapters, most of the sources examined for the data collection, relate to exhibition or museum catalogues, excavation reports and archives. Many of the catalogues provide basic details of the objects in terms of a description and dimensions, and a number offer more detailed contextual analysis. Unfortunately, since many of the artefacts have no reliable provenance, and in view of the portability of the material many artefact types would have travelled around the country or countries over time (according to the movements and changes of ownership over the centuries) and so caution must be exercised in any discussion or statements made with regard to the geographical representation of portable material culture, and in view of this the artefact types were investigated as an alternative.

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<sup>158</sup> It does not offer a complete record of every finding of a creature in the UK, but aims to demonstrate the potential of finding creatures in stained glass from ecclesiastical and secular contexts, currently a field under-researched and not published.

In common with the other published catalogues and museum archives, a photograph or illustration was not provided with every artefact or find recorded. This would have assisted an understanding of the portrayal of particular creatures which is not always obvious from a description or label. Indeed in the case of the British Museum archive, it was clear that there are a number of creatures which will fail to get mentioned as a consequence of the process of abbreviation, e.g. St George may appear with or without a Dragon, but even when he is, this is not always mentioned in the description, which is not clear to anyone other than the person who is making the original record.

Whilst making various visits to the archives, repositories, and stores where the original finds were kept would be the ideal in order to confirm that the descriptions and details of the artefacts were correct, the time and funding constraints of the thesis did not make this a realistic option considering this was not the main focus of the thesis. However in the case of the EH database, visits to see the finds archives and inspect a selection of the finds did not assist further identifications. This enabled original finds records and photographs to be checked, and any additional details or information added.

A variety of archaeological finds can be identified decorated with creatures on them, though they are considered as more architectural fragments, such as floor tiles, panel and wall-paintings, sculptures, stained and painted glass and woodwork, and thus any associated finds of this nature are really fragments associated with more permanent contexts of representation. This does not mean they have automatically been excluded from the database, just that they are not largely included on account of them being less mobile, and many of these materials have also had extensive research already conducted and available on them though not with relation to animal visual culture e.g. floor-tiles (refer to Bailey 1975; Eames 1992; Blackmore 1994; Aliaga-Kelly and Proudfoot 1995; Stopford 2005).

Only artefacts or finds with images of creatures on them have been recorded in the investigation presented in this chapter. The artefacts that are represented in the animal visual culture database include a wide range of objects from all aspects of life. The database prepared demonstrates the identification of objects having representations of creatures on items such as buckles, brooches, strap-ends and belt mounts, harness pendants, weights, whistles and other fixtures (refer to Mills 2003). Other artefacts include jewellery (e.g. to Tait 1986; Tait 1991b and 1991c; Egan 1988; Deevy 1997); coins, seals/seal matrices, moulds and pottery (refer to Rackham 1972; Haslam 1984; Draper 1984; McCarthy and Brooks 1988; Pearce et al 1985; Jennings 1992); textiles and embroidery (e.g. Staniland 1991; Bartlett 2001); manuscripts, ivory carvings, and metalwork (e.g. Cherry 1992; Egan 1996; Keene 1996; Haedeke 1970; Ryan 2002). An explanation of the varying functions and characteristics of these artefact types is discussed in more detail below in 5.1.1 to 5.1.7.

### 5.1.1 Definitions of Portable Material.

The term '**Artefacts**' will be considered to mean any object that has been made by humans. This can be an article from a human made material e.g. pottery, metal, glass; or from a natural material e.g. shell, bone, wood, or from a combination of natural and human made materials. Artefacts do not have to serve a particular function, although many are made with a purpose in mind. Many can often become heirlooms passed down from family members, sometimes may be resold, but always remaining in social and cultural circulation for hundreds of years. This can be due to their intrinsic aesthetic or artistic qualities, because they are unusual and considered a curiosity (such as a nautilus shell) or on account of the object being made from precious or valuable materials making it a financial asset to keep as part of one's estate. In this way, animal visual culture develops and is defined.

An '**Ecofact**' is a naturally produced object that is recovered from an archaeological site e.g. the remains of plants such as seeds, pollen or animal remains such as bones and teeth. They are not considered to be artefacts since they are not modified by humans, though can be modified by human activity such as charring, burning and butchering. Artefacts can be made from ecofacts, e.g. a piece of animal bone that is cut, shaped and carved to be made into another object such as the Savernake Horn in figure 5.1, and therefore develop archaeological significance beyond their archaeological context.

A large number of the objects researched in this chapter would be considered to be aesthetic artefacts that are owned by private collectors and institutions and many of these are highly valuable. In contrast, this chapter also identifies objects of social and cultural value recovered from archaeological excavations, and these are regarded as '**Finds**'. These objects are often likely to have been items lost within a burial environment, many have a more secular or domestic function, and frequently (but not always so) have a relatively lower financial value. Often these types of materials require some sort of stabilisation or conservation before they can be displayed, and this means they tend to remain out of circulation for a longer period of time before they are researched.

**Figure 5.1.**

The Savernake Horn (Elephant Ivory, Silver & Enamel), 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Cherry 1992:42).



### **5.1.2 Types of Portable Material.**

Gerrard (2003:148), reminds us that excavation reports were for a long time dominated by pottery sherds. However in the case of animal representations it seems that pottery vessels were not profusely decorated with creatures, in comparison with the number of surviving floor tiles which were more commonly decorated in the contexts that have survived. The extant artefacts cannot always be attributed to manufacture in the UK, and many are imports. Nevertheless, the fact that they have survived and made it into circulation into Britain demonstrates they were sought after by individuals who might not have been able to find the skilled craftsmen in this country to commission.

The range of material identified often reveals highly functional as well as aesthetic items. Mills (2003) was invaluable in putting many of the artefacts types into their functional context, and can be regarded as the single most useful source consulted for information on artefact types for this chapter of the thesis. In consideration of this, his work will be drawn upon extensively in discussing the function of many of the find types of material that were revealed during the thesis research, and will be supported by the work of additional scholars as cited below.

The range of artefacts will be discussed alphabetically under the following specific artefact types and general material grouped categories: Aquamaniles (AQ<sup>159</sup>) in **5.1.2a**, Belt Mounts & Strap Ends (BS) in **5.1.2b**, Brooches (BRO) in **5.1.2c**, Badges (BAD) in **5.1.2d**, Bone, Horn and Ivory (BHI) in **5.1.2e**, Buckles (BUC) in **5.1.2f**, Buttons (BUT) in **5.1.2g**, Candle Holders (CAND) in **5.1.2h**, Coins and Tokens (CT) in **5.1.2i**, Embroidery and Textiles (ET) in **5.1.2j**, Glass (GL) in **5.1.2k**, Jewellery (JEW) in **5.1.2l**, Leatherwork (LEA) in **5.1.2m**, Manuscripts (MS) in **5.1.2n**, Metalwork (MET) in **5.1.2o**, Pendants (PEND) in **5.1.2p**, Pottery, Tiles and Ceramics (PTC) in **5.1.2q**, Stonework (STONE) in **5.1.2r**, Seals and Seal Matrices (SEAL) in **5.1.2s**, Spurs, Stirrup Mounts & Terminals (SPUR) in **5.1.2t**, Weights (WEI) in **5.1.2u**, Whistles (WHIS) in **5.1.2v**, and Woodwork (WOOD) in **5.1.2w**.

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<sup>159</sup> All bracketed abbreviations are used in the artefact graphs represented in the latter part of this chapter.

### 5.1.2a Aquamaniles.

Aquamaniles<sup>160</sup> are a specific type of artefact known to have been in use from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>161</sup> (refer to Nelson 1939; Bloch 1982; Davey and Hodges 1983; Lewis 1987; Nenck and Walker 1991; Grabar 2002). These were an unusual type of vessel that had both a secular and religious application, being used domestically to serve water for hand-washing at meal times, and ecclesiastically by priests during a service, in order that they could cleanse and purify their hands<sup>162</sup>. It is possible that they were used in conjunction with a bowl in order to catch the water poured over hands, although these could be difficult to associate archaeologically.

There are a number of surviving examples through Europe that demonstrate that they were made in a variety of shapes in particular animal forms. These include land creatures such as the lion; the stag (figure 5.5); and the horse (figure 5.91) which was sometimes accompanied by human riders in the form of knights or huntsmen. Air creatures were also represented including birds and fowl such as the peacock or cockerel. There are also more fabulous mind creatures such as the dragon, griffin, unicorn and wyvern which were also used as subjects.

In a similar vein are artefacts known as ewers (or parts of them), such as lavers/spouts (e.g. figure 5.113) and taps that can appear in animal forms made from a variety of materials such as bronze (figure 5.6) or brass (figure 5.7), as well as the animal headed spout/tap and fitting located from the EH archive (figures 5.155 and 5.156) or that recovered from Fountains Abbey (figures 5.157). Parallels have also been recovered at sites in Maryport, Cardiff, Dorchester, and Oxford (refer to Lewis 1987:4-5 for further details).

A considerable number of aquamaniles can be provenanced to being made in continental Europe e.g. the Lorraine and the Meuse Valley, Lower Saxony, the Low Countries, Germany, and Scandinavia (Lewis 1987:1, see also Wixom 1999:66, 114, 172-3) and further afield (refer to Ward 1993:32 and 1993:46) and so were imported into circulation in Britain. Other forms that share characteristics of this form of artefact include: Cycladic pottery (refer to Cooper 2000:36-37) and that from Exeter in figure 5.2; though it is possible some aquamaniles were actually native to England.

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<sup>160</sup> Other names for vessels of this kind include ewer or laver.

<sup>161</sup> Aquamaniles are dated using stylistic criteria, and from manuscript depictions.

<sup>162</sup> It is possible this practice was an Islamic influence, and indeed similar vessel forms can be found in Iranian metalwork (refer to Ward 1993:32 and 46).

Whilst we have a number of luxurious examples of aquamanile made out of metalwork, it is also possible that they could also be made from other materials such as pottery (figures 5.3, 5.4, 5.141 and 5.142). It is possible that some also may have been carved out of wood, however it is difficult to know who (if anyone) was copying who, and from which medium at a particular time. Mellor suggests pottery versions were copies of metal prototypes (1997:30) as illustrated from the example from Oxford in figure 5.3.

**Figure 5.2.**

Animal Spouted Jug, Exeter, late 13<sup>th</sup> to early 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Hinton 2005:212-213).



**Figure 5.3.**

Earthenware Aquamanile, Oxford, 13 to 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Mellor 1997:30).



**Figure 5.4.**

Ram Aquamanile, Earthenware, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Cooper 2000:144).



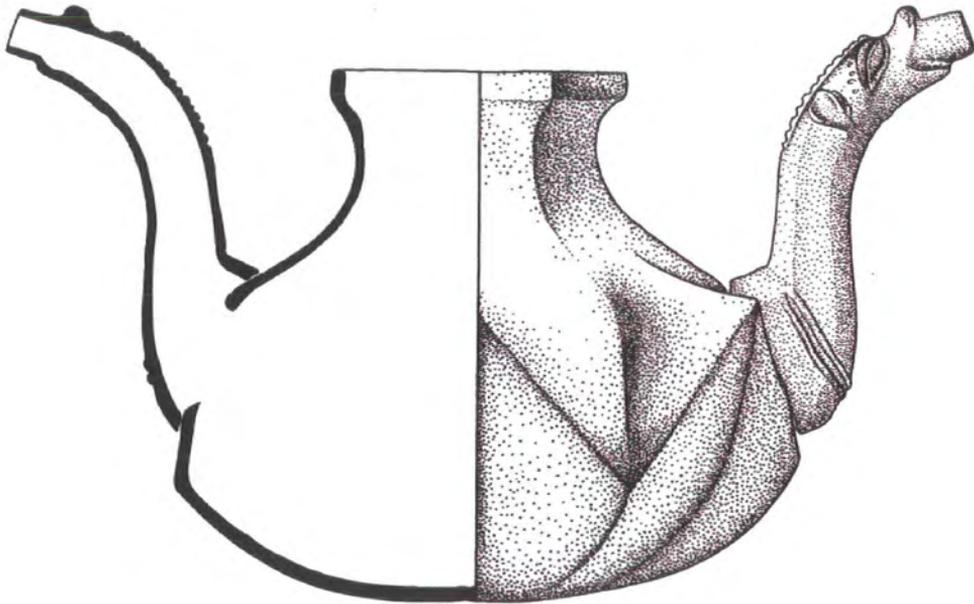
**Figure 5.5.**

Stag Aquamanile, Copper Alloy, found at Nant Col, Gwynedd, probably made in Germany in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Hinton 2005:186).



**Figure 5.6.**

Bronze Double-Spouted Vessel, Whitstable, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Cherry 1980:55-58).



**Figure 5.7.**

Brass Laver, Netherlandish<sup>163</sup>, probably 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Wixom, 1999:213).



<sup>163</sup> NB: Provided for comparison with figure 5.6.

### 5.1.2b Belt Mounts & Strap Ends.

Medieval belts or girdles were made from a variety of materials such as leather, linen or silk, which were worn around the waist (Mills 2003:19). As part of the decoration of the belt, the belt or girdle could have been adorned with a mounted ornament (a belt mount) often fixed by rivets, or finished off at the end of the belt strap (or known as the strap end) to prevent fraying or wear. Some of the surviving belt mounts and straps from the medieval period are engraved with birds and animals as illustrated from those found excavated in the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> Century at Winchester (figure 5.134), and the 13<sup>th</sup> Century (figure 5.105).

### 5.1.2c Brooches.

Brooches were objects that were used to fasten fabric garments, belts and purses. They were used by both ladies and gentlemen from the 12<sup>th</sup> Century onwards. The use of brooches peaked between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Margeson 1993:15); yet by the 15<sup>th</sup> Century brooches were going out of vogue (Mills 2003:56). Stylised creatures feature within the design of many brooches in bronze and silver gilt such as birds, monkeys, lions, and dragons, which were particularly popular motifs on brooches (figures 5.102, 5.123, 5.133).

The materials brooches were commonly made from include bronze e.g. the winged animal annular brooch excavated from Norwich (13<sup>th</sup> Century) as illustrated by figure 5.139; or they could be made from silver, and though examples in pewter and gold have survived (refer to the *rampant* lion in figure 5.8), if any were made in iron they have left no trace in the archaeological record (for further discussion refer to Mills 2003:56-57).

Some brooches can be found inset with precious stones such as the ruby breast of the pelican, and pointed diamond on the pelican's scroll illustrated in figure 5.9 (refer to Tait 1986:141), and therefore were unlikely to have been worn simply as a functional fastening. Therefore some brooches may have been worn as gifts and tokens, representational of popular concepts on account of their shape, mottoes and inscriptions, such as the loving heart shaped brooch with a pair of birds 'love birds' (figure 5.102).

**Figure 5.8.**

Rampant Lion on the Folkingham Brooch, Gold, 12<sup>th</sup> Century (Hinton 2005:192).



**Figure 5.9.**

‘Pelican in Piety’ Gold, Ruby and Diamond Brooch, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Tait 1986:140-141).



### 5.1.2d Badges.

Animals could also appear as part of the decoration on various types of metal badge such as birds, fowl, fish and other animals, fish, e.g. pelicans, horses, dogs, pigs, lambs, apes and monkeys (figures 5.10, 5.93, 5.124). These badges would have been relatively cheap forms of adornment since many were made from pewter (an alloy of lead and tin) as opposed to the more precious metals that were more commonly used in pieces of jewellery. Many of the badges recovered could have been worn on clothing or attached to hats.

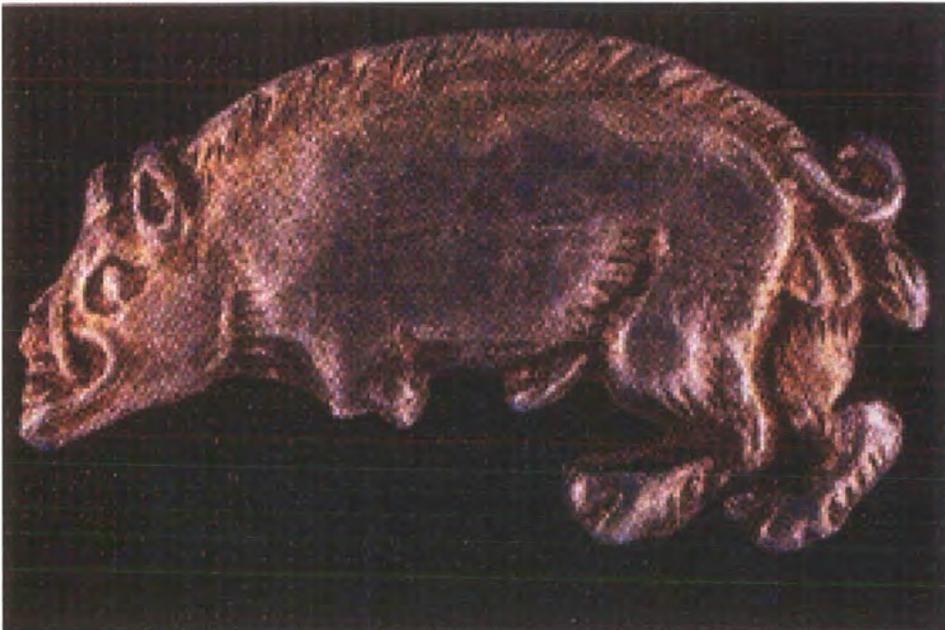
A large number are regarded as 'Pilgrim' badges (refer to Boertjes 1997; Kroon, 1997; Moosdijk 1997). These were issued at centres of pilgrimage and served the purpose of souvenirs of the pilgrimage, and some may have been believed to have amuletic properties such as the powers of the saint. Large quantities may have been sold, or issued at major shrines such as that of Thomas Beckett at Canterbury Cathedral. The income generated from the sale of these mementos would have assisted with the upkeep of the shrine and discouraged theft of any fittings associated with it (Mills 2003:36).

The use of animals in a badge could also be related to a heraldic 'cognisance', an emblem easily recognisable associated with a person or family such as Edward, the Black Prince and Ostrich feathers (Coredon 2004:36). The local nobility could distribute badges with a family cognizance in this manner to their servants (Cherry 1969:43), and this served as a form of self promotion. A variety of metal badges were therefore made and distributed by patrons amongst members of their local community and in the same way, livery badges were distributed. In the medieval and early modern periods clothes were central to livery and were passed down with more meaning than a simple hand me down, circulating until they fell apart complete with social memories. Therefore the second hand clothes economy was very significant and would have contributed to the circulation of animal visual culture in medieval society.

These types of badges were all very important within the expression of the social and economic culture of medieval society. Large numbers of these have been recovered from archaeological deposits under waterlogged and anaerobic conditions e.g. the foreshore. These are one example of a medium which reached a wider audience (i.e. the lower status members of the community). The issuing of badges would have enabled access to animal images, and images chosen and controlled by a patron. Various types of badge were produced, ranging from those commissioned to commemorate a season e.g. the popinjay was a popular motif for May (Jones 2000); to those used to those of a more romantic, loving or sexually explicit nature (refer to Jones 2002 for a fuller discussion).

**Figure 5.10.**

Boar Badge, Silver Gilt, Chiddingly, East Sussex, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Hinton 2005).



### **5.1.2e Bone, Horn and Ivory.**

There are various artefacts crafted directly from natural animal parts such as bone, horn or ivory. There are bone handles that have been recovered in the excavations at Norwich (11<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> Century), as illustrated in figures 5.135 and 5.136. More luxurious versions may have been crafted out of ivory such as the cases and combs illustrated in figure 5.84 and 5.85; and we also have the survival of chess and gaming pieces surviving from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries (refer to figures 5.86 and 5.87 and Wixom 1999:228).

### **5.1.2f Buckles.**

Mills states that buckles are the “most prolific metal artefacts to be found from the medieval period” (2003:13). Buckles were important fittings for use as a variety of objects requiring some fastening. Margeson comments that some survive on belts giving us an indication of their function such as on dress fittings, belts, sword belts, horse equipment and armour (1993:24). A selection of 13 to 14<sup>th</sup> Century buckles featuring animals are illustrated in figures 5.104, 5.133, 5.138 and 5.145. These demonstrate the use of various beasts including lions.

### **5.1.2g Buttons.**

Buttons were used in the medieval period as fasteners on garments. A small number of buttons have survived from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries, discovered in the archaeological record, many of these were made from pewter or silver gilt as illustrated in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century example of St George shown in figure 5.111. Buttons became extremely popular in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century when brass examples were made (Mills 2003:101).

### **5.1.2h Candle Holders.**

The survey of lighting equipment from Winchester indicates that there was an increase in the use of candles over oil lamps around 1300 (Biddle 1990:990-991). Excavated artefacts from London revealed evidence of two main methods for holding a candle: firstly there were prickets possibly for securing the more expensive wax e.g. figure 5.120 illustrates a collection of excavated lead tripod candlesticks decorated with birds (refer to Egan 1998:134; Brownsword 1985:1; Thomas et al 2003:101).

Other creatures used for candle holders of this sort include the elaborately decorated 12th Century Gloucester Candlestick in figure 5.11. Secondly there were cupped (socketed) holders used for the cheaper tallow candles (Egan 1998:133-134) as illustrated by the 14th Century stag-like candle holder in figure 5.121. Other creatures used for candle holders of this sort include cats, the lion and griffin (see Cooper 2000:147, 154).

**Figure 5.11.**

The Gloucester Candlestick, English, early 12<sup>th</sup> Century (Marks & Williamson 2003:108).



### **5.1.2i Coins and Tokens.**

The dies used to strike a coin were issued by the crown. In this way they could influence what image was portrayed on the coin, and some of them chose animals such as those dating from 1413-1544 illustrated in figure 5.101. In addition to coins were tokens, made out of metal and featuring birds and animals as illustrated in figure 5.126, and no-doubt were those crafted those from bone.

### **5.1.2j Embroidery and Textiles.**

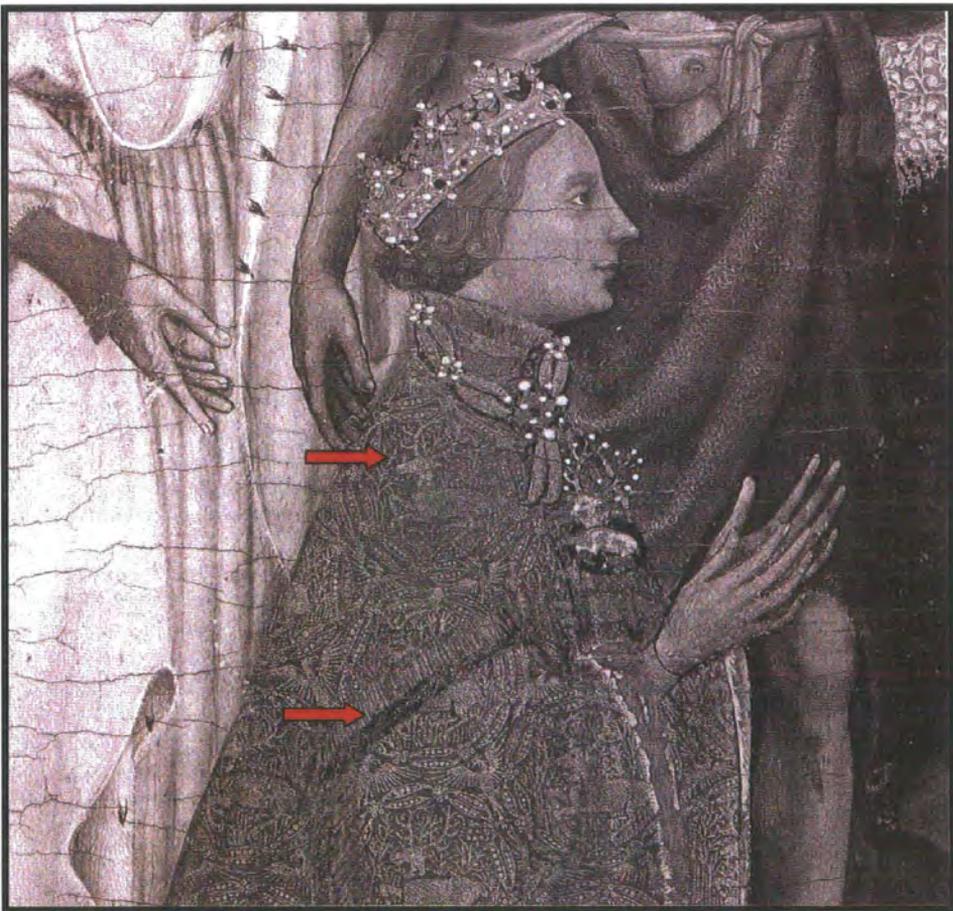
Unfortunately, the animal fibres (e.g. hair, wool, silk) and plant fibres that may be used in embroidery and textiles are amongst the most perishable of any archaeological materials depending upon their preservation environment. Nevertheless we do have finds recovered from wet types of sites such as the foreshore, rivers, docks, wells, ditches and drains at a variety of sites e.g. London, Newcastle, Norwich, Southampton, York.

The dating of these finds is also problematic, since domestic fabric can survive for a long time when used, as well as being re-cut and re-used until they fell apart. These types of finds are also highly portable, not only when in service as garments or tapestries, but they could be used as protection for the transport of other materials when they become worn, old and damaged.

A selection of animals can be found on preserved on medieval textiles such as royal and ecclesiastical embroidery work recovered from tombs. The animals represented include falcons and other birds (figure 5.118); horses (figures 5.14 and 5.88); squirrels (figure 5.96); and a range of other creatures or beasts dating from the 11th to 15th Century (figures 5.13, 5,15 and 5.89).

**Figure 5.12.**

Birds and Animals on King Richard II of England, from the 'Wilton Diptych', The National Gallery, London, c.1400 (Bartlett, 2001:301).



**Figure 5.13.**

The Erpingham Chasuble, Italian/English, early 15<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Marks & Williamson 2003:230-231).



**Figure 5.14.**

The Steeple Aston Cope, English, 1310-40 (Marks & Williamson 2002:198).



**Figure 5.15.**

Peacocks (upper) and Boars (lower) in Border of Bayeux Tapestry, 11<sup>th</sup> Century  
(Mellinkoff 2004:104)<sup>164</sup>.



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<sup>164</sup> Provided as comparanda.

### 5.1.2k Glass.

As further discussed in Chapter 3, there is a range of different types of glass that can contain creatures. This section will include additional material from excavated contexts not previously considered or catalogued such as window panels, roundels and quarries as illustrated from Wolvsey Palace, Winchester in figure 5.130, or those fragments with lion masks from Norwich in figure 5.137; as well as glass vessels upon which images of animals have appeared, as illustrated by the 13/14<sup>th</sup> Century enamelled glass beaker shown with a lion in figure 5.127 from London and figure 5.129 from the excavations at Winchester. Some of the vessels would have been specially imported from e.g. France, Italy, or the Near East (Thomas et al 2003), rather than being made in this country.

**Figure 5.16.**

Grotesque Roundel, York, 1320-40 (Wixom 1999:162-3).



### 5.1.21 Jewellery.

Medieval jewellery was worn for similar reasons as it is today, for self adornment, as a symbol of love, as a demonstration of wealth and status, or from superstition since some rings were regarded as having amuletic power depending upon the properties of the stones used. Jewellery could be pinned or worn suspended on a chain or necklace on top of garments and hats, or on the head, hair, on wrists, fingers and toes by both adults and children. The finger rings that survive are made from a variety of metals to suit all budgets, from the rare ones made from silver and gold (figure 5.17), to those more commonly found made from brass or pewter as illustrated with a hart (15<sup>th</sup> Century) in figure 5.107.

Some craftsmen attempted to imitate more expensive styles in their use of coloured glass to suggest precious stones as is common today (Mills 2003:46-48). However the wearing of rings was limited in certain periods. In 1363 an Act (part of sumptuary legislation) was passed prohibiting craftsmen and yeomen from wearing gold or silver rings in an attempt to make jewellery more exclusive<sup>165</sup>. In 1370, the London Goldsmiths Company decreed that only natural stones could be set into gold, increasing their value, and that none could be set into base metals. Of the stones excavated from archaeological sites, those that are the most common were not necessarily the most popular of their time, rather a reflection of their durability over time (when buried).

The popularity of particular stones may have been related to their intrinsic properties (those properties that the stones were believed to offer) such as curative and magic properties depending upon the type of stone e.g. amethyst, ruby, emerald, the image illustrated and the textual engraving (Clanchy 1993:317). Amethysts and garnets are the most common of the stones that have survived, and they are very hard wearing stones; this was not necessarily the case with rubies and emeralds which are more fragile and therefore would tend to crack or break in the ground (Mills 2003:49). Amethysts were believed to protect against drunkenness and comfort the body and soul, while the garnet strengthened the heart. The ruby was thought to have been the most prestigious stone, offering protection from tempests, reducing temptations of the flesh and representing exalted love, and as such was a noble and royal favourite (refer to Tait 1986:156).

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<sup>165</sup> It is uncertain how this was achieved or enforced (Tait 1986:140).

**Figure 5.17.**

Lion Passant on Gold Seal Ring, Raglan, Monmouthshire, n/d, (Hinton 2005:212-213).



The emerald was thought to protect against gout, eye complaints and epilepsy (as well as to increase riches); the sapphire was considered to comfort the heart, concentrate the mind, expel envy, aid the detection of witchcraft, and bring esteem from a lord, thus both the emerald and sapphire were favoured by bishops. Other stones such as turquoise had an animal link, since the stone was thought to protect the wearer from danger, and therefore it became a popular stone for a rider to wear to prevent a fall from their horse (refer to Mills 2003:49), whilst a seal made from firestone, illustrated with a dove with an olive branch in its mouth was thought to bring numerous dinner invitations if worn in a silver finger ring (Clanchy 1993:317). In this manner, the colour of animals may have strengthened the potency of the animal visual culture in circulation.

### **5.1.2m Leatherwork.**

Animals can be found represented on a selection of military equipment e.g. lions and gryphons can be found on 13/14<sup>th</sup> Century leather scabbards from London as illustrated in figure 5.115 and 5.116; and on shoe leather (figure 5.117).

### 5.1.2n Manuscripts.

A number of handwritten documents and drawings (Bartlett 2001:181, 218, 200, 220) from maps to playing cards (refer to Wixom 1999:200), survive containing images of animals within them as illustrated by the pelican, heron, sheep, fish, fowl, elephant, monkey, bear, camel, pig and musical animals, as shown in figures 5.18, 5.19, 5.20, 5.21 and 5.22. It is possible that part of the early popularity of manuscripts was for their illustrations. Ownership infers literacy which might not have been the fact. Since the depiction of animals in manuscript sources has been dealt extensively by previous scholars (Salisbury 1994), limited reference was made to these in the thesis database. In addition to these we have the survival of documents used to keep track of ones animals such as the Norfolk 'Swan Roll' (figure 5.93).

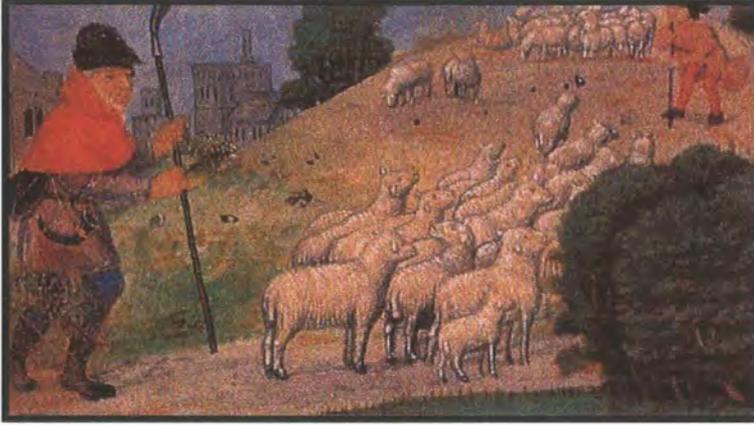
**Figure 5.18.**

Pelican in her Piety, from the Hereford Mappamundi, Hereford Cathedral Library, English, c.1300, (Bartlett 2001:220).



**Figure 5.19.**

Sheep and Shepherd, English, late 15<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Bartlett, 2001:181).



**Figure 5.20.**

Drawing of Elephant By Matthew Paris, English, MS Cotton Nero D I f. 169v, mid 13<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Bartlett 2001:218).

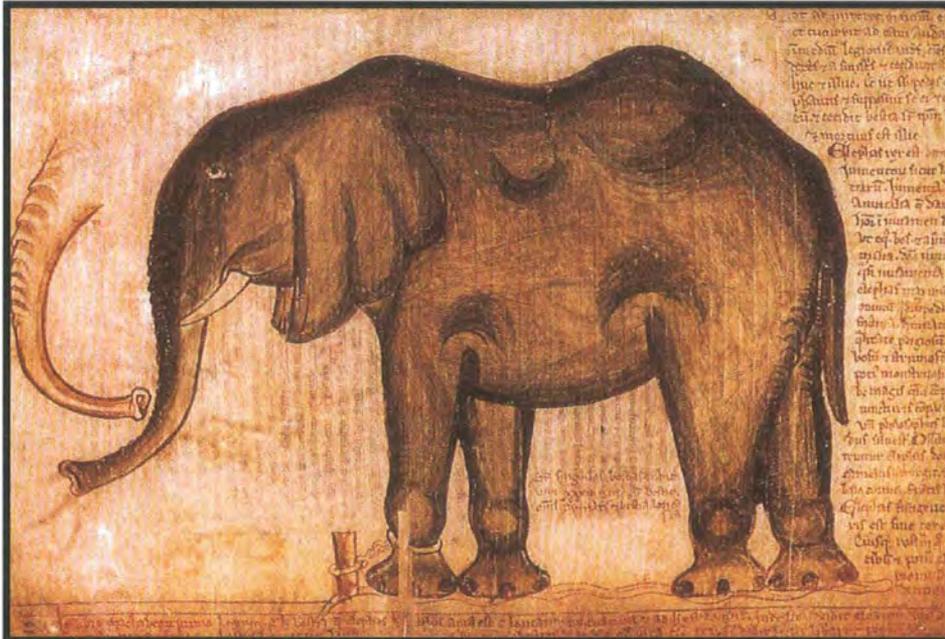
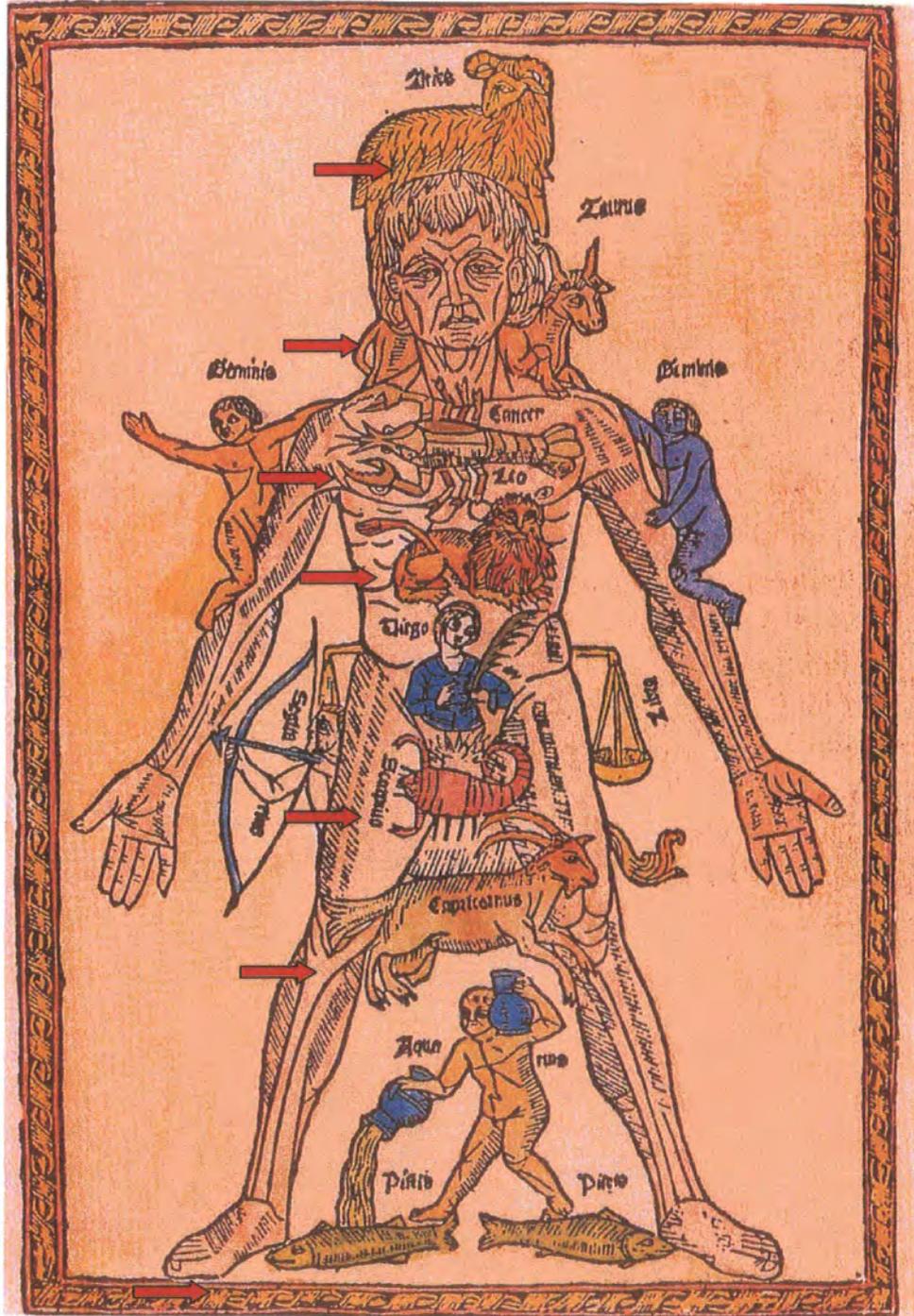


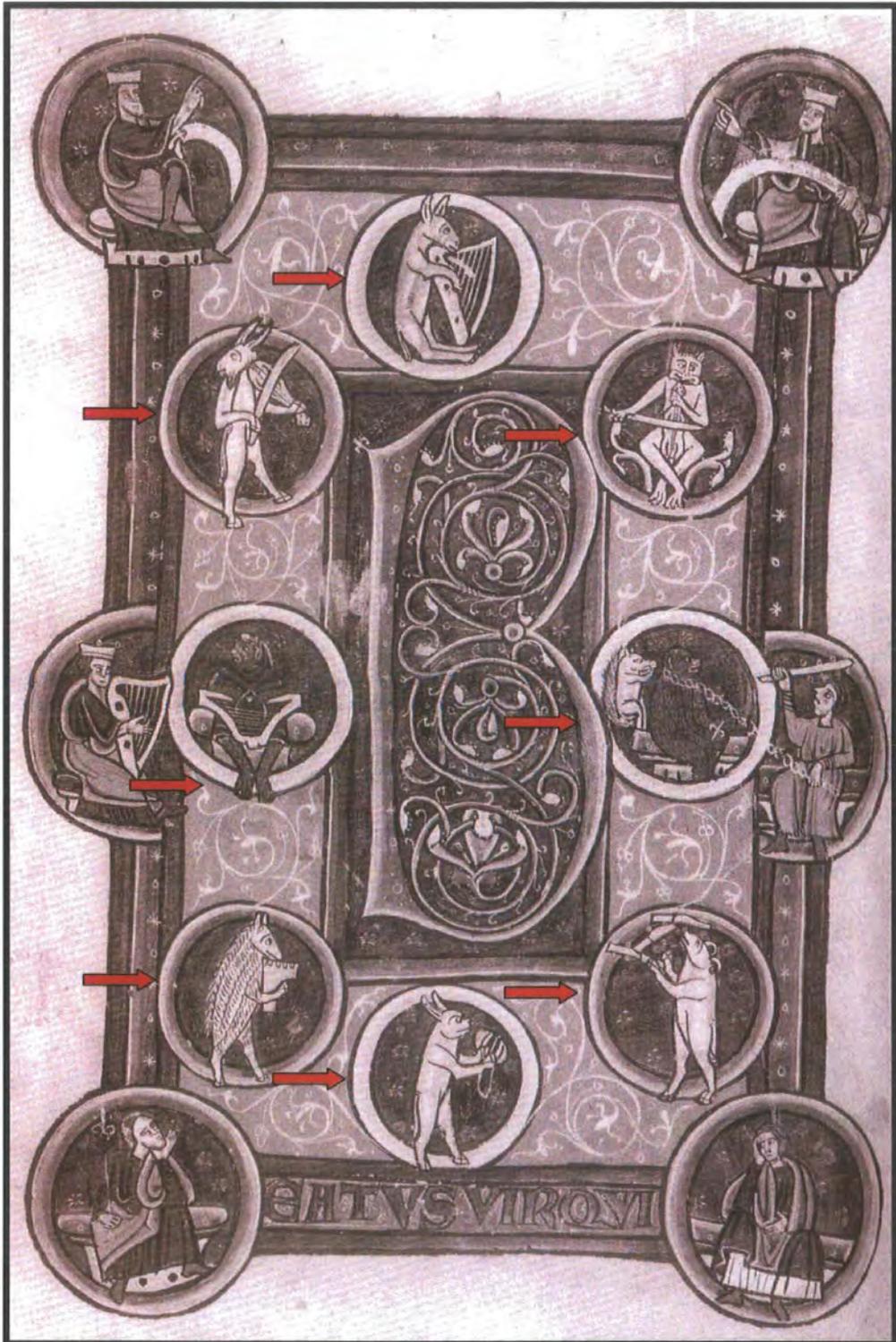
Figure 5.21.

Woodcut of Astral Influences on the Human Body, The British Library, early 16<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Bartlett 2001:200).



**Figure 5.22.**

Musical Animals in Lansdowne Psalter, England, BL MS 420, folio 12 verso, c.1220-1230,  
(Mellinkoff 2004).



### **5.1.2o Metalwork.**

There are a wide range of animals that appear on non precious metal artefacts such as copper, bronze, brass iron and pewter, as well as in the more precious metals such as silver and gold, refer to Haedeke (1970) for discussion of each type. Animals can be identified being used for domestic items such as the salt cellar, which can be found in various animals forms such as the eagle (refer to Matterer 2000), and the ape as part of its decoration (as illustrated in figure 5.100). They can also be identified functionally as the actual handle points themselves on items such as the dog used to decorate the lid (also possibly from a salt<sup>166</sup>) illustrated in figure 5.125; or the bird handle/terminal identified from the EH archival collection in figure 5.153; as well as being part of handles, such as the squirrels used on the end of the handle on a pair of snuffers in figure 5.95. Other domestic artefacts that have been excavated include items with animal features such as the needles (figure 5.131) and the stylus (figure 5.132) found in Winchester. In addition to these are numerous surviving fittings where their precise function and context of use is not clear, such as the bronze lion depicted in figure 5.112; the dogs illustrated in figures 5.112 and 5.159; and the dragon-like fitting recovered from Fountains Abbey identified in the EH archival collection shown in figure 5.161.

### **5.1.2p Pendants.**

A variety of pendants have been recovered from medieval England ranging from the St George and Dragon Pendant recovered from Norwich (figure 5.140) to harness pendants. These are one type that are thought to have emerged during the 12<sup>th</sup> Century, being suspended from the breast band of a horse, its head/brow or crupper. They are found in a number of shapes such as shield shaped, octofoil, sixfoil, quatrefoil, cinquefoil, trefoil, crosses, fleurs-de-lys, scallop shells, lozenge, banner style, circular, rectangular and square (figure 5.108). The most common types depict the royal coat of arms, followed by ecclesiastical pendants and ones associated with important families. It is possible that the pendants could have been issued by the more important families to commemorate family events such as a marriage, and that they were given out at the wedding (Mills 2003:67). Harness pendants would also have been highly coloured to assist the recognition of the images and therefore distinguish one family from another. They were a popular medium of animal visual culture.

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<sup>166</sup> A number of foreign parallels might support this (Egan 1998:192).

The use of colour was an important element in heraldic<sup>167</sup> communication to signify a families status, their ancestry and nobility<sup>168</sup>. Griffiths presents the idea that the motif of some pendants may be pseudo-heraldic, “perhaps intended merely to enhance the status of non-armigerous persons” (1986:1). This would seem a reasonable idea considering the time-honoured fashion of making cheaper imitations for the less affluent but status conscious members of the community. Unfortunately, many of the pendants are also assessed to be difficult to decipher due to a lack of colour surviving over time (Mills 2003:63). Even when traces of a colour have survived, this may have altered during its burial in the ground. This means we need to exercise caution when making identifications of colour on surviving artefacts and when attributing meaning and value to a particular colour. A number of pendants share similarities with badges discussed above, and some even come in the shape of animals (refer to figure 13 in Griffiths 1986:3). Many of these pendants also have images of animals on them, according to the creature with which the institution or family was associated. A number of pendants depict scenes containing animals in non-heraldic forms, such as those associated with hawking and hunting, and coupled with the crude and poor manufacture cited of a number of pendants, and the fact that many have been recovered from agricultural land, this has led Griffiths (1986:1) to attest that a number of these pendants were not made for the nobility at all, but for working animals or personnel - stewards, bailiffs etc.

### **5.1.2q Pottery, Tiles and Ceramics.**

A variety of pottery wares and vessels have survived from the medieval period. One of the main uses for these would have been used for the everyday storage, preparing and serving of food. Other than native pieces, imported pottery may have travelled into England from European countries such as maiolican vases from the Netherlands (Rackham 1939); Saintonage wares from France (Barton 1977, Thomas et al 2003), Germany (Thomas et al 2003); Italy (Milanese 1993); Spain (Hurst 1977; Marti 1994); Portugal (Thomas et al 2003) as illustrated by the painted vessels with clearly avian characteristics recovered from excavations at Exeter and Southampton (figures 5.143 and 5.146); as well as further afield such as China (Whitehouse 1972) and the Islamic world (Whitehouse 1997). These artefacts might have been owned and displayed as more high status table-wares for display, for use with flowers and to be used during meals and feasts.

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<sup>167</sup> Heraldry is “the art and technique of identifying insignia associated with shields” Mills (2003:62).

<sup>168</sup> Griffiths indicates that heraldry is most common on less than 50% of examples and on shield shaped pendants studied (1986:1).

A number of pottery and ceramic wares were highly decorated and animals feature as part of the design (refer to Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975; Davey and Hodges 1983; Allan 1984; Blackmore 1994). On occasions the motif is more of a general animalistic/zoomorphic form as can be identified on the animal jug and animal puzzle jug (figures 5.26 and 5.90). At other times the creature is much clearer and can specifically be identified to a family such as the cup and cover in the form of an owl in figure 5.94. However, whilst animal motifs made a vessel distinct, at times the use of a particular animal on a vessel was an important indicator of ownership<sup>169</sup>. There are also an extremely large number of roof, wall, floor and pavement tiles (refer to figures 5.23, 5.24, 5.25, and 5.148) that have survived, and that have revealed creatures (see also figure 5.144)<sup>170</sup>. Some of these may be found in situ, others from loose deposits. A number of these are illustrated depicting a stag (figure 5.151) and a double headed eagle (figure 5.152), from the EH archive collection.

**Figure 5.23.**

Location of Medieval Floor Tiles in Northern England (Stopford 2005:6).



<sup>169</sup> Mellor has discussed the use of stoneware tankards in the post medieval period (1997:11). Her research has highlighted that ‘ale-mugs’ could have been embossed with an emblem or symbol relate to a particular establishment e.g. a lion could relate to a tavern known as the Red Lion or a bear for the Bear Inn and so forth. Indeed the personal names of the licensee or the name of the tavern or coaching inn could be directly inscribed for identification - since she suggests it was the practice to send customers home with a full mug, this identification would assist the return of the tankard the following day.

<sup>170</sup> Refer to Allan (1984).

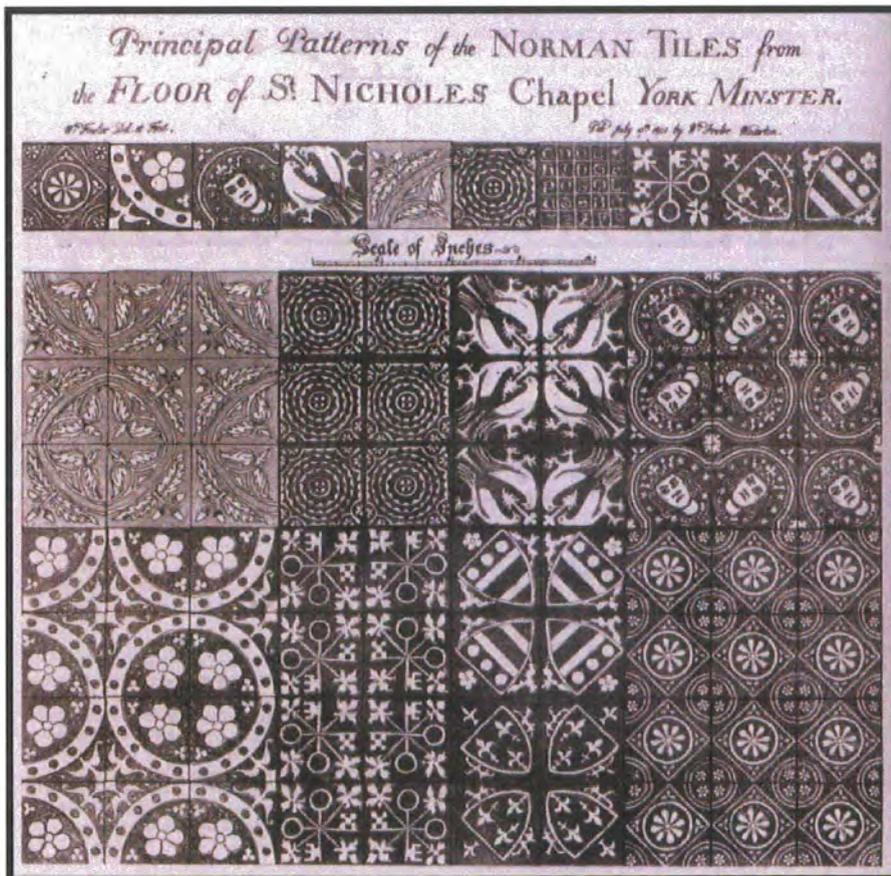
**Figure 5.24.**

Nottinghamshire Tiles from York Minster (Stopford 2005:341).



**Figure 5.25.**

William Fowler's 1801 Record of Tiles of the Nottinghamshire Group, St Nicholas' Chapel, York Minster (Stopford 2005:340).



**Figure 5.26.**

Animal Jug, Nottingham, 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Cooper 2000:145).

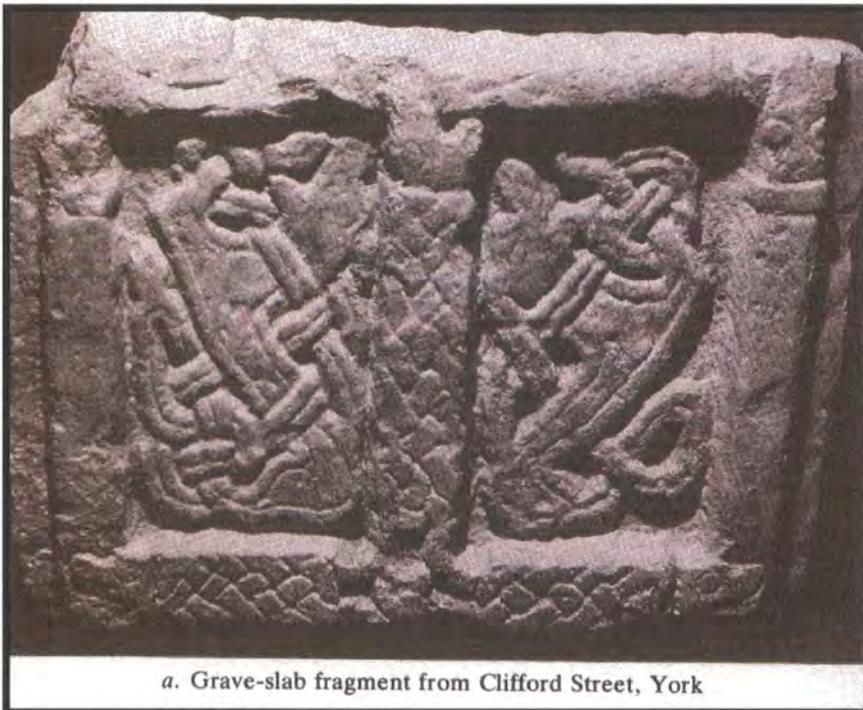


### 5.1.2r Stonework.

Although stonework is not portable and therefore not strictly relevant to this chapter, it will be mentioned simply to emphasise the diversity of representation that creatures featured within in the medieval period e.g. the grave slab and cross head illustrated in figures 5.27 and 5.28. Stone was used for a variety of architectural features as illustrated by the winged lion (figure 5.160) from the EH archive collection; and from the same collection, a number of these can be found in quite fragmentary condition with animal body forms such as the numerous bits of bird body as well as the more complete donkey (figure 5.149) and tiger (figure 5.150) stone sculptural panels revealed from the EH archive, now displayed in the Rievaulx Museum. Some of this may have been painted in the same way as walls were painted as illustrated by the 16<sup>th</sup> Century painting of St George from a Norfolk Church (figure 5.99).

**Figure 5.27.**

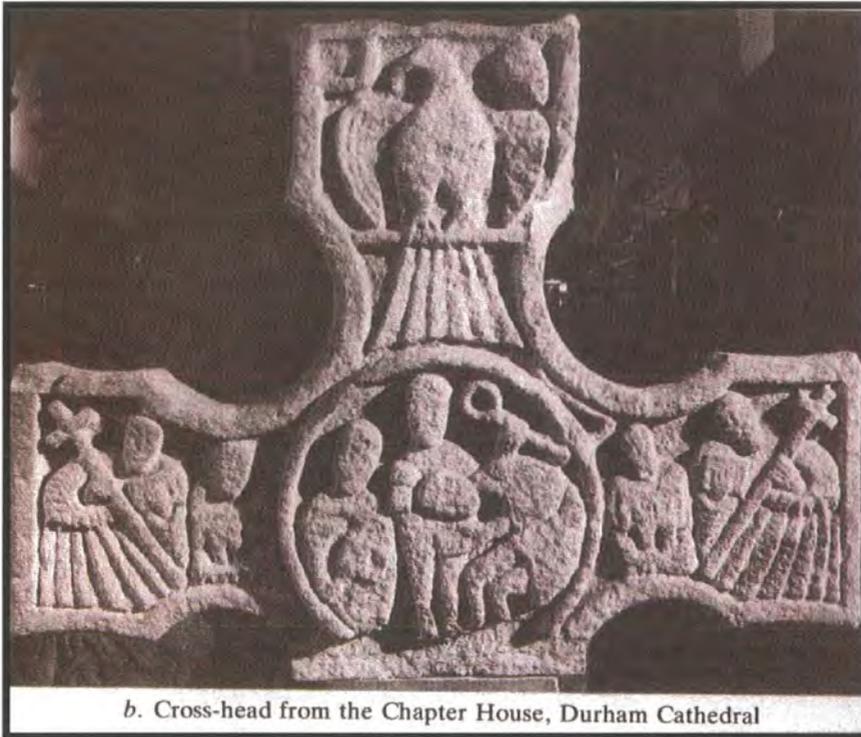
Grave Slab, Durham Cathedral (Lang 1983:184).



*a.* Grave-slab fragment from Clifford Street, York

**Figure 5.28.**

Cross-head, Durham Cathedral (Lang 1983:184).



### 5.1.2s Seals and Seal Matrices.

The use of a wax seal was an important device to ensure that a letter, document or other package had arrived at its destination unread, or unopened from the time the seal was imprinted by the sender. The use of a seal was therefore an essential mark of authenticity on a document, and of its status, indicating the social, religious or political and financial rank of the owner and sender e.g. free men, merchants, governing official, the nobility and royal or ecclesiastical institutions. It is clear that by the mid to late Middle Ages, people of all social classes and sexes<sup>171</sup> were seal-holding, even the peasantry to whom the seal may have served as a link to literacy (refer to Clanchy 1993:308).

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<sup>171</sup> Matrices have been found with the names of men and women, refer to Egan (1998:274).

The surviving seal matrices or dies are made from a variety of metals, thought to be crafted in proportion to the wealth and status of the owner e.g. common people could afford to have ones made from lead, the more affluent could have ones made in bronze, and for the wealthiest, seals could be silver and gold, set with precious and semi-precious engraved gemstones, and worn attached to a chain or in a ring. It is also possible that a number of the stones were from the continent, and that some were being re-used as seal matrices, as well as for finger rings and other religious metalwork from gems originally cut during the Roman period (refer to Henig 2000:1-7).

The size of the seal was also an important indicator of ownership e.g. 85mm high for a Cathedral seal, 58mm high for that of a Bishop, 40-45mm for an Archdeacon and a smaller seal still for a Canon. A large number of seals have inscriptions in Latin, French (or a combination), and either Lombardic or Black Letter script (from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century) and along with people's initials and names (male and female), slang, abbreviations and mistakes which can make the inscription difficult to translate and comprehend, though many of the mottoes, slogans or inscriptions on seals were common forms (refer to Mills 2003:26).

The inappropriate use of a royal seal, or its forgery was a treasonable offence. For this reason, seal matrices were often secured under lock and key, or defaced and broken upon the death of their owner. This did not always happen, or we would not have the 30,000 or more that survive in the archaeological record dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries (refer to Mills 2003:24). In addition to the seal matrices are the sealing wax impressions left on the documents in our various archives, however, due to time constraints this chapter has not researched the range of animals that may be depicted in these beeswax amalgam impressions. Further many seals of this type would have been destroyed as soon as the documents or letters were opened (refer to Clancy 1993:309). Certain seals had inscriptions in association with a particular design, such as an animal theme with an inscription such as: EST AVIS ASCENDUS meaning 'It is a soaring bird' - which appeared with an eagle-like bird during the 13<sup>th</sup> Century; IESUS MERCI which appeared with the motif known as the Pelican in her Piety<sup>172</sup>, along with PELICANUS DEI 'I am the Pelican of God' in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century; S'UM LEO FORTIS meaning 'I am a strong lion' dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> Century which depicts a lion; ECCE AGNUS DEI meaning 'Behold the Lamb of God' - which appeared with the image of a lamb and a flag in its design and was popular in the 1330s. In the 14<sup>th</sup> Century we also have PRIVE SU meaning 'I am private' and featuring a squirrel design; TIME DEUM or 'Fear God' which appeared with a stag's head; and SOHOU FOKELI, a hunting cry, which appeared with a degenerate hare riding on a dog (refer to Mills 2003:26-27, and to figure 5.106).

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<sup>172</sup> Refer to Chapter 7 for further discussion of the pelican.

Other types of seal include leaden cloth seals, which were used as a quality stamp on textiles. This stamp was used to confirm the satisfactory length, breadth and width of a cloth. It is thought they were in use from around the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, and those dating to the later medieval period have a number of motifs depicted on them, including animals as illustrated by the lion recovered at Fountains Abbey from the EH archive in figure 5.162. Egan comments that some 'County' stamps had a leopard's head on one side of them, and the arms of England on the other side which also has lions as part of the cognisance (Egan 1998:1). Other stamps were used to distinguish the maker or origin of a particular fabric e.g. a griffin can be found on cloth woven by Dutch immigrant weavers at Colchester (refer to Egan 1998:2); its colour; that a fabric was a searched cloth, to signify or *alnage* seals featuring the amount of cloth tax in pence, the monarch's head and other motifs e.g. pair of unicorns (refer to Egan 1998:3).

#### **5.1.2t Spurs, Stirrup Mounts & Terminals.**

A variety of devices to prevent wear on spur and stirrup leather have been identified. Some of these were decorated with animals or formed in the shape of animals and animal parts (such as lions and serpents common from the 11<sup>th</sup> Century, refer to Williams 1995:2-4). In addition to these, mounts can be found a variety of terminals that were secured to the stirrup, and also date from the 11<sup>th</sup> Century. A number of these terminals were made in animal forms as illustrated by the birds on the rowel spur from London (figure 5.119), and emphasise detail of an animalistic head, eyes, eye brow, ears and nose/nostrils (refer to Williams 1997:2-3). Both of these types of artefact display strong Scandinavian influences upon the zoomorphic designs that can be identified.

#### **5.1.2u Weights.**

Weights were important especially amongst the mercantile class in everyday transactions. We have a number of surviving examples of brass (and cruder bronze) steelyard weights dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, and associated travelling balances (as illustrated in figure 5.109 highlighted by the red arrow), which have creatures on them or as part of their design. The weights were in use until 1350, when use of the "Steelyard"<sup>173</sup> was forbidden. (Mills 2003:77). Mills comments that there were common motifs that can be found on these weights which could indicate a standard of issue:

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<sup>173</sup> This was the fortified hall belonging to the Hanseatic League of merchants based (the Guildhall in London).

“Steelyard weights of this period normally show shields cast in relief displaying the arms of England (three leopards), the arms of Poitou (lion rampant), the arms of the Hanseatic merchants (two headed eagle displayed), and on large examples the arms of Cornwall (a lion rampant in a border)” (Mills, 2003:77).

Trade weights, in comparison were made from lead, and mainly are attributed to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. They were used in shops, at markets and at fairs, and weighed various divisions of a pound e.g. one pound, a half, a quarter, an eighth (Mills 2003:78). Mills also indicates that many of them have been found in the north of England, and carried the royal coat of arms depicting the lion (singly rampant, and three lions passant), as well as crowned lis (2003:79).

#### **5.1.2v Whistles.**

Whistles were popular items, being made from pottery (Mills 2003:88) and pewter (Mills 2003:104). A number have survived archaeologically in creature forms such as in the shape of a bird thought to have been made as a toy (refer to Butler 1973; Egan 1988; Blinkhorn 1991) as illustrated in figure 5.122, others in the shape of a dog’s head (refer to Egan 1988; and Thomas et al 2003:109) or in the form of a cockerel shown in figure 5.110, have also been discovered.

#### **5.1.2w Woodwork.**

Finally, there are a number of surviving artefacts that have been made from wood and carved or painted with coloured animals as part of their decoration. Amongst these are included the wooden chest of Riochard of Bury dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> Century illustrated in figure 5.92. The chest was a most widely used piece of portable furniture in the Middle Ages. It could be used to store various items as well as package goods and enabled those in the more wealthy houses to move around the country at various times of year. Other types of woodwork were more aesthetic and less directly functional such as the 15<sup>th</sup> Century coloured sculpture of St George and the Dragon in figure 5.97, and the 16<sup>th</sup> Century Dacre Beasts (ram, gryphon, bull, dolphin) shown in figure 5.98.

### **5.1.3 The Chronology of Portable Material.**

The church was the most influential medieval patron from the 11<sup>th</sup> Century until the 16<sup>th</sup> Century when its supremacy and influence on visual culture came to an end<sup>174</sup>. The material in this chapter therefore deals with material dating within this long period of time, and whilst there are many original examples of medieval animal visual culture in circulation, there are also forgeries, though the artefacts examined for this chapter are considered to be genuine, even if their dating is not always secure.

Gerrard suggests that “scientific techniques were only rarely applied to medieval artefacts and sites in the 1940s and 1950s” (2003:120). This means that the accuracy of our dating and provenance of a number of previously excavated artefacts and their contexts could be wrong. Many of the artefacts were excavated and recorded before these techniques were developed, and have not been re-evaluated since. The thesis includes finds/artefacts which only survive in record form since the object itself has since perished, or in record form because the find/artefact has been ‘preserved’ (rather than conserved) in a manner which has caused contamination to the object and would now likely confuse the results of a scientific date if an attempt were made.

Much of the archaeological material excavated and stored in museum collections will have been dated by a number of techniques ranging from the relative sequencing or stratigraphy of levels on an archaeological site (in association with typological ceramic phases and the use of coinage - as was the case in London) to more scientific forms of dating as they have developed, or as funding has permitted, such as the use of dendro-chronology for wood, and radiocarbon dating for other types of organic materials.

### **5.1.4 The Making and Decoration of Portable Material.**

“Surviving artefacts do not reveal who made them, and documentary evidence for how things were made is all too often limited to recording what was thought to be illegal”

(Blair and Ramsey 1991:xvii).

We have a number of sources that depict various activities that would have been required in order to make a number of the animal themed artefacts presented in this chapter.

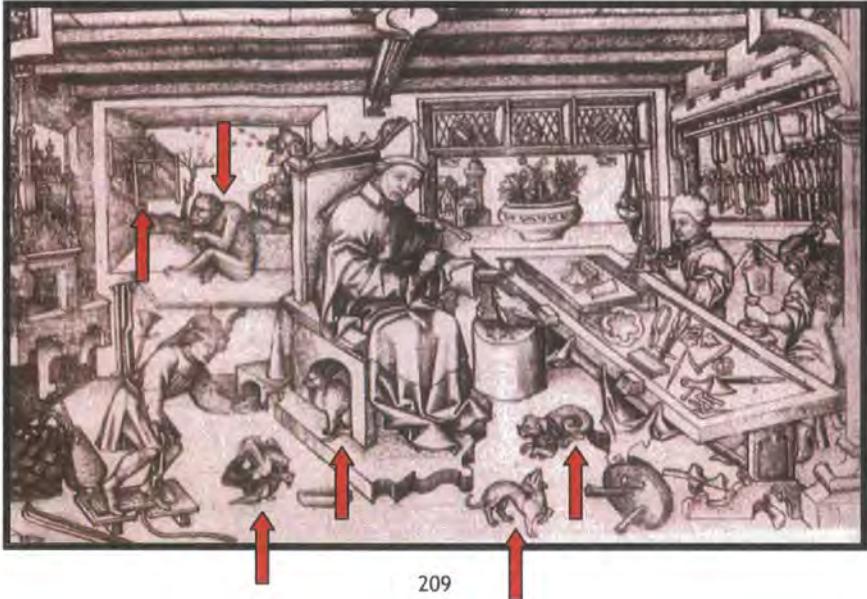
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<sup>174</sup> During this period, the country experienced two great wars (one between France and England (1337-1453) and a civil war (1455-85), and suffered a great period of pestilence (1348-49), resulting in the reduction of its own population by up to a third (Mills 2003:8).

We have comparative sources that can assist our understanding of the people at work in the form of images of activities such as mining, sorting and grading raw materials and busy in their workshops, such as the silversmiths or the 15<sup>th</sup> Century goldsmiths shown in figure 5.29 (which illustrate a number of different creatures including a monkey, cat, dogs and birds); potters of both sexes are depicted - such as the female shown in figure 5.30 (depicted with a heraldic lion shield); there are also numerous illustrations in manuscripts and paintings of craftsmen and their shops. One of our most valuable medieval literary sources for the production techniques employed in making artefacts that survive in metalwork, painting and glassmaking is a 12<sup>th</sup> Century treatise by the German monk, Theophilus (refer to Hawthorne and Smith 1979). This source is considered to demonstrate much practical experience in a variety of crafts, and was written supported by the work of classical authors such as Pliny. However, whilst we are aware of this text, it is not thought that in its time it had much of a distributed circulation especially throughout England. It is likely that much day to day knowledge was transmitted between families and frequently went unrecorded. Blair and Ramsey attest that in many cases the exact maker of the artefacts recorded is often unknown. Egan comments that of the items catalogued from the excavation at the city of London, that there is little direct evidence of any manufacturing of many of the finds recovered (1998:7), and suggests that many of the items retrieved would have been made and decorated elsewhere, and brought into London. Some of these animal artefacts would also have been imported from the continent i.e. France, Spain, Italy, and obtained from even further afield i.e. the Near East and Islamic World. This means that the animal visual culture circulating in medieval Britain was likely to be very diverse.

**Figure 5.29.**

Goldsmiths Workshop (for comparative) by the Master of Balaam, 15<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Cherry 1992:26).



**Figure 5.30.**

Female Potter Playing Card, Kunstammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (KK5105),  
15<sup>th</sup> Century (Gaimster 1997:176-177, colour plate 1).



A number of the more striking artefacts have had much time and research expended on them by museum specialists, who have in some cases discovered manuscripts which make mention of similar artefacts, enabling patronage and details of ownership to be estimated e.g. the Dunstable Swan Jewel (figure 5.31). Other artefacts were scratched, engraved, carved, branded and painted with a variety of animal signs, symbols and artistic decoration. There would have been a number of influences on the decoration chosen for artefacts. The simple marking of personal property could also have been done in places where confusion between goods might have occurred, especially in communal spaces, or in places where articles were mobile and could easily become lost and not find their way home e.g. taverns, in fact the practise of keeping a personal tankard for consumption of beer in German pubs is still alive today. In other situations it was necessary to confer quality and honesty e.g. cloth seals. Heraldic animal motifs in varying degrees of stylisation were obviously common and therefore a popular way to decorate socially viewed property, as well as to indicate identity and ownership. However it is possible that many people did not understand their specific meaning, especially if individual animals had multiple roles depending upon their context of use. People may have felt the need to do this as a matter of pride, to demonstrate wealth, and define their status amongst the community. In fact, the ownership of artefacts for their aesthetic and luxurious qualities may also have necessitated their splendourous animal decoration; and a number of artefacts are therefore likely to have been made by specialists commissioned from a variety of other countries<sup>175</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> Our antique sources are supported by modern reference works on the materials of medieval industry such as Salzman (1913); Crossley (1981); Hodges (1989); and Blair and Ramsey (1991) using historical and archaeological knowledge; and drawing upon the work of finds specialists writing up the results of excavations.

### 5.1.5 The Commissioning of Portable Material.

In the previous chapters, the thesis has discussed how the patron and/or donor had a significant role in the control and commissioning of an animal image/theme. To some extent this was even more easily facilitated by objects of lower value that could be more widely distributed or circulated. Patrons could also control the commissioning of an image for the more highly valuable pieces that would later become gifts, or family heirlooms. It may be unrealistic to make generalisations about animal visual culture in consideration of the various contexts of use and function of certain finds/artefacts across time and space; and whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the commissioning of every individual find/artefact, an example of such work is appreciated in Wagner (1959) and Cherry (1969), who investigated the provenance and patronage of the Dunstable Swan Jewel (dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> or early 15<sup>th</sup> Century) as illustrated in figure 5.31 below. The collective research of these two scholars revealed a number of relationships between the jewel and other similar pieces owned by known individuals. Cherry suggests that “the possibility that the badge was being worn as a livery remains the strongest probable explanation of its loss in Dunstable”, or that it was deposited for “safe keeping” at the Friary (1969:51). However, Cherry suggests of its patronage that “one cannot be sure whether it was made in France for an English patron or whether it was originally made for a French noble, the Duke of Berry being the most likely candidate” (1969:52). Either way, the piece found its way into an archaeological deposit in England as opposed to France.

**Figure 5.31.**

The Dunstable Swan with Crown Collar, 14/15th Century (Cherry 1992).



### **5.1.6 The Viewing of Portable Materials.**

The context of use of various types of medieval finds/artefacts has already been discussed earlier in this chapter. Some of these finds/artefacts were so striking that they would certainly have been made to be seen and displayed. Others were made in vast quantities and widely distributed to demonstrate ownership or to give thanks - such as the livery badges (refer to section 5.1.2d). One type of vessel that was made to be seen and serve a specific function was the Aquamanile (refer to section 5.1.2a). It is unlikely that few people, other than members of the church-going community would have seen cast metal aquamaniles, or would have had access to these vessels at close range.

Pottery and ceramic vessels had a much wider circulation, on account of their relative inexpense, and therefore any with animals on them are likely to have been noticed on a daily basis, with the exception of the highly decorated and imported pieces, many more of which contained creatures e.g. there are numerous floor tiles which survive as a medium in which a wider audience would have been able to come into contact with animal images in larger houses and ecclesiastical buildings (refer to Stopford 2005). Whilst these are portable, their locations would have enabled a large audience to view the animals within their glazes.

Other items would have been commissioned for individuals, which were rather more perishable in nature, such as woodcarvings, panel paintings, textiles, embroidery and tapestries. It is unlikely that those with little money had the means to commission the production of such pieces, as they would have required access to imported and expensive pigments, threads and textiles; as well as the services of skilled designers and craftsmen, which were luxury items most likely beyond the readily obtainable resources of the average medieval person.

### **5.1.7 The Location of Portable Materials.**

The data that survives is extremely biased and characterised by the places where historical and archaeological surveys and excavations have been conducted. This means data could exist in locations where investigative work has not received attention or funding – especially in consideration of the PPG16 ‘polluter pays’ principle. The artefact and site distribution patterns presented might not reflect the true or general picture of animal visual culture circulating in the past. An archaeological distribution pattern can only reveal the pattern of material from the places where work has been conducted, so we can’t assume the same pattern for the places not investigated.

Archaeological sites are also biased to where archaeological units, sponsors/funders are interested in work being carried out and those locations they are not interested in will remain under-researched. This must be taken into account when factors such as geographical representation of find/artefact survival are presented as the results otherwise can be misleading and characterise research interests. It is not the case that the UK has been systematically surveyed and that the resulting data forms hot spot patterns of areas of greater activity, thus in consideration with the inconsistencies of artefact preservation - we have a great number of complex factors to take into account when appreciating why something exists where it does, and when.

The archaeological sites chosen for analysis may be in response to threat of destruction e.g. redevelopment, and therefore have influenced the decision to work on one site as opposed to another. The type of site chosen to be investigated could also have a bearing on the number and range of finds/artefact types recovered e.g. inorganic and organic materials; in recent decades investigation has concentrated on towns as opposed to villages, farms and the centres of industry which would have generated many of the artefacts discovered (refer to figure 4.3 in Gerrard 2002:100-101).

To some extent find/artefact survival will also be related to the type of site and its location. Artistic objects can be also be re-used (refer to Starkey 1982). Many more valuable artefacts are likely to have been valued and treasured throughout their lifetime. More recent activity will have also caused damage and destruction, such as urban and rural re-developments and construction in areas of intense activity, making way for new infrastructure such as roads and new commercial or residential areas like shopping centres and towns. The laying of foundations will also affect the survival of previous structures which will be cut into or destroyed, as will aggressive excavation techniques. Therefore the methods employed on site will influence the material that can be retrieved. For example, at some of the sites in London the degree of sieving and metal detecting support by local volunteer groups (the society of Thames Mudlarks) was not consistent (Egan 1998:15), and this could affect the overall quantity of small finds and metal finds recovered.

The preservation of animal material culture will be limited by its supporting burial environment in terms of the type of deposit and its texture, the levels of acidity or alkalinity (pH level), the amount of moisture, light and degrees of temperature (which will influence bacterial function). Fluctuations in these factors can cause damage to material culture e.g. conditions like freezing and thawing, water-logging and desiccation/drying can cause further cell and structural damage, causing changes internally such as expansion or shrinkage, and externally to the surface of material culture such as corrosion and alteration (refer to Cronyn 1990).

Not all materials react in the same manner, so favourable conditions for the preservation of one type of material may not be conducive to the survival of another, and therefore have an impact on the quantity and quality of data that is retrieved from a site (assuming the most appropriate collection techniques are fully employed to retrieve all types of evidence - which is unlikely, and assuming the sites investigated are fully excavated - which again is unlikely). This also makes the identification of certain types of finds difficult during excavation e.g. glass (refer to Egan 1998:5).

The preservation condition of archaeological finds is highly influential in the survival of animal visual culture. In addition to this the portable nature of artefacts can influence their staying in the country in which they were made or in fact travelling out of the country. Certain types of artefacts have also received greater attention than others in terms of conservation, storage and collection policies (both in terms of ability to purchase and preference to obtain) - this would be at the expense of other types of artefact. Gerrard (2002), states that:

“stark choices had to be taken ‘on site’ about what and where to dig because of the resource implications for retrieval and storage. ‘Collecting policies’ usually stated that all medieval bone, pottery, slag and small finds should be retained, but bulk finds such as brick, tile and shell might be sampled” (2000:15).

The melting down of metals for re-use and the recycling of glass is a consequence of the material the artefacts were made out of. Other activities which would have affected the survival of artefacts include the Reformation when a great deal of material was ‘pilfered, damaged and mislaid’ (Gerrard 2002:6). Such brutality would remove animal visual culture from the archaeological record. In addition to this a number of artefacts will have been lost to academic research through being sold into private collections e.g. coin hoards (Gerrard 2002:45-47). Looting or theft will also have an effect on the full variety of material available to be studied from archives, through published works will record some of the fragile material which has since perished.

## **5.2 The Visual Images in Portable Material.**

There are a range of animal subjects depicted on portable visual material culture. These range from single creatures depicted alone, shown in a naturalistic setting, to representations with other animals, and people. Due to the large number of finds and artefacts this represents, additional images of the types of portable materials researched, along with the graphical results of the research analysis will be presented together within a separate but more extensive section in 5.3.

### 5.3 The Results of the Investigation.

The final section will conclude by presenting the findings of creatures identified within portable material culture. This chapter serves as a balance to previous chapters on more permanent forms of material culture that have been investigated within fixed contexts in situ (chapters 3 and 4). A wide spectrum of people would have handled and viewed portable material culture over the centuries, and so this source offers a broader range of contexts for the use and display of the animal visual culture.

As a source for animal visual culture, over **2000** artefacts containing creatures on a wide range of artefact types (aesthetically and functionally) were found within the sample of portable material. The data sample was collated from various sources. These ranged from easily accessible published materials such as exhibition and collector catalogues to non-published excavation archives and stored material that required personal visits in order to research.

All of the data collected was recorded within individual Excel spreadsheets for each catalogue consulted<sup>176</sup>. These data sets were then combined into four major sources of data to provide larger numbers in order to facilitate the investigation of the animal visual culture in portable materials<sup>177</sup>. The four sources were: (a) The Exhibition and Collectors Catalogue Database or **EACCD**; (b) The National Museum Archive Database or **NMAD**; (c) The Excavated Finds Database or **EFD**; and The Regional Archive Repository Database or **RARD**<sup>178</sup>.

The **EACCD** was the first database created to investigate artefacts published within a range of exhibition catalogues, and was accessible from the university library. The database was composed of four smaller datasets, relating to one of three major large scale chronological art and archaeological exhibitions that have occurred in the UK (1066 to 1200, 1200 to 1400 and 1400 to 1547), along with a collectors/buyers guide of material from the period 1066 and 1500 (Mills 2003)<sup>179</sup>. In total, nearly 300 artefacts were clearly identified with creatures on them from these four sources. This sample size was considered suitable enough to investigate the visual consumption of creatures as an individual data source.

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<sup>176</sup> A sample of data is presented on the CD ROM in the Appendix.

<sup>177</sup> The entries were duplicated where more than one creature was named on an individual artefact. This was done in order to count the instances of a different creatures appearing in individual artefacts.

<sup>178</sup> The abbreviations EACCD, NMAD, EFD and RARD will be used thereafter when discussing the data.

<sup>179</sup> This was produced, mainly as a guide for collectors and buyers (and therefore includes an interesting price guide). It was recommended by one of the UK's Archaeological Finds Liaison Officers.

The main advantage of using these catalogues was that since they were written for wide-ranging audiences they provided a good visual (well illustrated) reference of creature representations. Each catalogue varied in the level of detail and analysis provided with regard to particular artefacts. However, entries in each catalogue were not consistent in terms of how clear and understandable this information was to a non-specialist, and in terms of its accessibility for providing the required data to enter into the fields defined for the thesis research. Nevertheless, the catalogues demonstrated the potential range of artefacts available to be investigated for animal visual culture from this data source.

The **NMAD** was the second database that was created was to investigate artefacts with animals. It represented a large collection of over 1350 artefacts which depicted creatures or artefact that were made in creature form, and these were investigated remotely from archives kindly provided electronically by the British Museum in London. This collection was targeted in order to reveal artefacts which originated in the United Kingdom<sup>180</sup>. The main advantage of utilising this resource was that a large number of artefacts were accessible for remotely based research without any further financial constraints.

The main disadvantage of using this form of data was that there were no supporting illustrations or photographs provided electronically as part of the NMAD archive. Use of the data was also reliant upon accurate and complete museum descriptions being made by the original cataloguer. It was also clear that at times the cataloguer would abbreviate the artefact description and this masked the representation of creatures e.g. use of the term 'nativity scene' could be used to characterise a grouping which may have included creatures although these were not individually listed. Nevertheless, it was possible to arrange to view any artefacts of particular interest, but this was not practical for all the artefacts in view of the large number within the data provided and within the time and financial constraints of the research.

To supplement the above, a third data source the **EFD** was targeted to reveal archaeological finds from major excavations dating to the medieval period. It was beyond the scope of the research to consult every finds report relating to all excavated material dating from the medieval period, though a significant number of reports from a number of major archaeological sites were selected for data collection and analysis.

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<sup>180</sup> It was found to include material linked to other areas of medieval Europe and beyond, highlighting the difficulty of establishing artifact provenance.

Gerrard (2003), in his discussion of medieval archaeology from 1990 to the present, suggests of artefacts that “distinctive trends in research are hard to identify” and within medieval archaeology this is one area “where the overall sample of excavated sites remains small and a single excavation can still change long-held perceptions”. He regards the major finds reports published from earlier urban excavations amongst the “outstanding achievements of the decade”, and cites over 6000 artefacts from the excavations of Winchester, London and Norwich as the standard reference works (2003:194). With this in mind, the sites chosen for the purposes of the data collection were Winchester, London, Norwich, Exeter and Southampton. The excavated material from these five sites revealed a collection approaching 400 artefacts which depicted creatures or artefacts which were made in creature form. This sample size was considered suitable enough to investigate the visual consumption of creatures as an individual data source.

Winchester was selected as a site for data collection because it was the site of one of the large scale medieval excavations, and the resulting finds reports were easily accessible for research from the library. The volumes of excavation reports consulted were those by Biddle (1990). These were extremely well researched, and for the non-specialist the most user-friendly of all catalogues consulted for the research from any site since they were the only volumes that provided a clear and annotated breakdown of the finds data provided (illustrated below in figure 5.128). A selection of some of the excavated finds are illustrated below in figures 5.129 to 5.134.

London was selected as a site for data collection because it represents a major city that has been extensively excavated, presenting a good quantity of archaeological material. Antiquarian and archaeological investigations of the city have recorded quite a layer cake of historical and archaeological deposits several meters deep (Thomas 2002). These have been revealed following damage caused by bombs in the Second World War, but largely during the various re-development phases of the city (Thomas 2003:8-13). It is only since the early 1970's that the city has been systematically investigated by archaeologists with professional recording methods. The city of Medieval London<sup>181</sup> is thought to have had similar boundaries to its Roman predecessor with the main population inside the city walls (Thomas 2003:5). It has been estimated that by 1500, it had a population in the region of 100,000 people (Thomas 2003:27). The city was supported by outlying settlements, villages and market towns developing along the main roads out of the city. These settlements are likely to have assisted the popularisation and distribution of animal visual culture.

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<sup>181</sup> The 16<sup>th</sup> Century city of London is illustrated below in figure 5.114.

The city's major river (Thames) was almost twice as wide as it is today, since much of the river bank has been reclaimed over the years<sup>182</sup>. It was an influential factor in where people would have settled for hundreds of years. Nevertheless, the waterlogged conditions along the river waterfront and in the dumps of refuse<sup>183</sup> and mud that line the foreshore have been a fruitful source of much of the archaeological and organic material recovered, and it is here that many of the artefacts discussed in this section of the chapter were preserved and recovered.

There were over 1000 finds that were recorded within the excavated reports, detailing work conducted between 1972 and 1983. Although more finds have been recovered from around the city over the years, this section discusses only finds that have been excavated with creatures on them (about 10%). The finds represent the largest number of animal-related finds from any of the five sites consulted in this section. This in part can be attributed to the larger number of volumes systematically funded<sup>184</sup> and published on the finds from this site than was possible for the other sites. The data on the finds was therefore extracted from these published reports because they were the most easily accessible for the research being available on loan from libraries and for purchase from publishers. Due to the large number of finds from this single site, it has not been possible to illustrate each one, although a selection of all the main types of excavated finds, are presented below in figures 5.114 to 5.127.

The various publications consulted represented specifically the HMSO series<sup>185</sup> of thematic finds from the excavations in London<sup>186</sup>. Gerrard (2003:74), suggests that the finds catalogues produced for London are “arguably the greatest sustained achievement in British Medieval archaeology in the last decade”, and the “most representative of the broad range of objects and workmanship available in medieval London”, since as a location “London remained the dominant centre for excavation and waterfront investigations” (2003:185).

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<sup>182</sup> Egan suggests this might be as much as 100m of new land (1998:11).

<sup>183</sup> The waterfront would have been a principal location for discarding rubbish in the medieval period.

<sup>184</sup> The publication programme for these finds ended in 1993 (Egan 1998:2).

<sup>185</sup> There are seven main catalogues in this series which were researched for evidence of surviving finds with creature representations on them. These included those of Cowgill, De Neergaard & Griffiths (1987) for knives and scabbards (no.1); Grew & De Neergaard (1988) for leather and shoes (no.2); Egan & Prichard (1991) for dress accessories (no.3); Crowfoot, Pritchard & Staniland (1992, reprinted 2004) for textiles and clothing (no.4); Clarke (2004) for finds associated with horses (no.5); Egan (1998) for finds related to the medieval household (no.6); and Spencer (1998) for pilgrim badges and souvenirs (no.7).

<sup>186</sup> In addition, to the HMSO series are Ward-Perkins' 1940's classic catalogue for the museum of London, those of Rackham (1939); Vince (1985); Pearce (1988 and 1992); Blackmore (1994); and most recently Egan (2005) for Tudor and Stuart period finds.

Norwich was selected as a site for data collection because the location was a prominent medieval centre, and therefore expected to reveal a selection of finds with creatures represented on them. The finds report by Margeson (1993) was easily accessible for research from the university library. However, there were surprisingly few finds that were identified from Norwich. Those that were identified are largely illustrated below in figures 5.135 to 5.140.

Exeter was selected as a site for data collection because it was a site with medieval excavations, and again because the finds report was easily accessible for research from the university library. There were a variety of finds that could be revealed from the report provided by Allan (1984), and a selection of these, are illustrated below in figures 5.141 to 5.145.

Southampton was selected as a site for data collection because it was the site of large scale medieval excavation, and the resulting finds reports were easily accessible for research from libraries and publishers (refer also to Gaimster (1997) for further discussion of stonewares). The volumes provided by Platt & Coleman-Smith (1975); Andrews (1988); and Duncan Brown (2002) were consulted as a source for data collection. A selection of these finds are illustrated below in figures 5.146 to 5.148

Finally, the fourth source of data was the **RARD** and this represented material held in storage at the Northern Region of English Heritage (EH) at Helmsley in North Yorkshire. The storage facility held supporting paper and photographic archives relating to various sites and excavations<sup>187</sup>. In total, there were nearly 150 animal-related artefacts (including those accessible electronically from other EH regions). These were sourced from just under 40 different sites under EH care, including a large majority from Yorkshire, the north east and west, to other EH regions such as the south east and west, west midlands and east of England. The accuracy of the local regional data records supplied was confirmed and supplemented where possible by making a number of daily visits to the archive repository to view the finds themselves (where accessible) and to confirm the archaeological and archival material at first hand. This process was permitted without supervision, enabling the work to be completed much faster than being offered a restricted or limited supervised appointment.

As was done with the material from the stained and painted glass and the misericords databases, a summary of findings is presented in one of three sections: **5.3.1** (species), **5.3.2** (chronology) and **5.3.3** (artefacts), and further integrated within the summary overview in chapter 8. This is followed by the graphical representation of the findings. There is one chart or graph for each type of creature (land, air, sea, and mind) within each of the four sources of data (these being the EACCD, the NMAD, the EFD, and the RARD).

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<sup>187</sup> These were kindly made available by appointment with the EH regional assistant curator at the time, Susan Harrison.

### 5.3.1 Species.

The range of species depicted from the material available included a variety of real and imagined creatures from land animals to birds, sea and mind creatures. There were also a number of finds/artefacts that were not recorded to a specific species beyond a title such as beast, bird, fish, and grotesque monster. The results for the range of the species identified within the four sources of portable material are represented by a variety of pie, column and bar charts for greater clarity: (a) The EACCD in figures 5.32 to 5.36, (b) The NMAD in figures 5.37 to 5.41, (c) The EFD in figures 5.42 to 5.46, and (d) The RARD in figures 5.47 to 5.51.

The most frequently represented creature type that was catalogued in the EACCD, NMAD and EFD were the land animals (figures 5.32, 5.37, and 5.42). This accounted for between a half and three quarters of the total sample from each data source (68%, 81% and 57% respectively). Only one of these sources revealed a fractionally higher result for air creatures at 44% (the RARD) compared with the 43% proportion of the sample made up by land animals. The least well represented creature type identified within each of the EACCD, NMAD, EFD and RARD were the sea creatures (figures 5.32, 5.37, 5.42 and 5.47) representing 1%, 3%, 6% and 3% of the total data sample size. The most and least frequently represented creature types in the portable material are consistent with the results of the same revealed from the stained and painted glass (chapter 3) and misericords (chapter 4).

The lion was one of the most commonly represented land creatures in the EACCD, NMAD and EFD making up about a proportional third of each of these data sources (33%, 32% and 31% respectively). The horse was another frequently represented creature in the same data sources (26%, 12% and 36% respectively)<sup>188</sup>. However, in the RARD, the lion and the horse made up a comparatively poor proportion of the sample of land creatures represented (only 5% and 2% respectively), and the dog was most prominent creature (13%). Nevertheless, the RARD revealed the largest number of unidentified land creature depictions within it (59%). Unfortunately, a large proportion of the surviving material in the RARD was observed to be in a highly fragmentary condition, and this may be one reason why creature identifications could not objectively be made by the cataloguer. Nevertheless, if a large number of creatures are not attributed to species, this distorts and undermines the value of an objective species analysis being made for a particular data source.

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<sup>188</sup> The reasons why the lion and the horse may have been popular creatures to be represented are explored in the thematic creature case studies in chapter 7.

The eagle was one of the most common air creatures represented in the EACCD, NMAD and RARD (accounting for 14%, 39% and 11% of each sample respectively). In contrast, the eagle (collectively) only accounted for 5% of birds represented in the EFD, in which the peacock and cock were the most frequently, identified birds. However the EFD also had the largest number of unidentified air creature depictions (62%). It is not known why this was so, possibly due to the condition of the material. Nevertheless, as a consequence, the EFD *may* offer a distorted representation of the identified air creatures, in the same way the RARD *may* for land creature identifications.

The dolphin was the most popular sea creature to be found in the EACCD, NMAD and RARD (comprising 34%, 59% and 20% of the sample respectively)<sup>189</sup>. In the EFD the scallop was the most frequently identified sea creature (50%), followed by the dolphin (13%). However, the RARD had the largest number of unidentified land sea creature depictions (80%) which *may* offer a distorted representation of identified creatures. Further, there are only very small numbers of sea creatures that are recorded and in this respect the species proportions may change significantly if some of the unidentified creatures were re-analysed and in fact were able to be identified.

The most popular mind creature to be found within the four data sources (the EACCD, NMAD, EFD and RARD) was the dragon, comprising at least a quarter to three quarters of the sample (52%, 25%, 50% and 86% respectively). Another creature that appeared in every data sample was the griffin (18%, 7%, 18% and 7% respectively). The widest range of mind creatures were found within the largest data sample (the NMAD) and most limited range within the smallest sample (the RARD) range. However, upto a third of mind creatures were unidentified which could distort the findings.

However it is not known how the creature identifications in the EACCD, NMAD and RARD have been made by the analysts who prepared the catalogues and archives consulted for this research. This is because no statement could be found as to what diagnostic criteria were used to make the creature identifications. If an assessment of animal bones and teeth was being made, there are various methods that can be used to identify one species from another. It seems that the identification of creatures in visual material has suffered a rather more subjective analysis, and it is held that this can lead to both inconsistency and error in the recording process. The only objective method to ensure consistency would be to attempt a re-investigation and systematic re-cataloguing of both identified and unidentified material using a scheme of diagnostic criteria (as a zooarchaeologist may use) to assess creature identifications. If this was done, it is likely that the current proportional representation of species may change.

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<sup>189</sup> Refer to chapter 7 for further analysis of the use of various creatures within the thematic case studies.

It is not known what degree of assumption has been employed in the making of identifications of creatures in the past. In a similar way, chronological identifications have been made of creatures based on stylistic criteria of the depiction - a method that archaeologists used to more scientific dating methods may find unpalatable.

### 5.3.2 Chronology.

The depiction of species across time included a range of animal visual culture attributed to dates between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century. This includes items attributed to a particular date by the original cataloguer (most notable in the EACCD and NMAD), and material not attributed to a particular date beyond belonging to the medieval period<sup>190</sup> (most prevalent in the EFD, but particularly in the RARD)<sup>191</sup> where the majority of the material was not attributed to a specific date.

The results of the animals identified chronologically are represented by a variety of column graphs: (a) The EACCD in figures 5.52 to 5.55, (b) The NMAD in figures 5.56 to 5.59, (c) The EFD in figures 5.60 to 5.63, and (d) The RARD in figures 5.64 to 5.67. Unlike the stained and painted glass and misericords, the portable material did not offer a clear chronological pattern that matched between each source<sup>192</sup>.

The EACCD revealed that the largest proportion of its material dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> Century for land and air creatures, the 16<sup>th</sup> Century for sea creatures and to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Century for mind creatures. The NMAD represented the largest sample size. Most of the artefacts were concentrated between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century, though it contained more material dating to the late medieval period, in particular the 16<sup>th</sup> Century (relative to the other sources of data). The EFD revealed that the largest proportion of its material in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century for land and air creatures, and 15<sup>th</sup> Century for the smaller quantity of sea and mind creatures.

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<sup>190</sup> This material includes material regarded as medieval but not attributed with a calendar date or a century date. This is graphically represented under the heading of "No Date".

<sup>191</sup> The proportion of material that was attributed with a date was smaller than that without a date, and generally the material dated was rather limited in resolution beyond a description of date such as Medieval.

<sup>192</sup> A synthesis of all chronological data from each source of animal visual culture is provided in chapter 8. This reveals a stronger patterning.

### 5.3.3 Artefact Types.

The results for the type of artefact upon which animals were identified within the portable material are represented by a series of bar graphs ordered by each species type below: (a) The EACCD in figures 5.68 to 5.71, (b) The NMAD in figures 5.72 to 5.75, (c) The EFD in figures 5.76 to 5.79, and (d) The RARD in figures 5.80 to 5.83.

The greatest diversity of artefact types was found within the EACCD and the EFD, but not in the NMAD which was by far the largest data source of all four. The limited range of artefact types within the NMAD may be attributed to a possible bias in the material that may have been targeted for acquisition, compared with the EFD which reveals material which was systematically recovered. There appeared to be a different character in terms of the nature of artefacts being represented from a particular source. Amongst the various artefact represented, there were a large quantity of manuscripts, metalwork and seals represented from the EACCD; and very large numbers of seals, metalwork, jewelry and pottery, tile and ceramic represented in the NMAD. These items tend to have distinctive aesthetic qualities (e.g. colour, pattern, and shape) and so lend themselves to more public contexts of viewing and display.

The types of materials that were recovered from the EFD (figures 5.76 to 5.79) were varied including a very large proportion of badges, pottery, tile and ceramic, leatherwork, metalwork, brooches, and spurs – amongst various items associated with the horse. As discussed earlier in this chapter the large number of badges that were revealed demonstrates the wide circulation of such items which would have been used in various social contexts in particular livery.

The RARD (figures 5.80 to 5.83) offered finds recovered from the greatest diversity of site type. The biggest group being abbeys and priories, followed by artefacts found in or around castles, and the remaining finds were recovered from other types of site (e.g. towers, barns, parks and villas). There was a clear bias in the type of material that was held in the sample, which was predominantly stone work (STONE) with small quantities of other materials. Unfortunately because this material was so highly fragmented, it could not be appreciated how difficult it was for the archivist to identify what creature the depicted parts came from e.g. part of an eye, a claw, a toe, a tail, a beak, part of a wing or feathers. Further, the precise type of object or architectural feature it related to was also not always clear as the fragments represented ranged from bits of corbel, cornice, capital, sculptural relief, tracery, window came and glass, roof slates, rafters, ceramic floor tiles, sarcophagi, finger seals, cloth seals, badges, coins, buttons, stylus, metal plates and taps.

Figure 5.32.

Creatures in the Exhibition And Collectors Catalogue Databse (EACCD).  
n=293

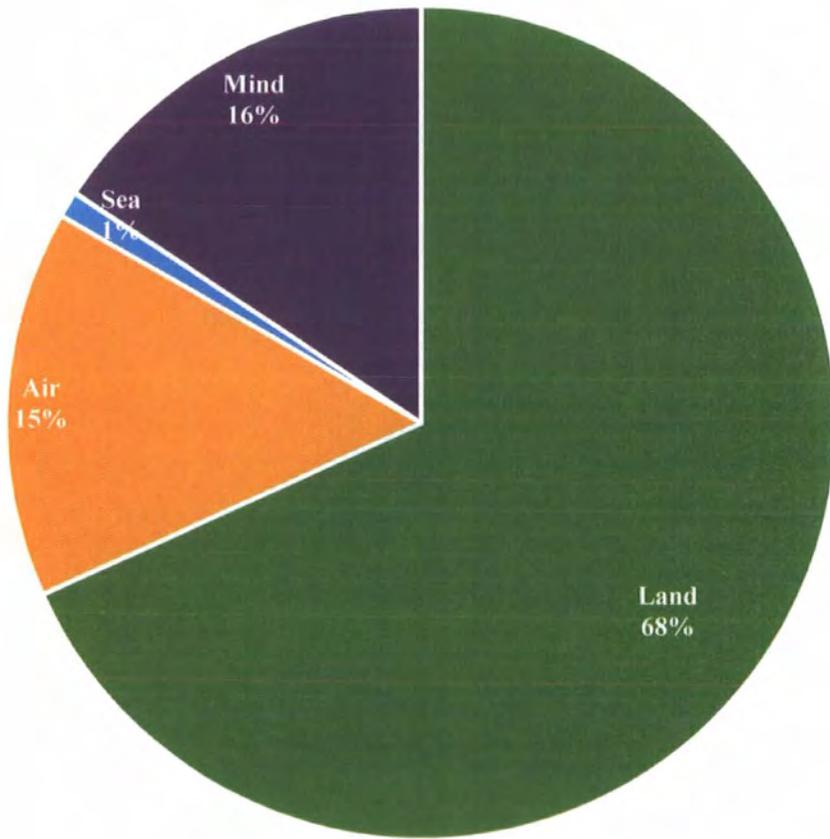


Figure 5.33.

**Land Creatures in the EACCD.**  
n=200

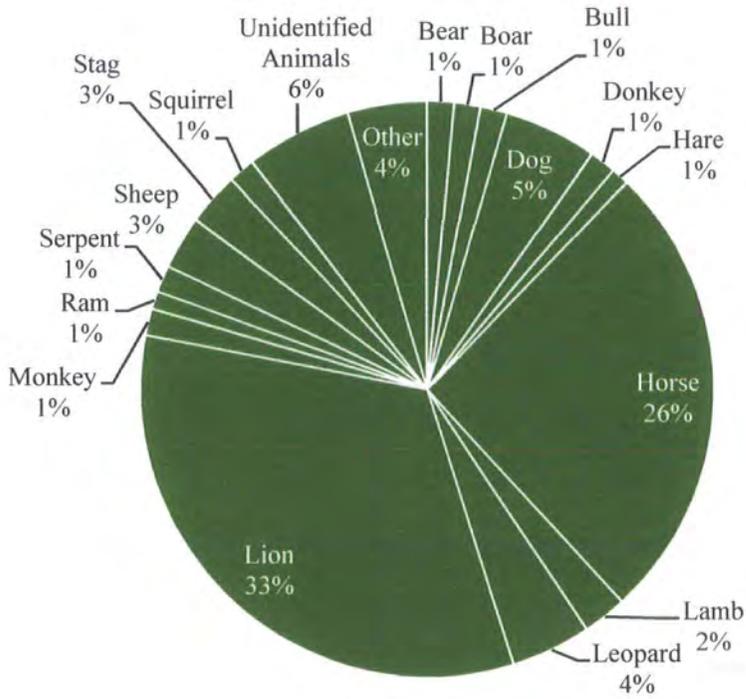
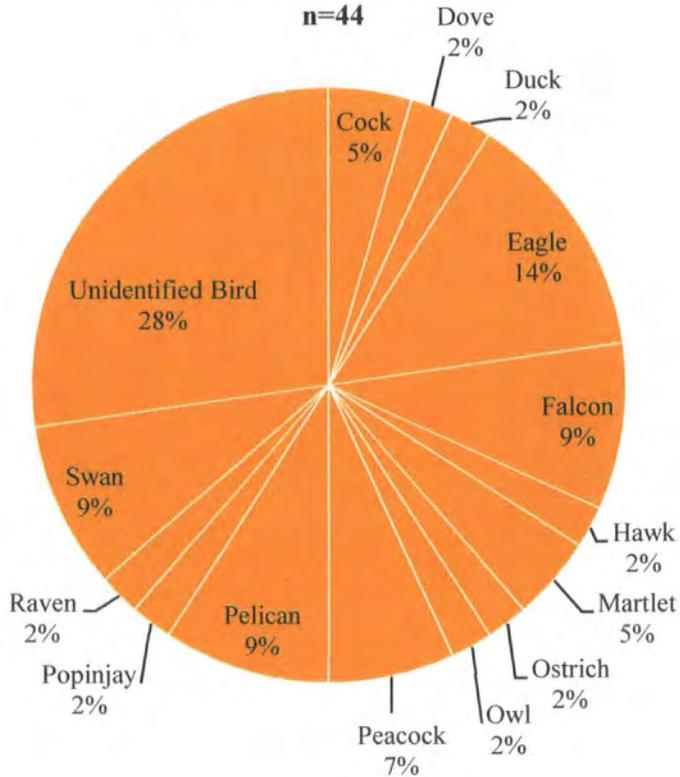


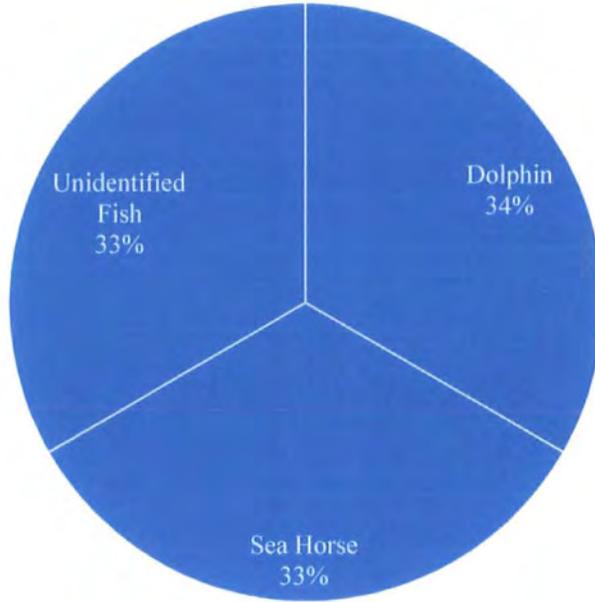
Figure 5.34.

**Air Creatures in the EACCD.**  
n=44



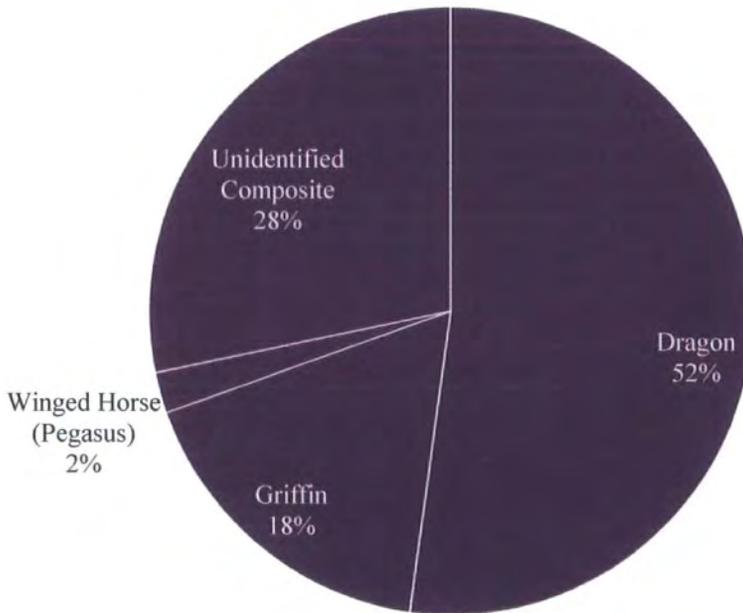
**Figure 5.35.**

**Sea Creatures in the EACCD.  
n=3**



**Figure 5.36.**

**Mind Creatures in EACCD.  
n=46**



**Figure 5.37.**

**Creatures in the National Museum Archive Database (NMAD).  
n=1359**

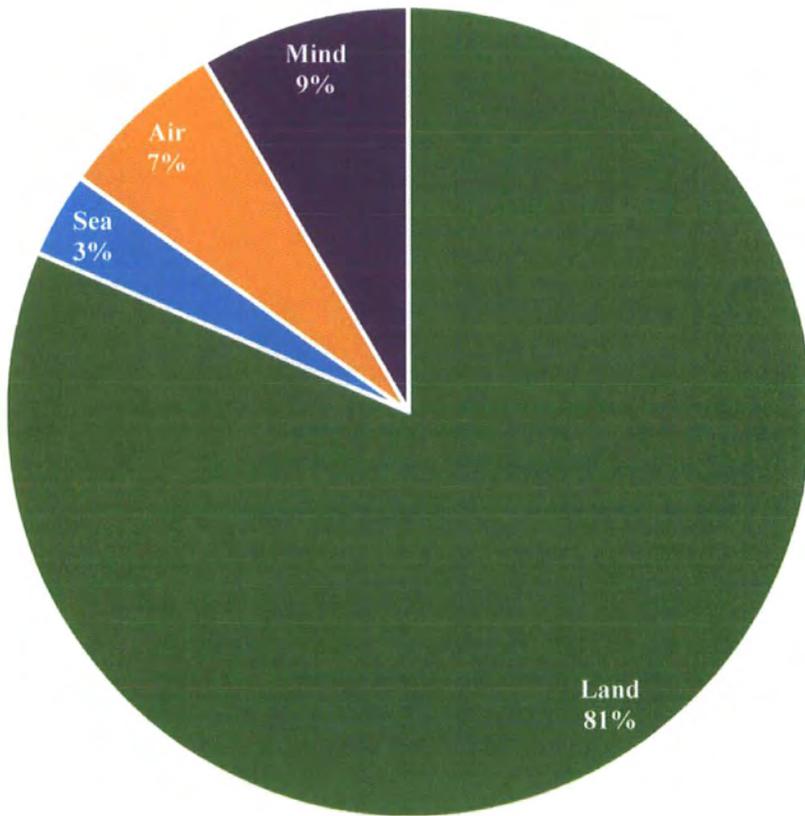


Figure 5.38.

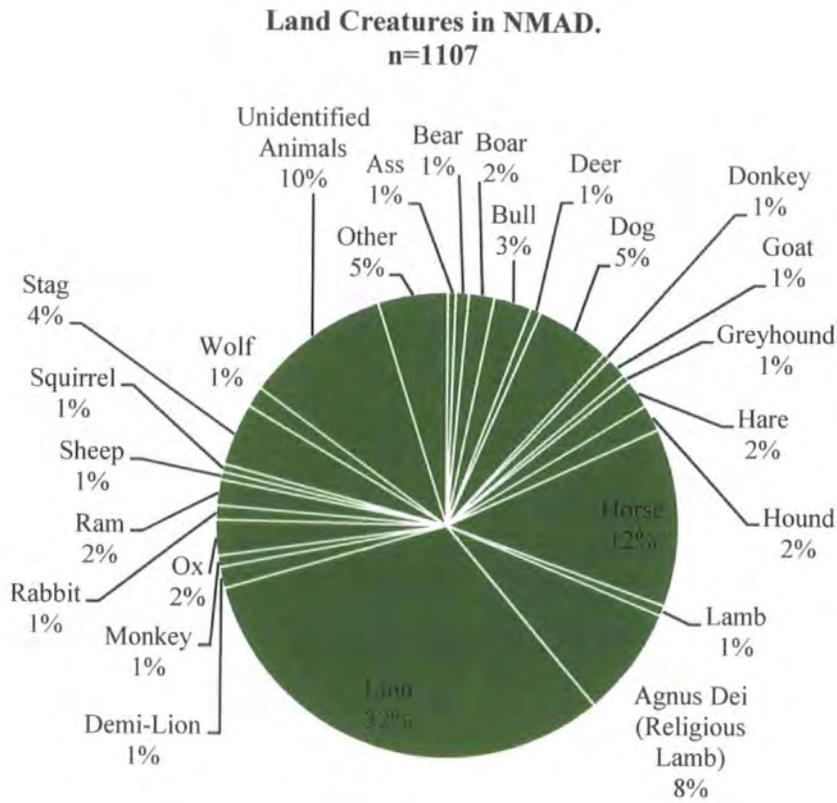


Figure 5.39.

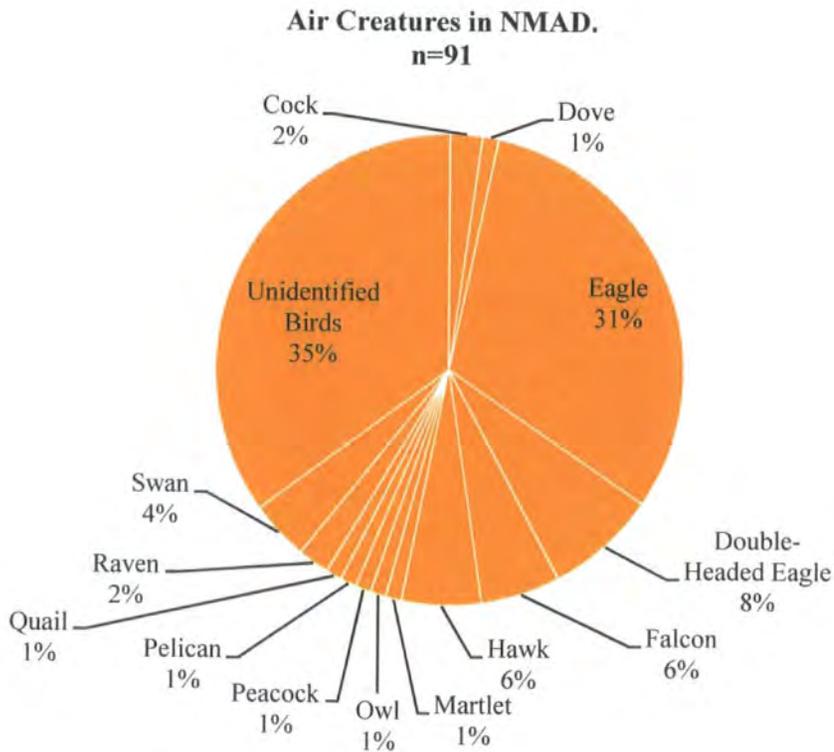


Figure 5.40.

Sea Creatures in NMAD.  
n=46

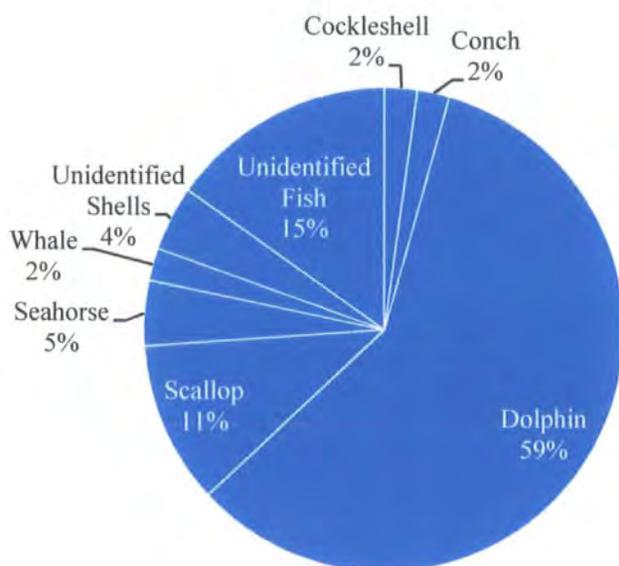


Figure 5.41.

Mind Creatures in NMAD.  
n=115

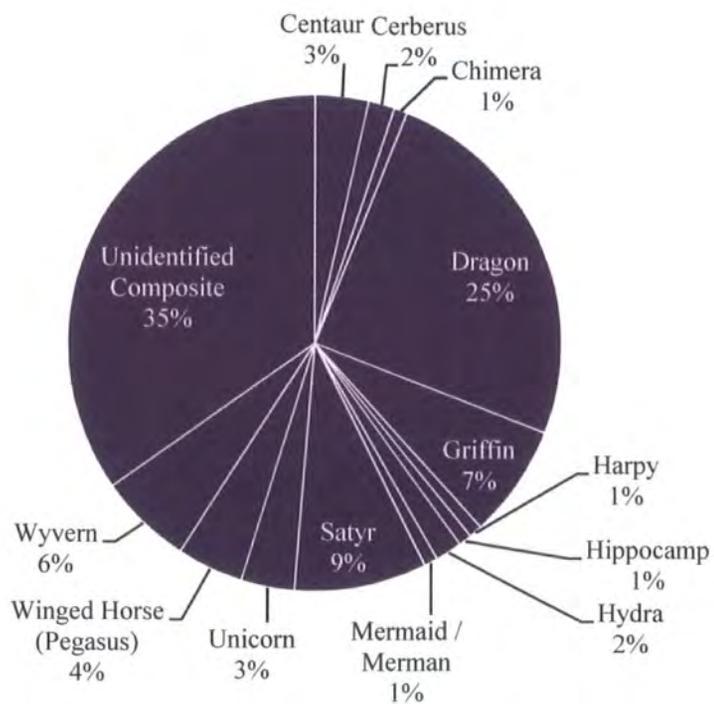


Figure 5.42.

Creatures in the Excavated Finds Database (EFD).  
n=384

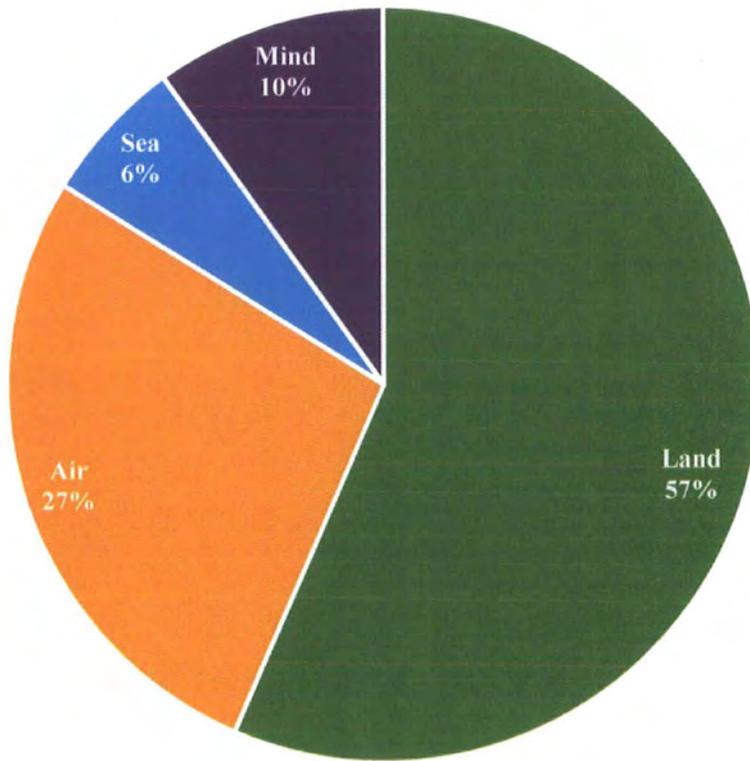


Figure 5.43.

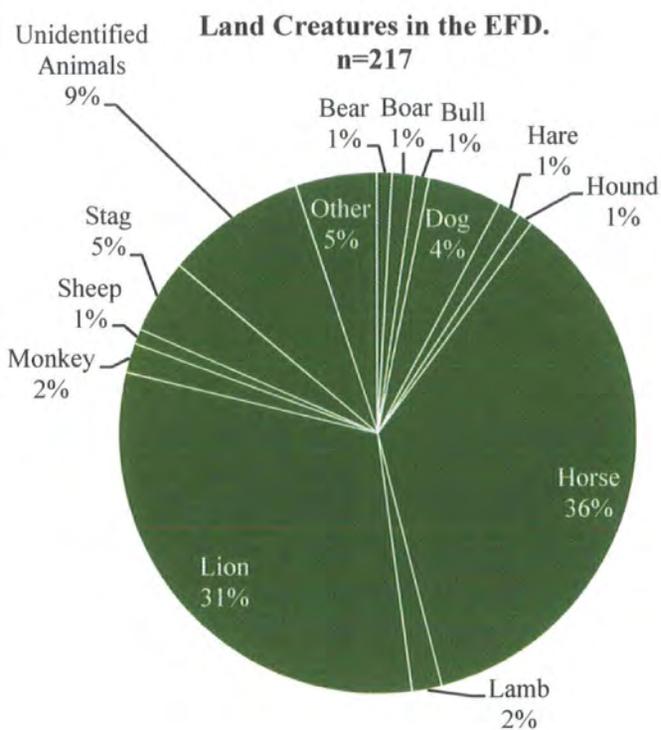
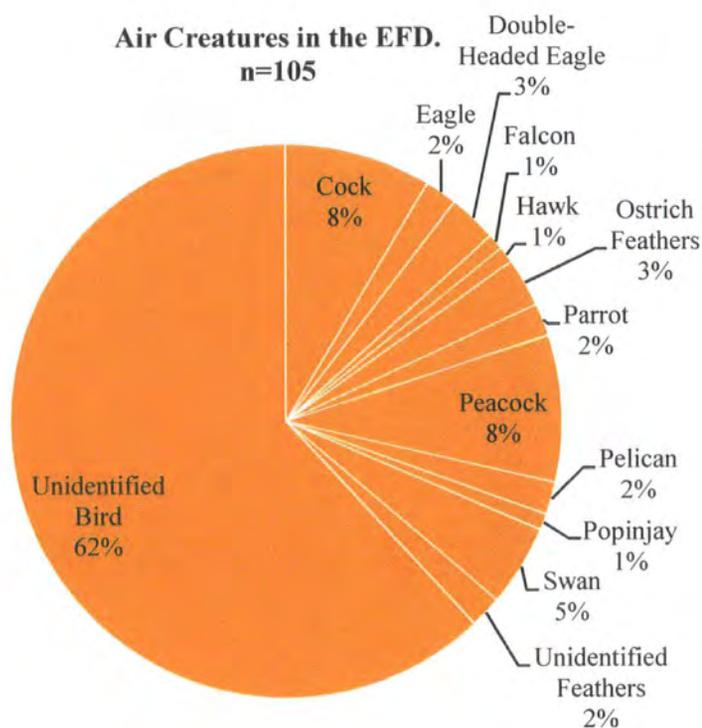
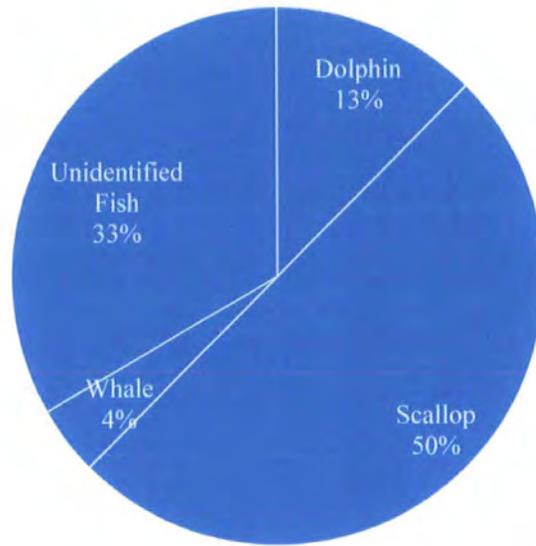


Figure 5.44.



**Figure 5.45.**

**Sea Creatures in the EFD.  
n=24**



**Figure 5.46.**

**Mind Creatures in the EFD.  
n=38**

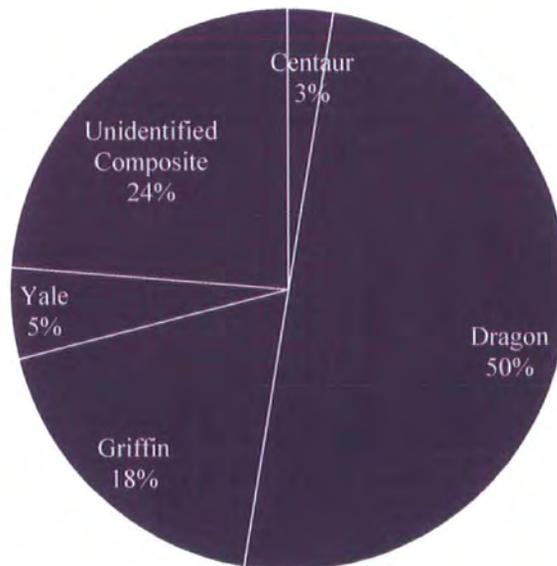


Figure 5.47.

**Creatures in the  
Regional Archive Repository Database (RAD).  
n=143**

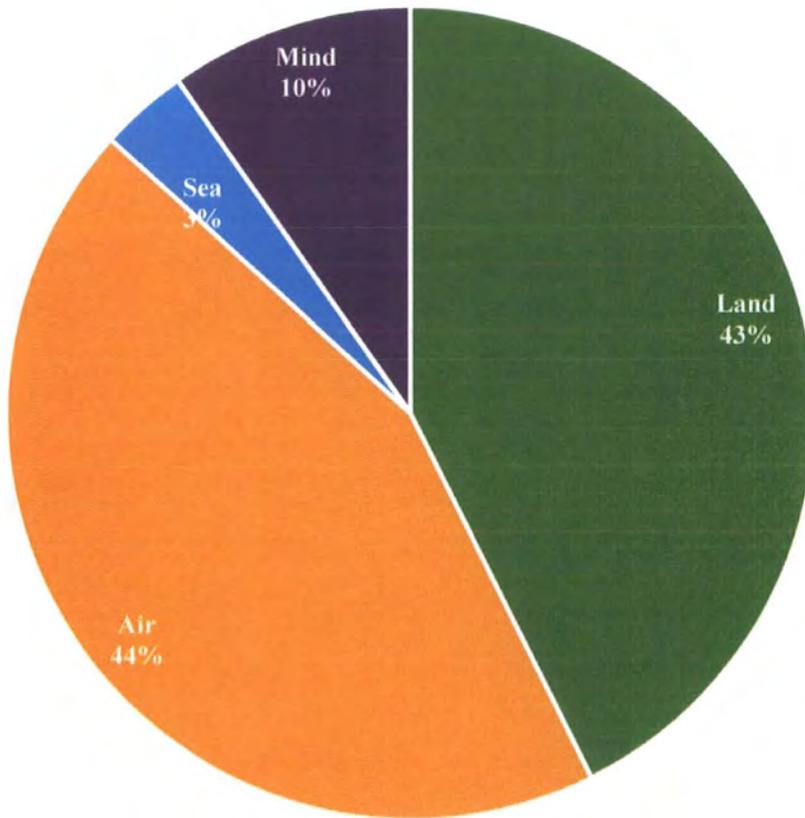


Figure 5.48.

**Land Creatures in the RARD.**  
n=61

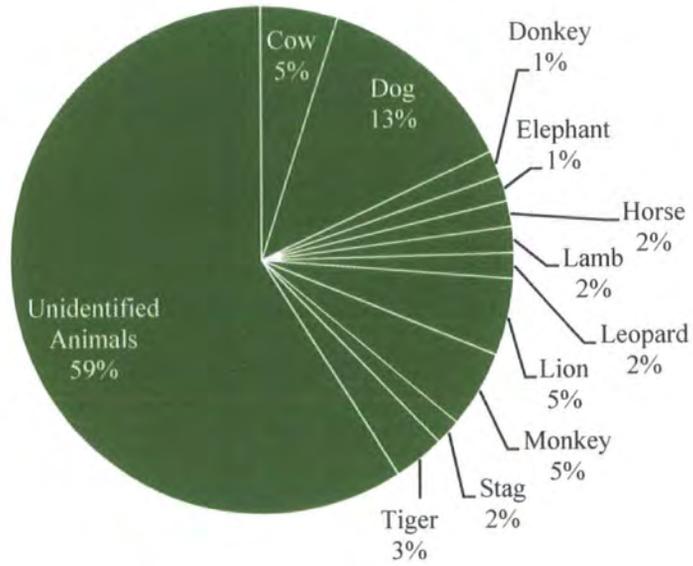
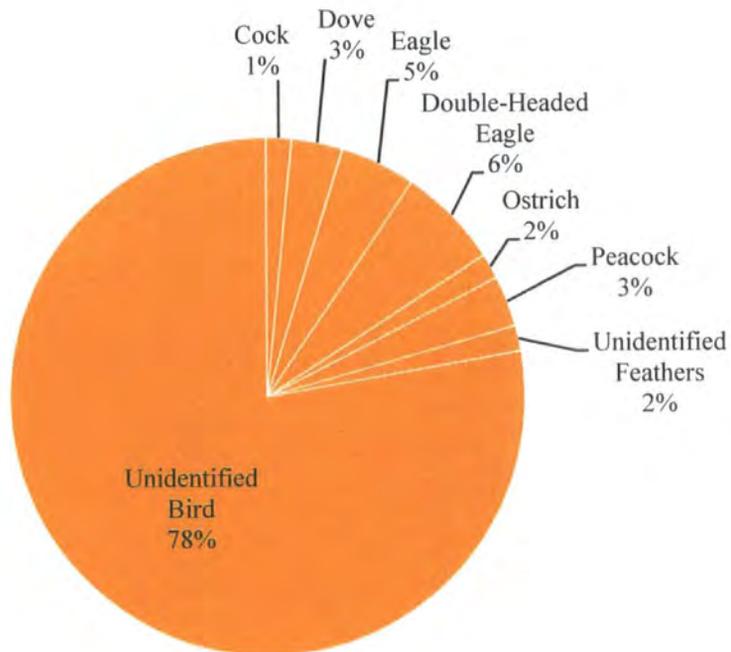


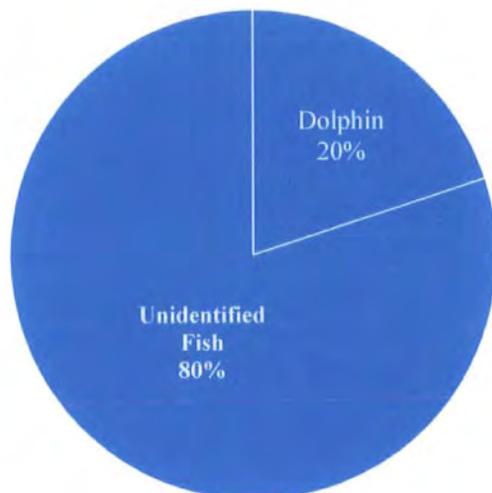
Figure 5.49.

**Air Creatures in the RARD.**  
n=63



**Figure 5.50.**

**Sea Creatures in the RARD.  
n=5**



**Figure 5.51.**

**Mind Creatures in the RARD.  
n=14**

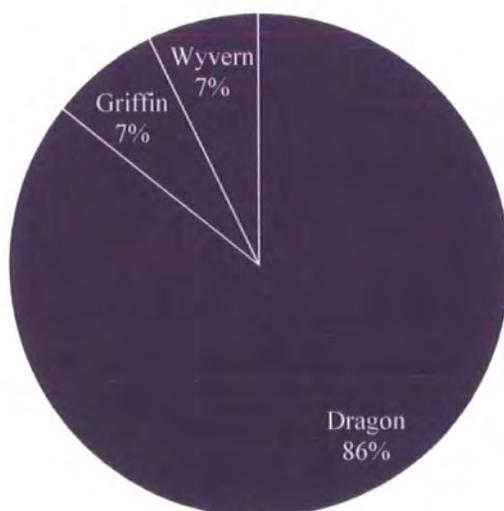


Figure 5.52.

Land Creatures in the EACCD.  
n=200

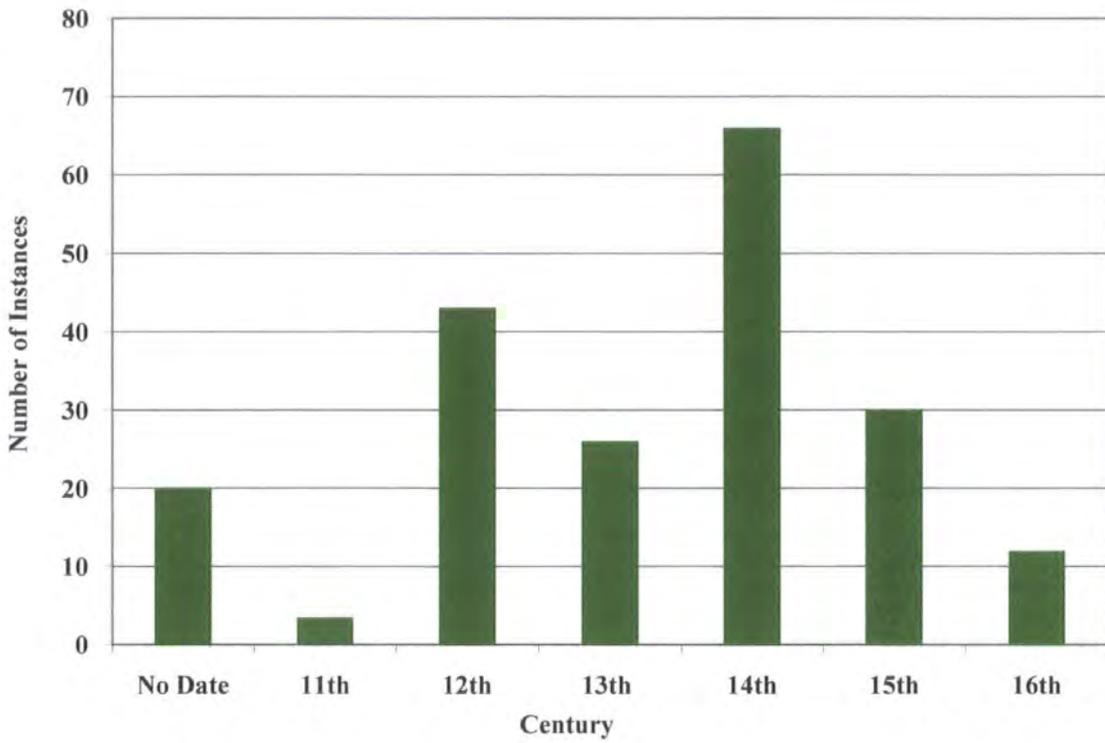


Figure 5.53.

Air Creatures in the EACCD.  
n=44

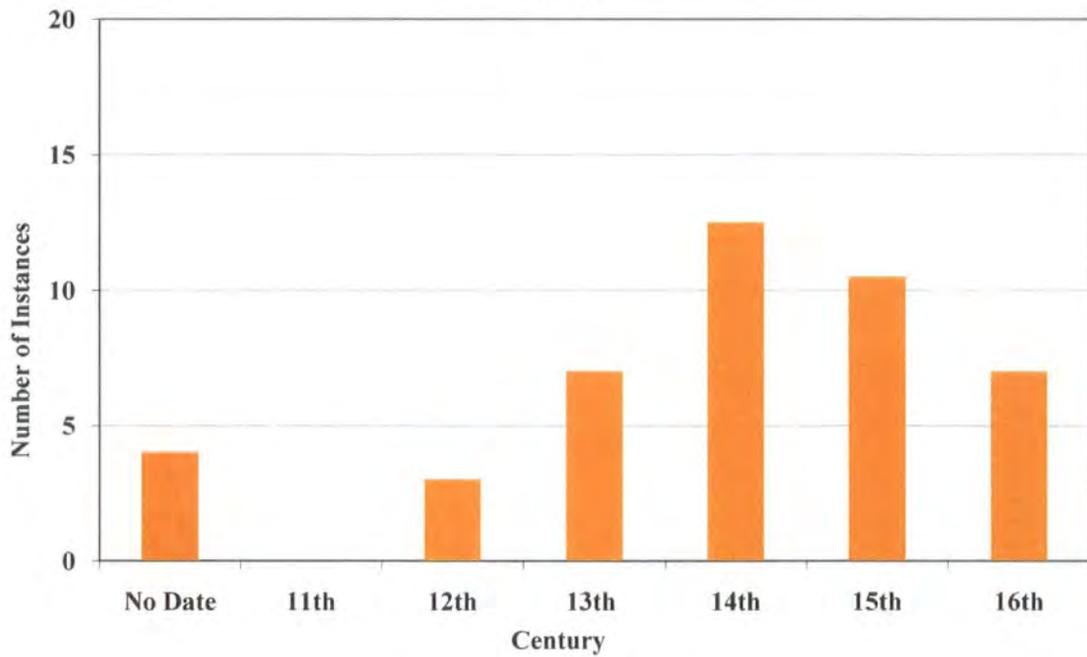


Figure 5.54.

Sea Creatures in the EACCD.  
n=3

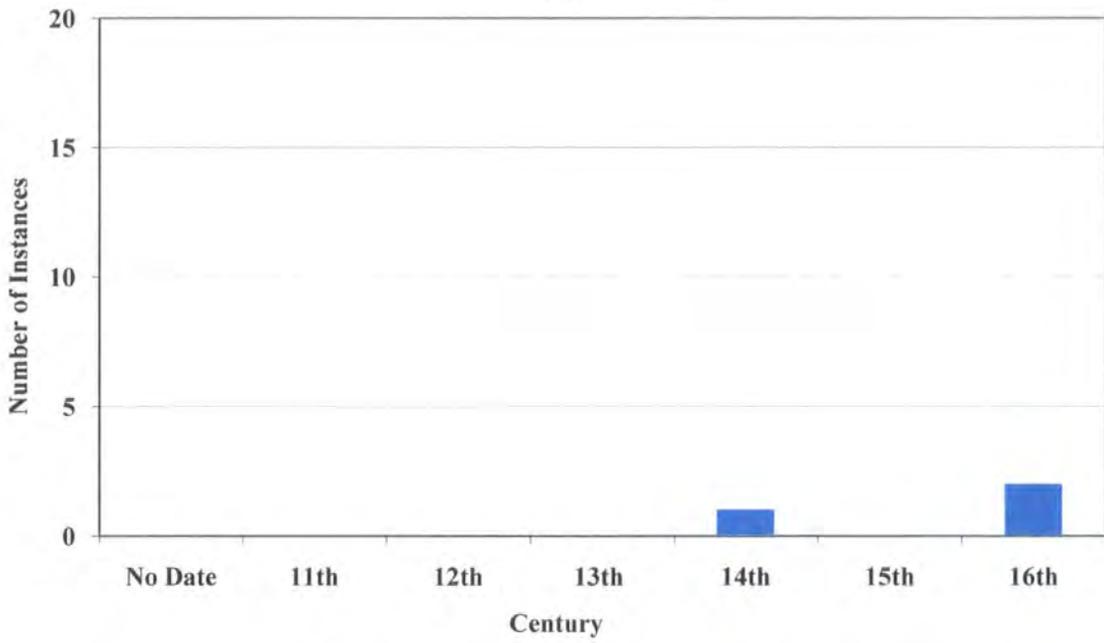


Figure 5.55.

Mind Creatures in the EACCD.  
n=46

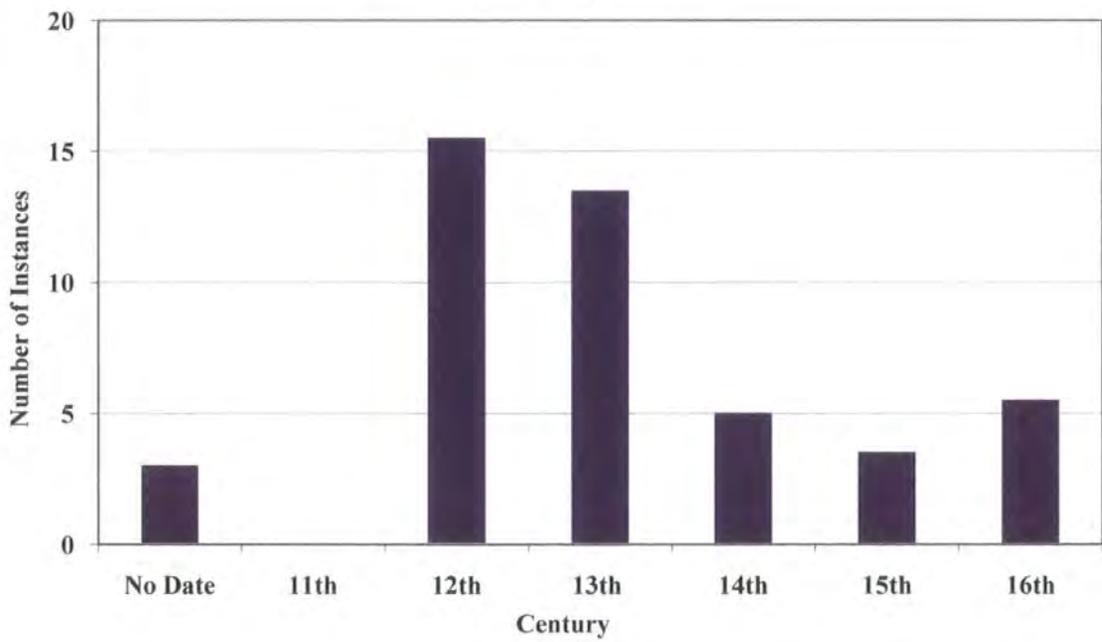


Figure 5.56.

Land Creatures in the NMAD.  
n=1107.

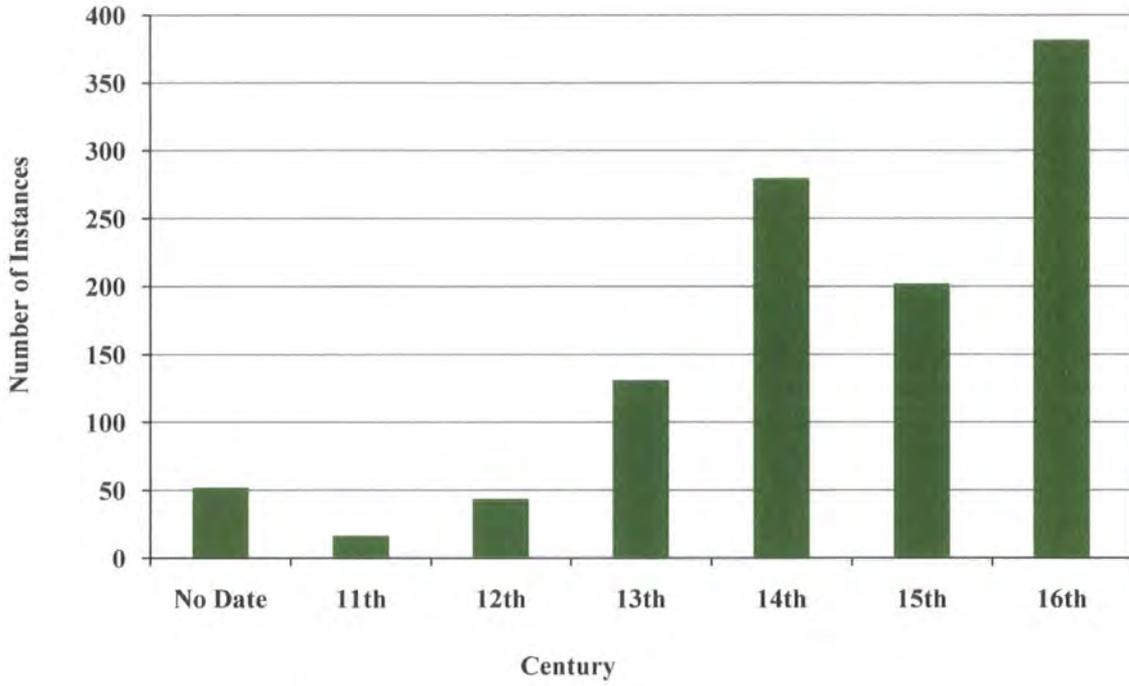


Figure 5.57.

Air Creatures in the NMAD.  
n=91.

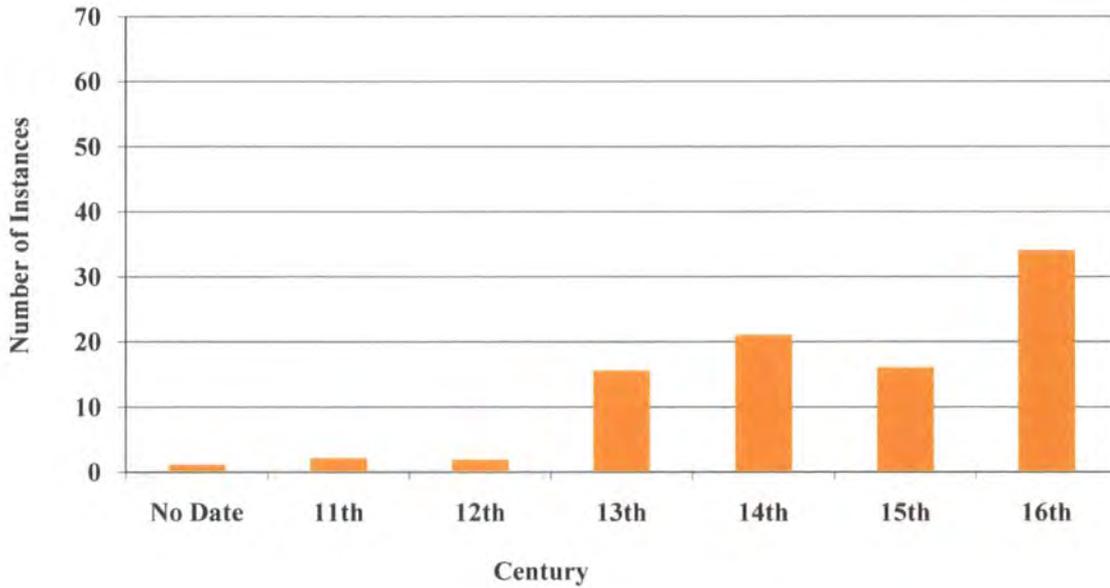


Figure 5.58.

Sea Creatures in the NMAD.  
n=46

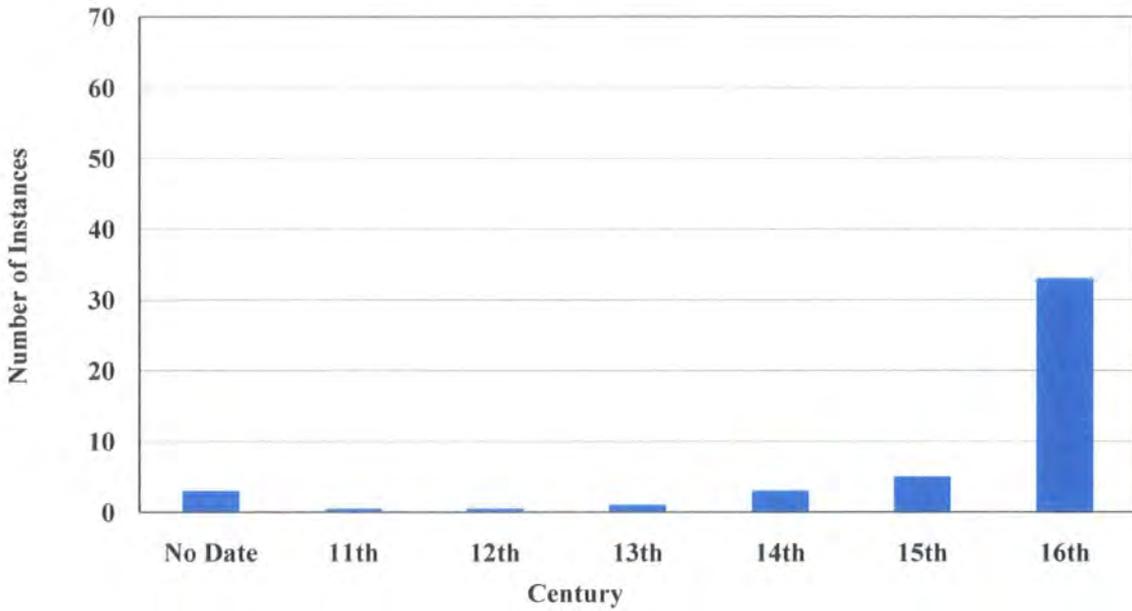


Figure 5.59.

Sea Creatures in the NMAD.  
n=115

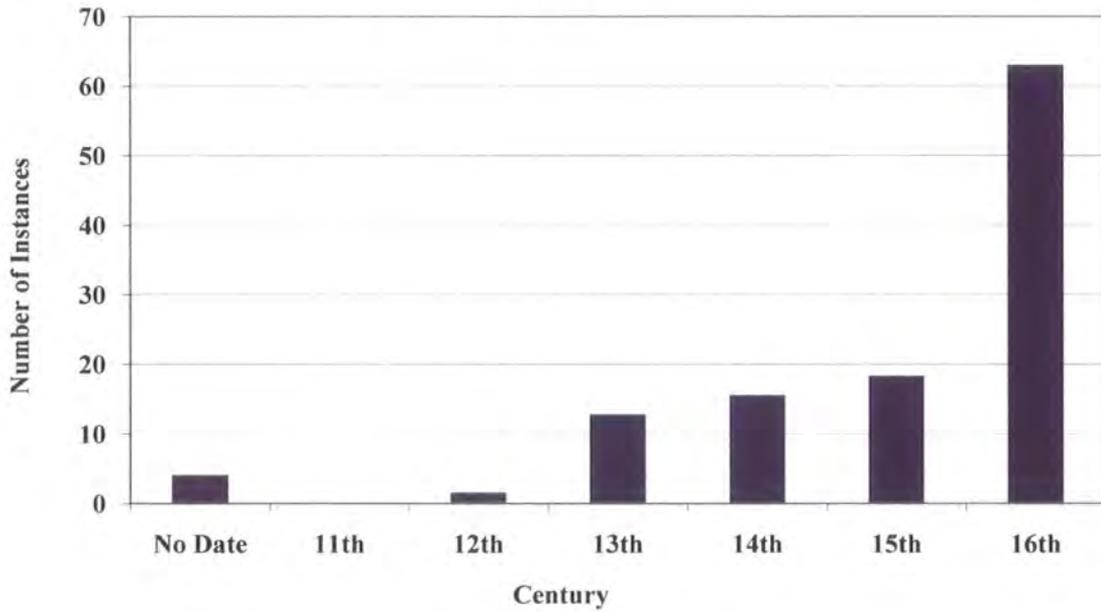


Figure 5.60.

Land Creatures in the EFD.  
n=217

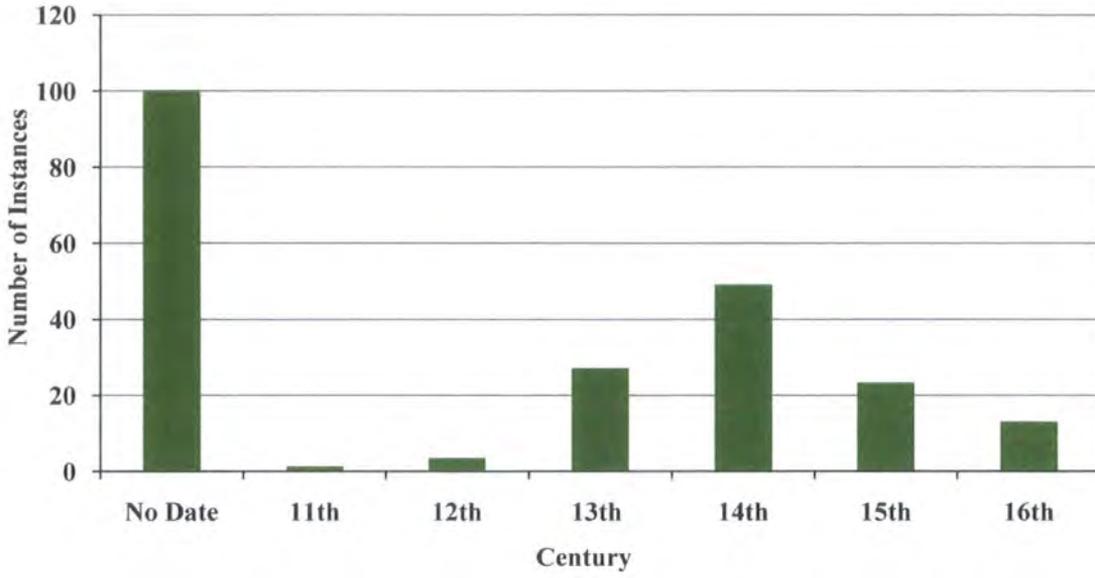


Figure 5.61.

Air Creatures in the EFD.  
n=105

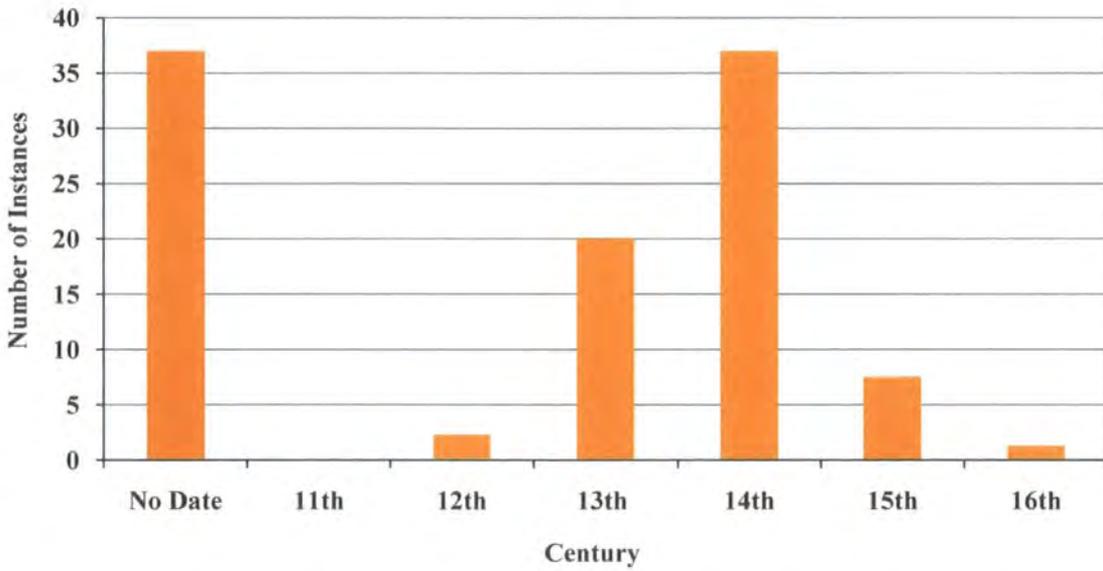


Figure 5.62.

Sea Creatures in the EFD.  
n=24

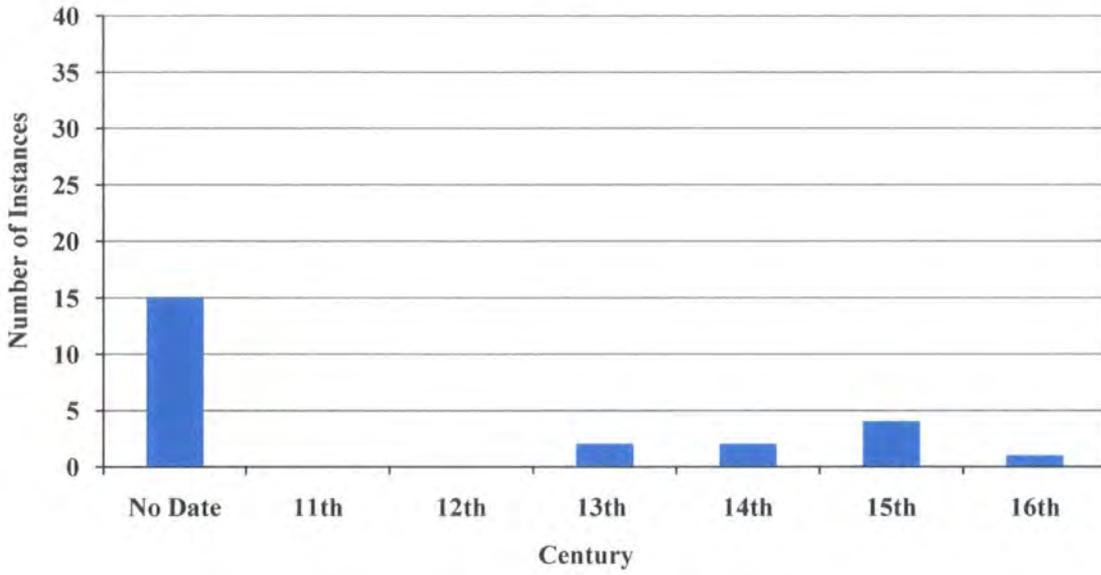


Figure 5.63.

Mind Creatures in the EFD.  
n=38

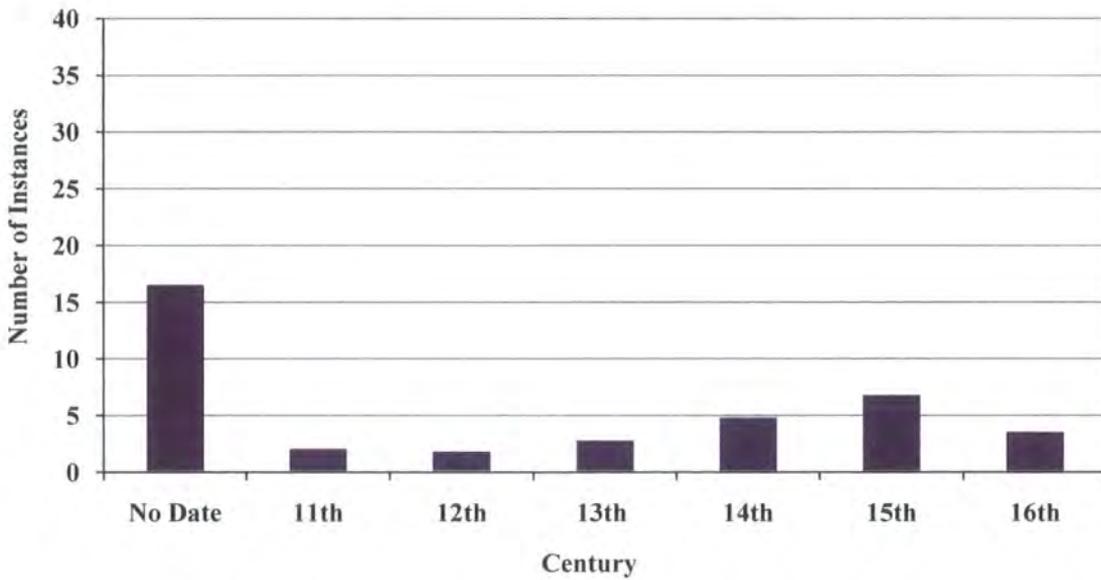


Figure 5.64.

Land Creatures in the RARD.  
n=61

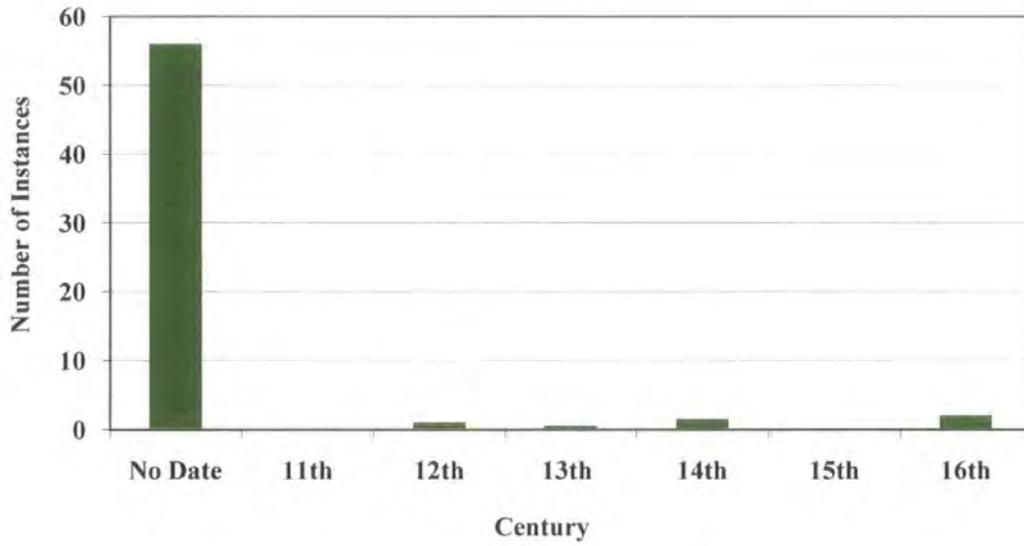


Figure 5.65.

Air Creatures in the RARD.  
n=63

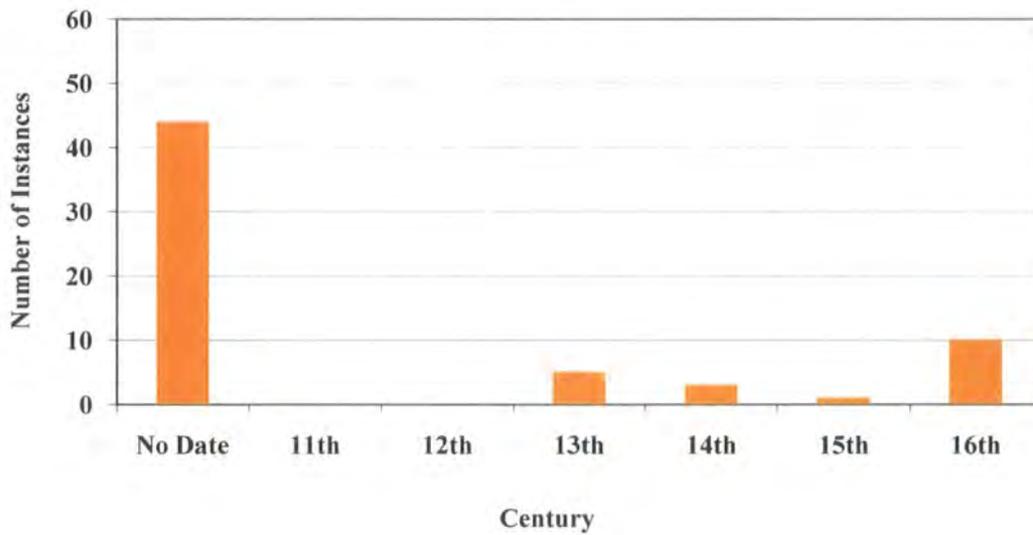


Figure 5.66.

Sea Creatures in the RARD.  
n=5

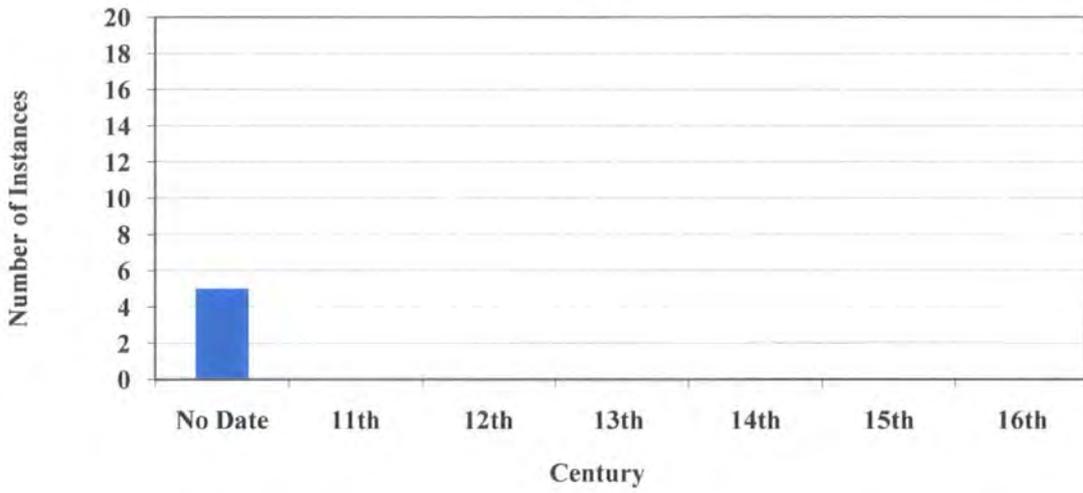


Figure 5.67.

Mind Creatures in the RARD.  
n=14

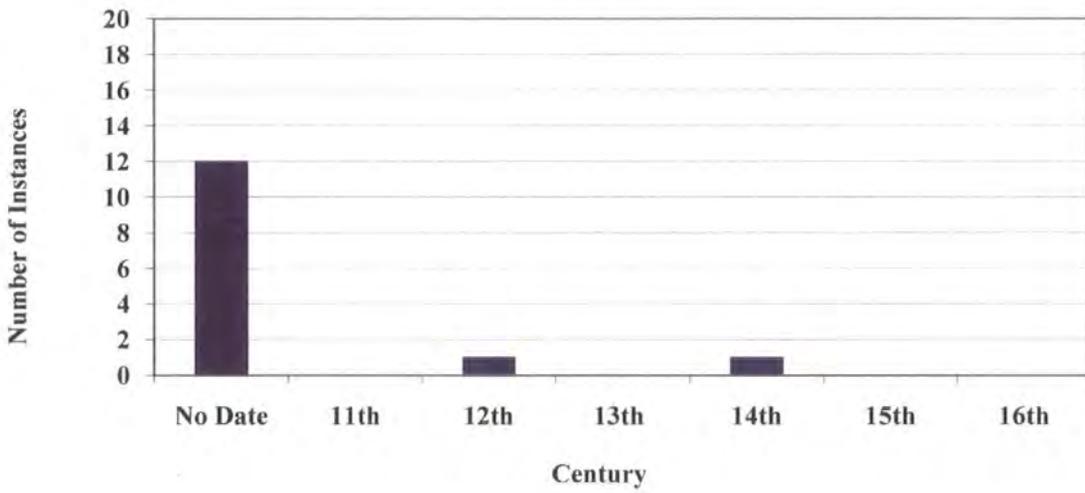


Figure 5.68.

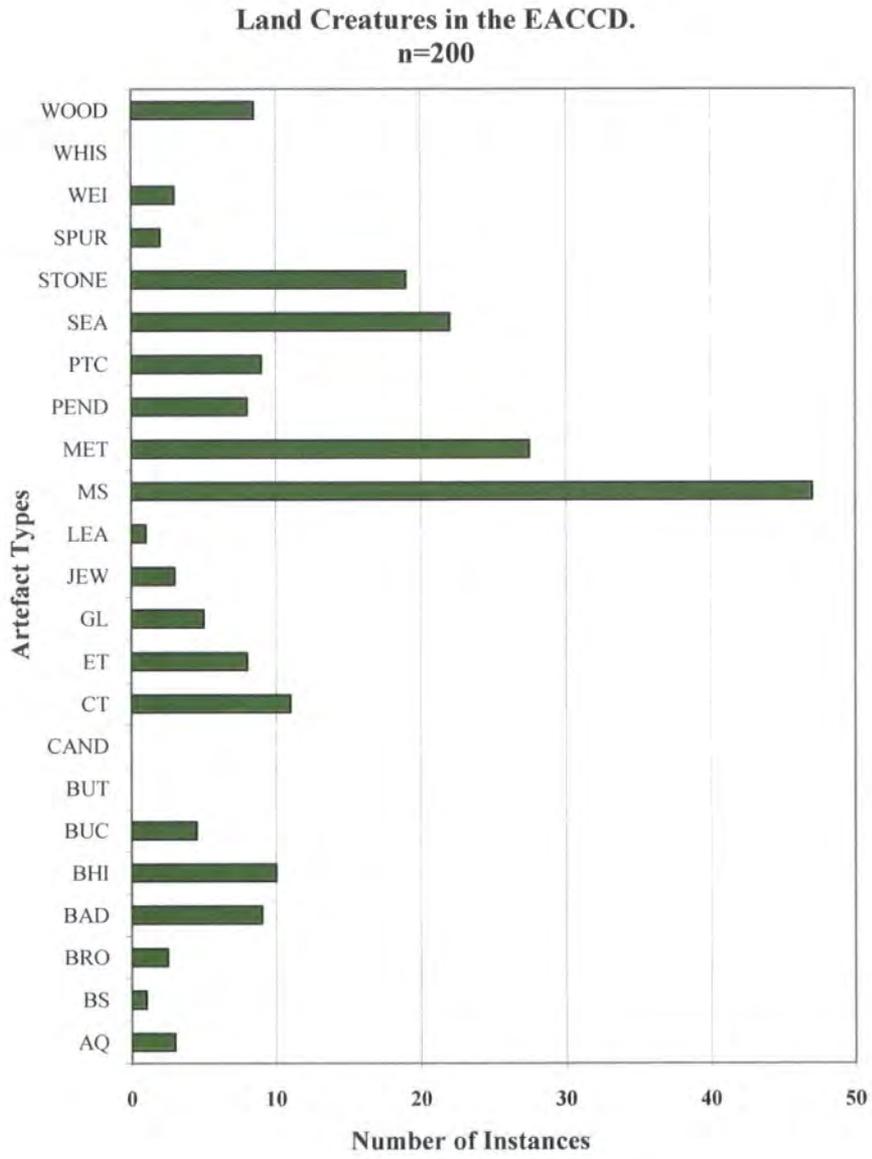


Figure 5.69.

Air Creatures in the EACCD.  
n=44

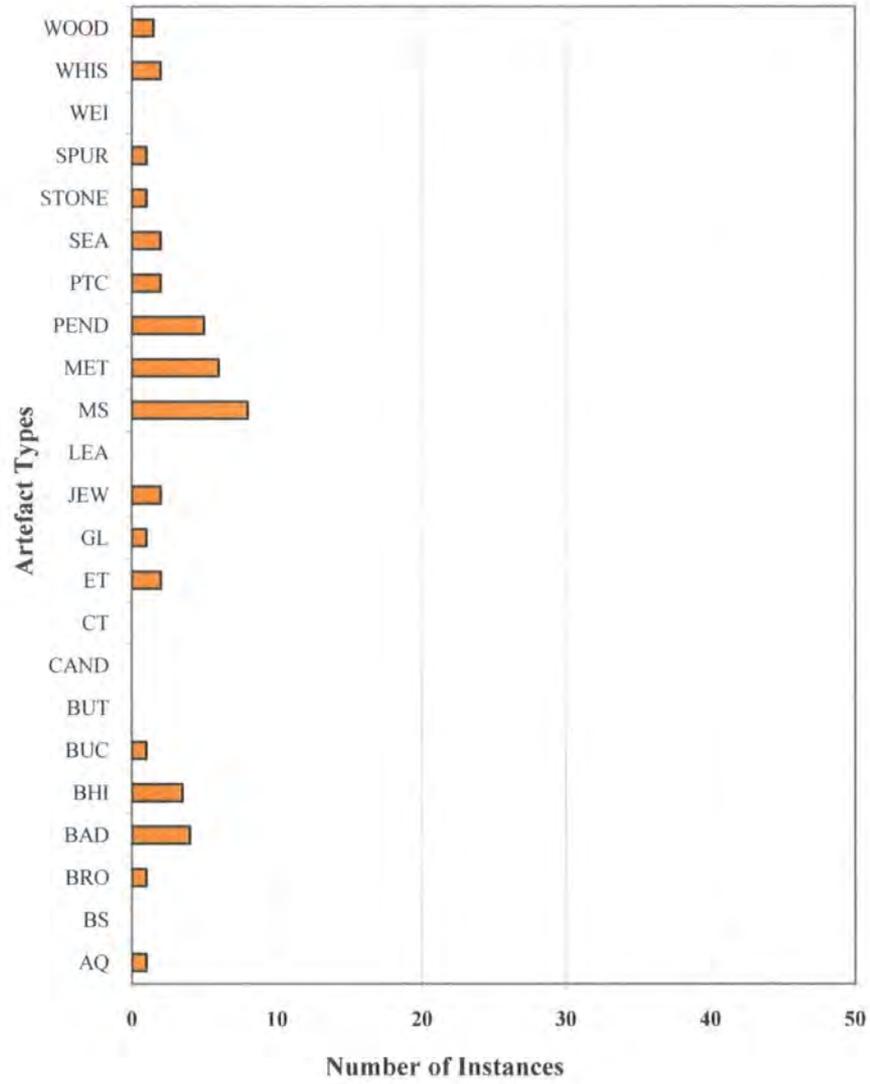


Figure 5.70.

Sea Creatures in the EACCD.  
n=3

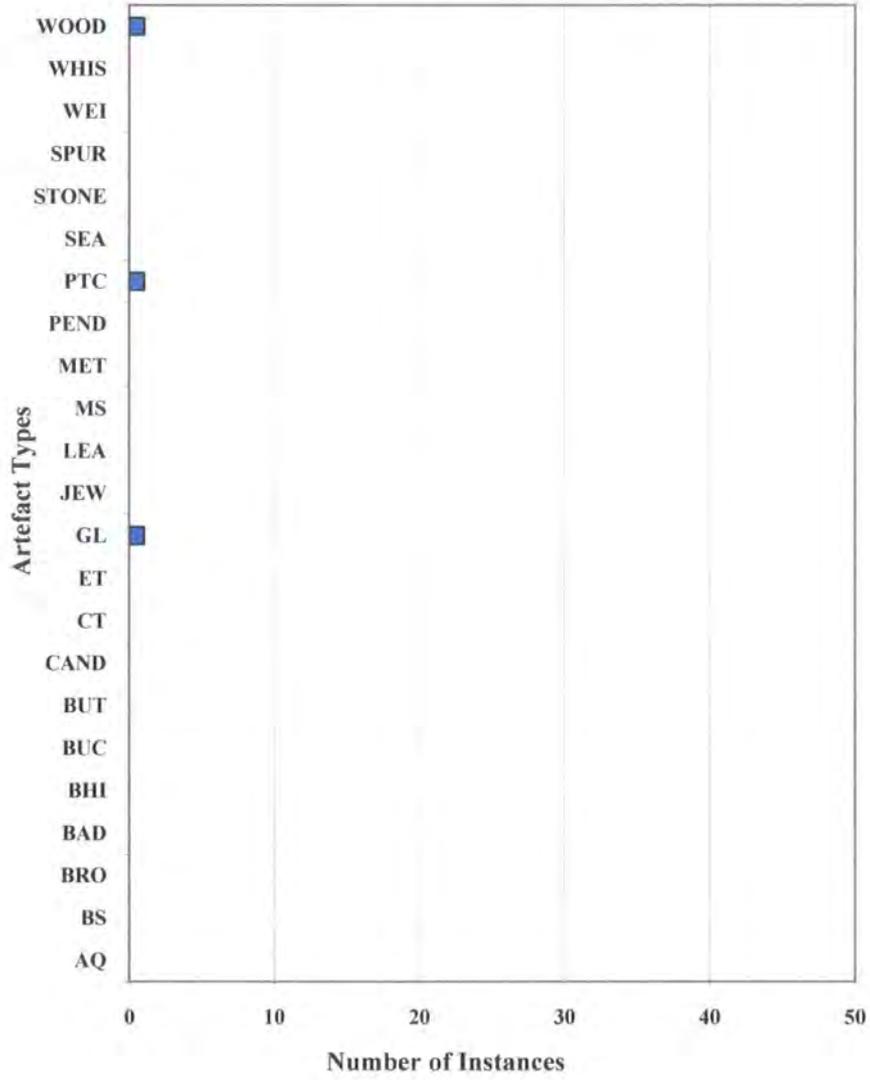


Figure 5.71.

Mind Creatures in the EACCD.  
n=46

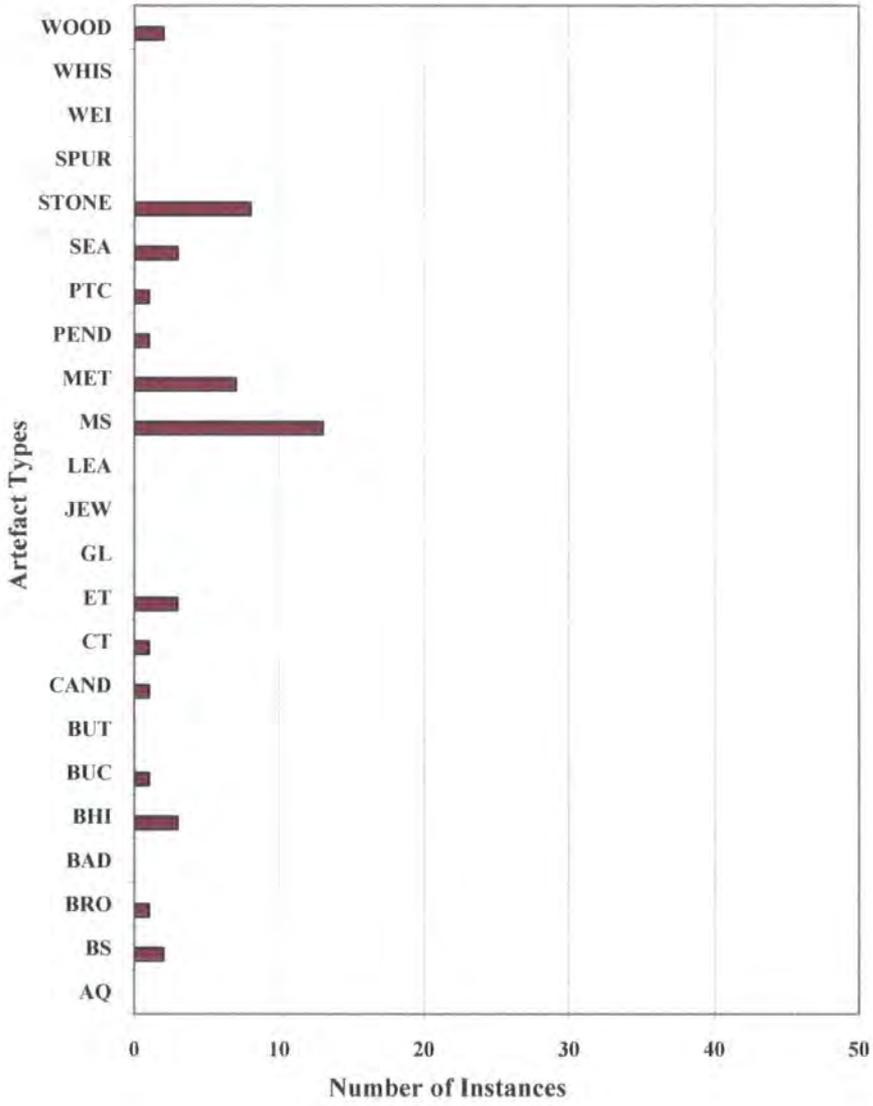


Figure 5.72.

Land Creatures in the NMAD.  
n=1107

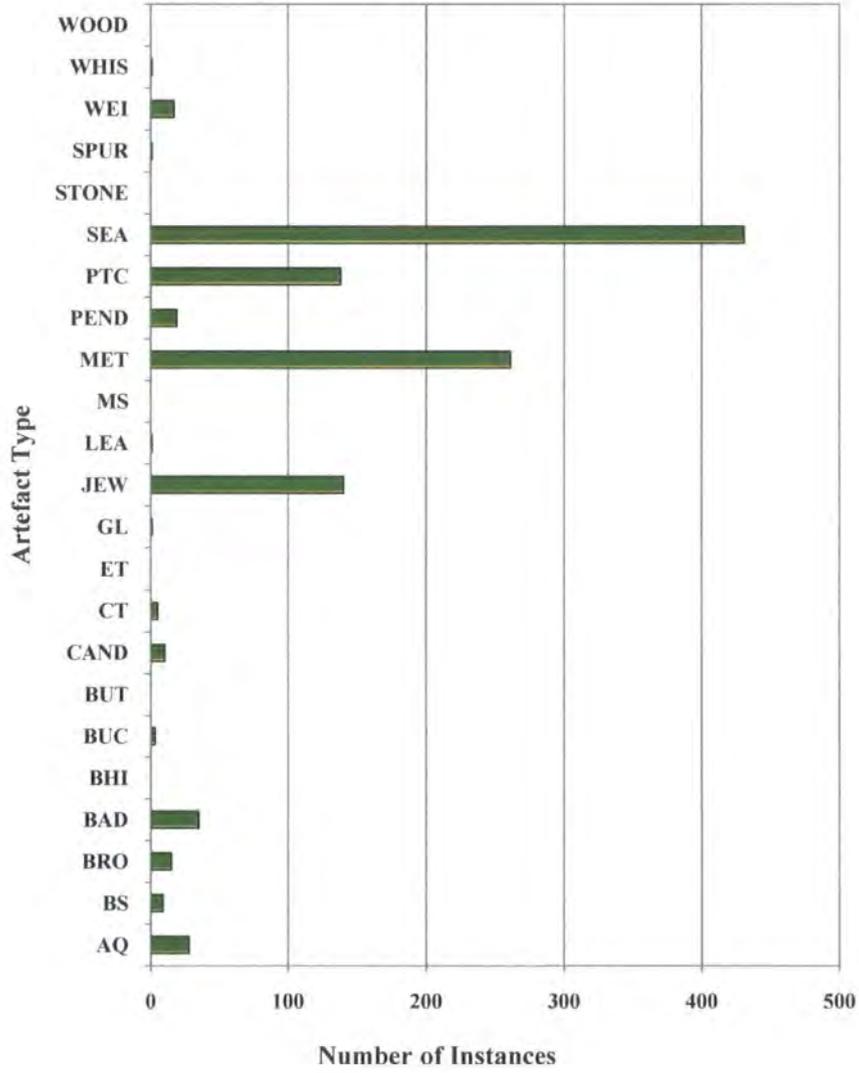


Figure 5.73.

Air Creatures in the NMAD.  
n=91

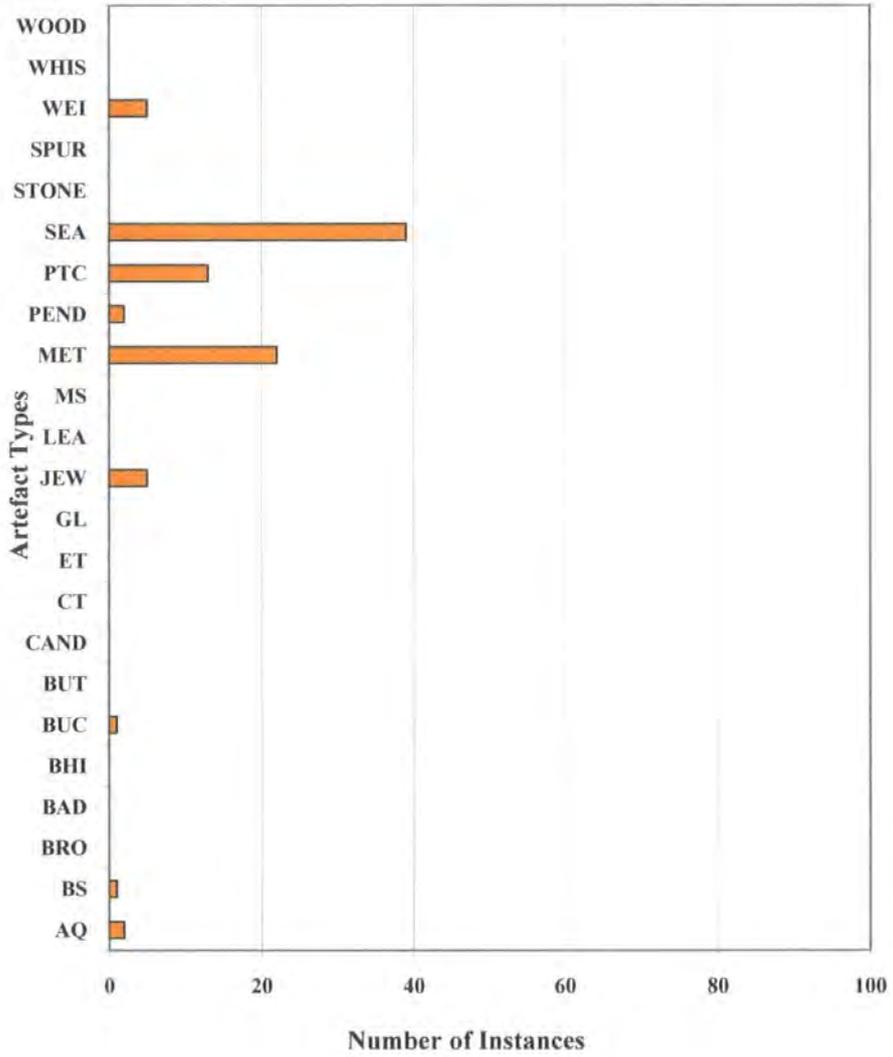


Figure 5.74.

Sea Creatures in the NMAD.  
n=46

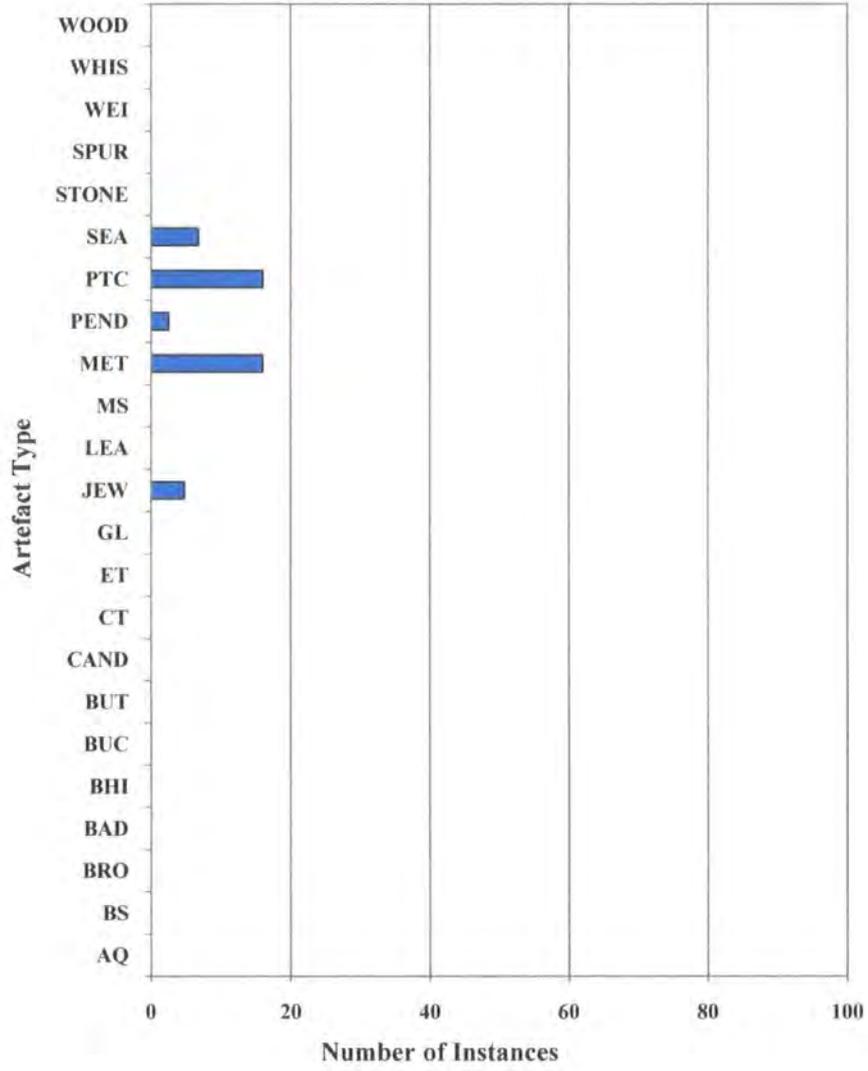


Figure 5.75.

Mind Creatures in the NMAD.  
n=115

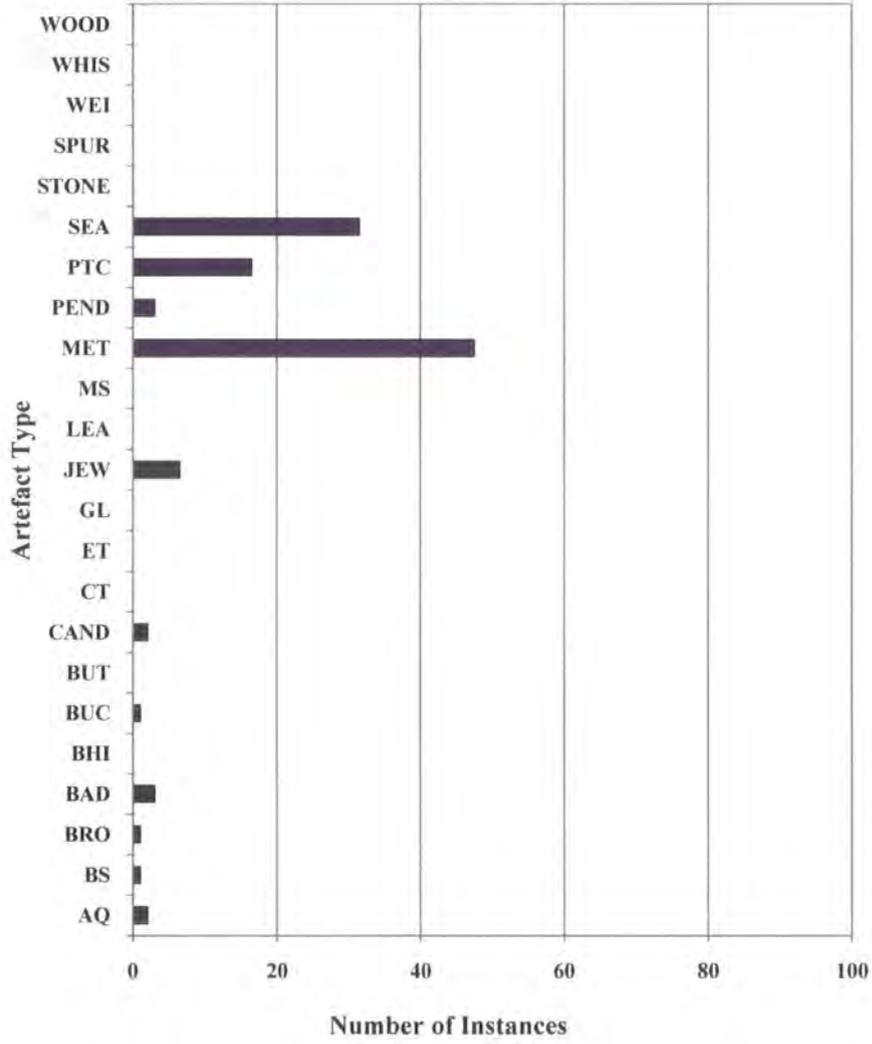


Figure 5.76

Land Creatures in the EFD.  
n=217

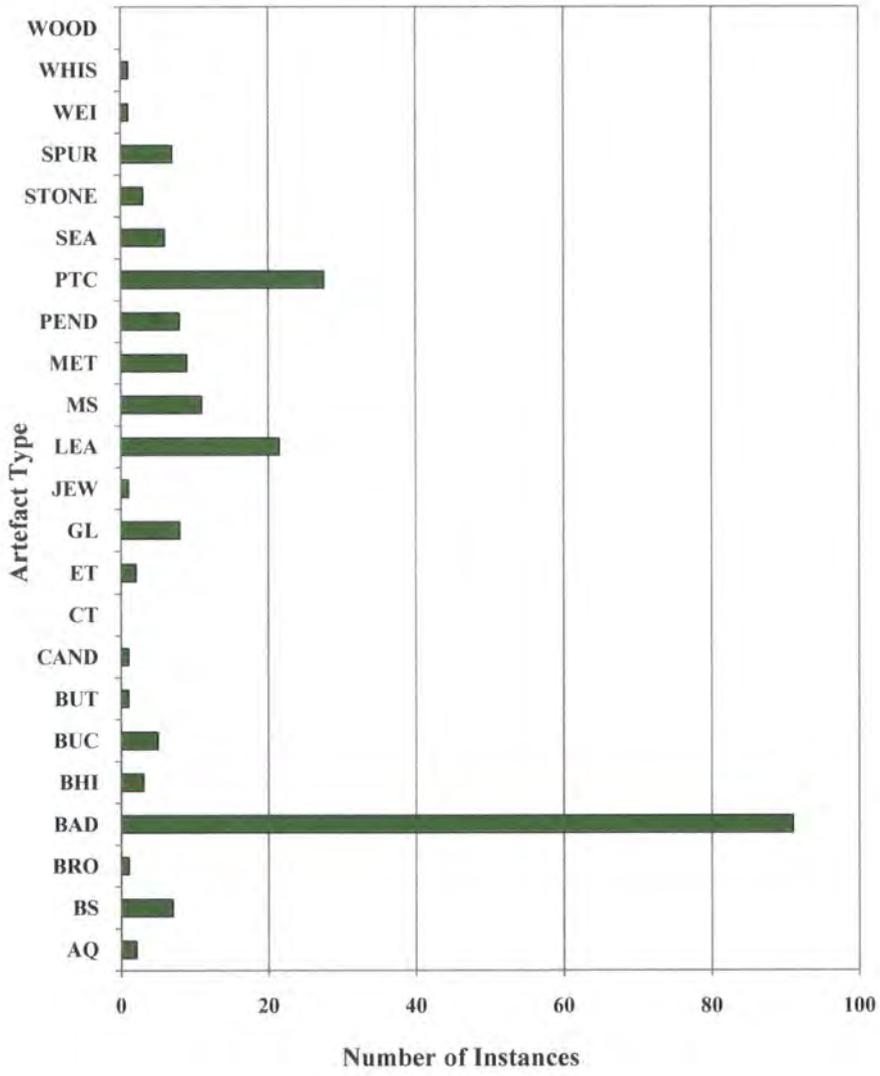


Figure 5.77.

Air Creatures in the EFD.  
n=105

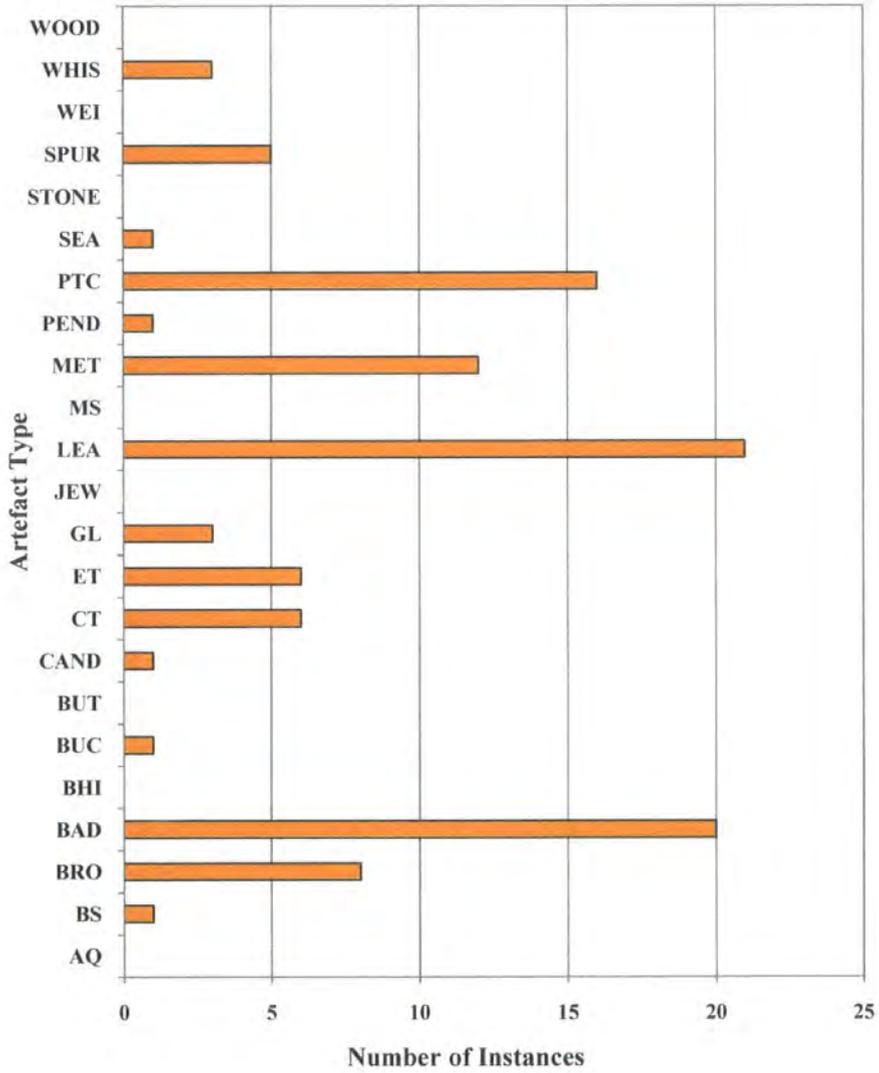


Figure 5.78.

Sea Creatures in the EFD.  
n=24

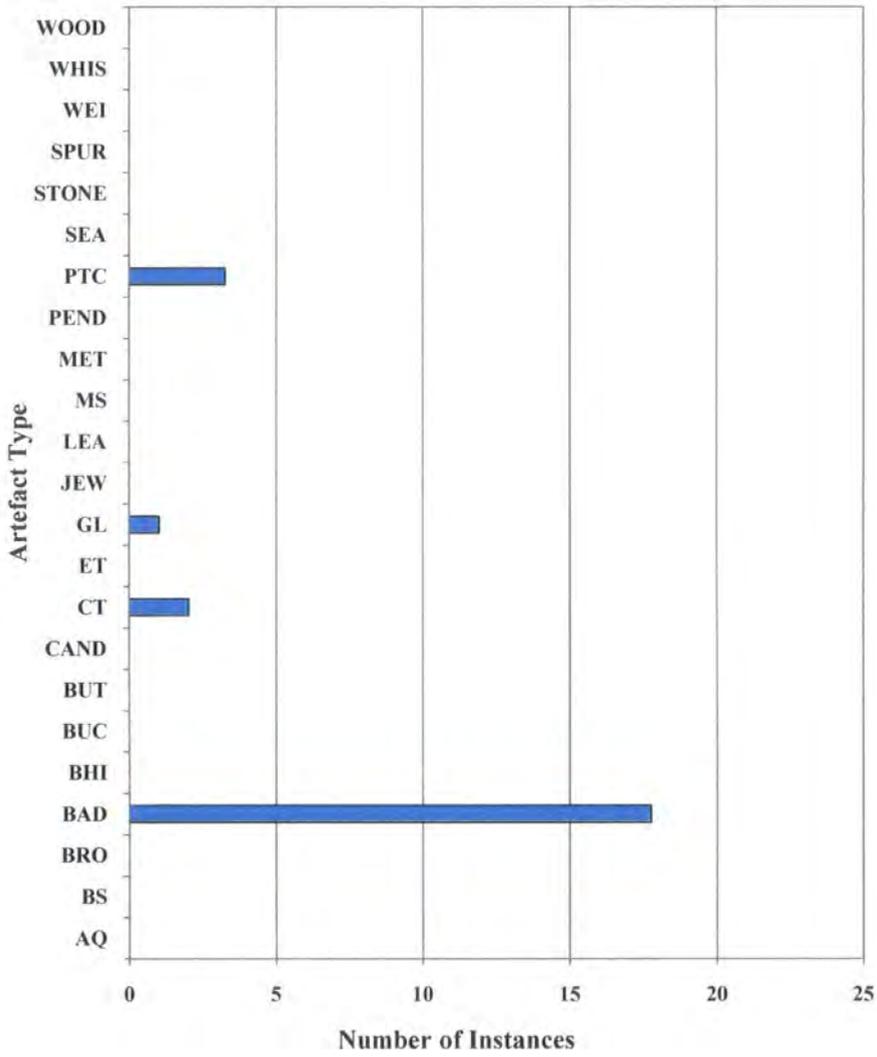


Figure 5.79.

Mind Creatures in the EFD.  
n=38

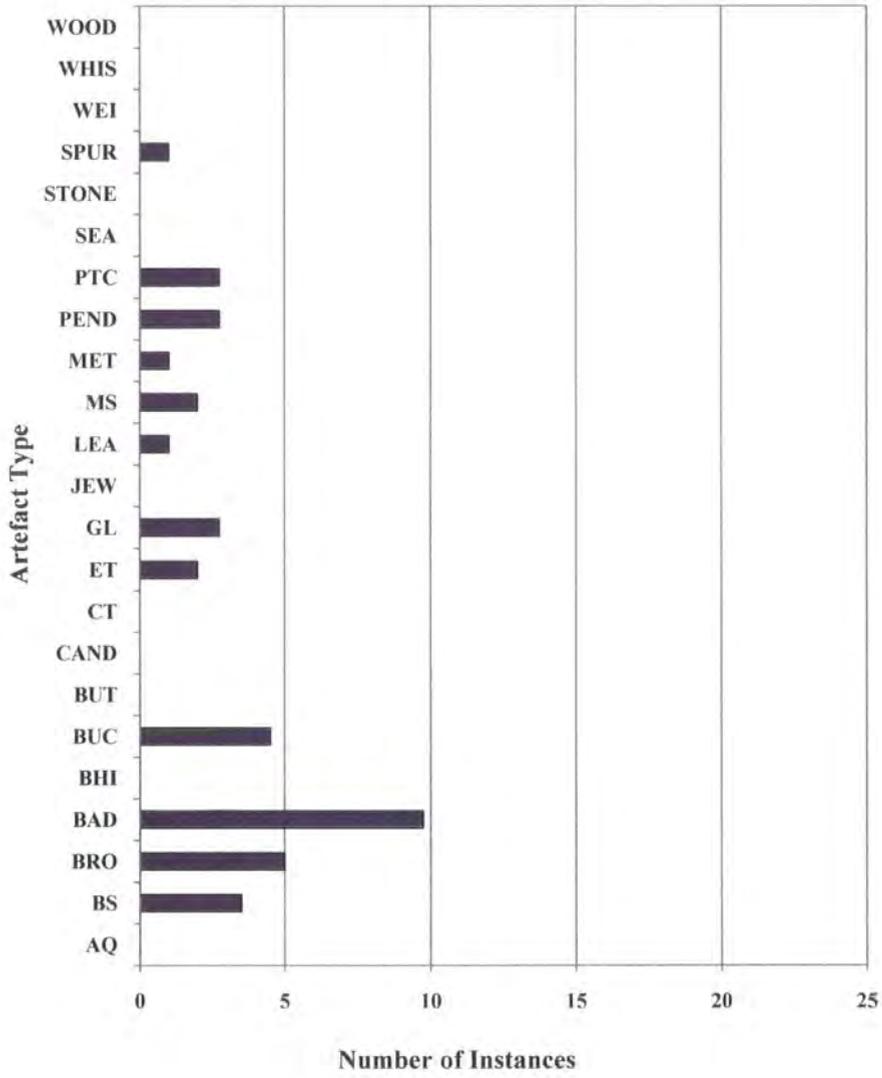


Figure 5.80.

Land Creatures in the RARD.  
n=61

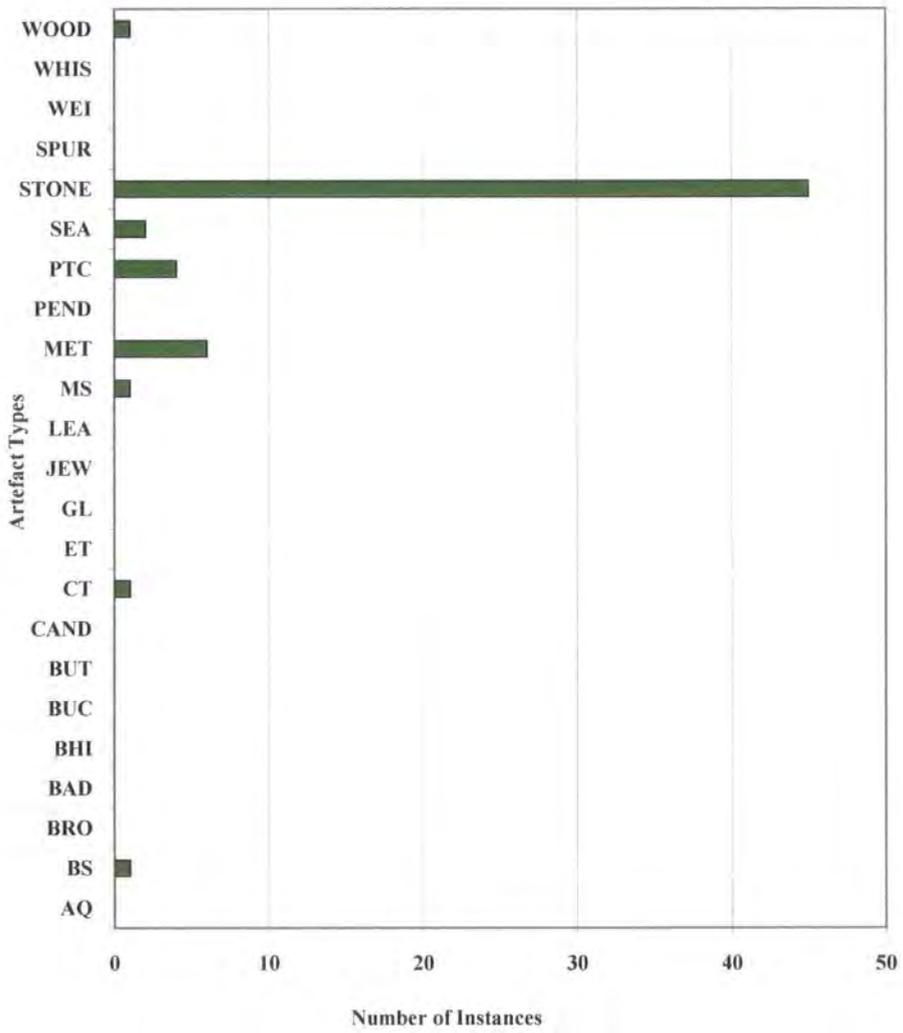


Figure 5.81.

Air Creatures in the RARD.  
n=63

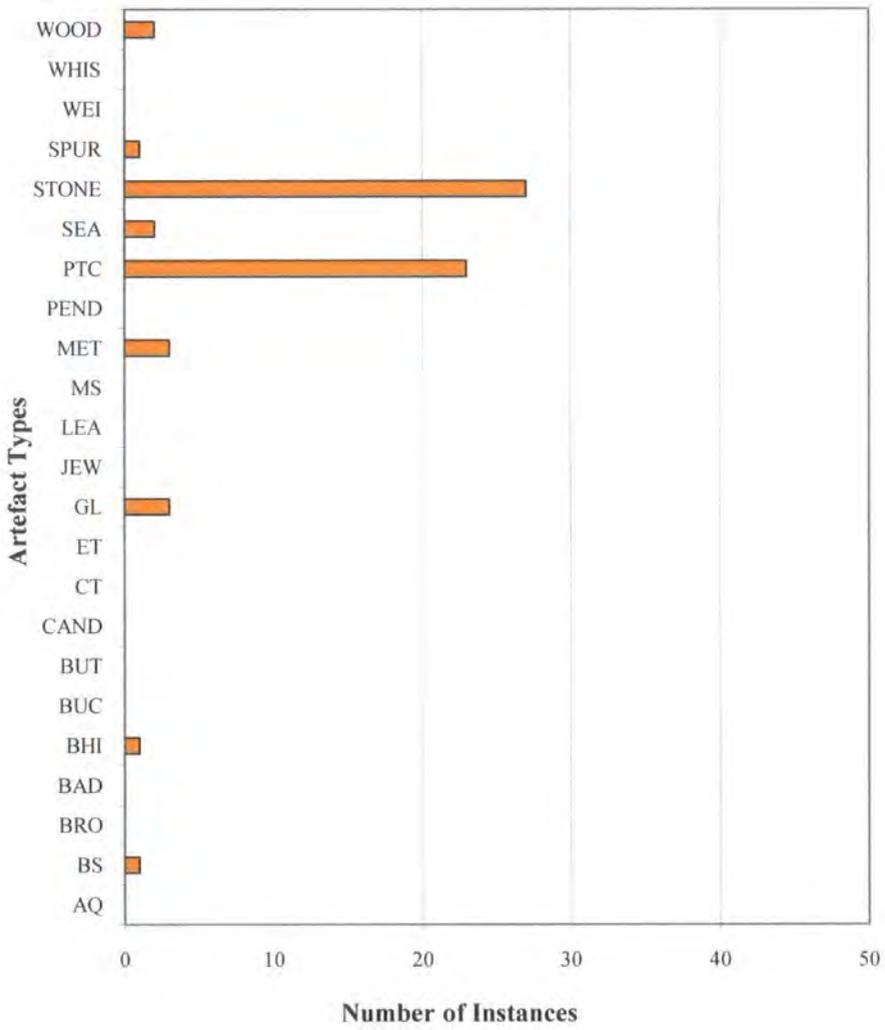


Figure 5.82.

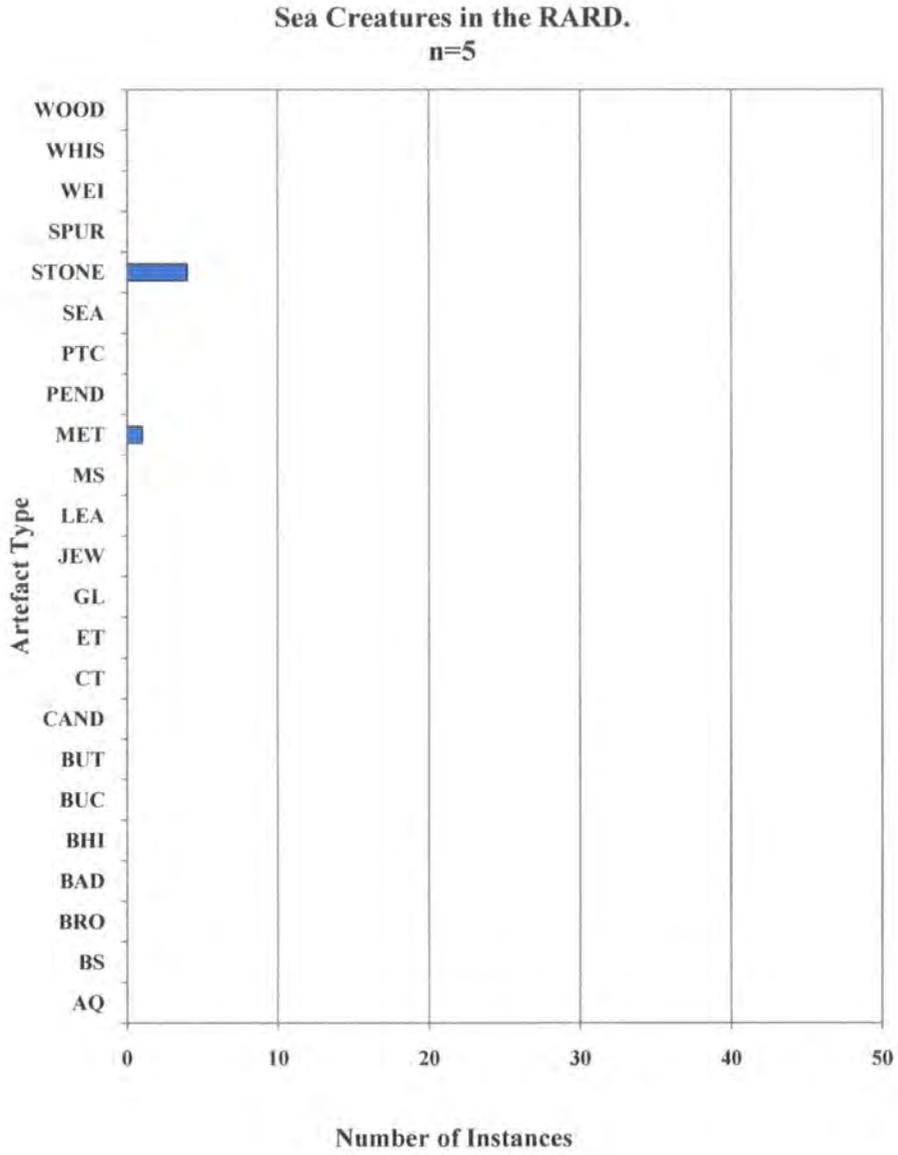
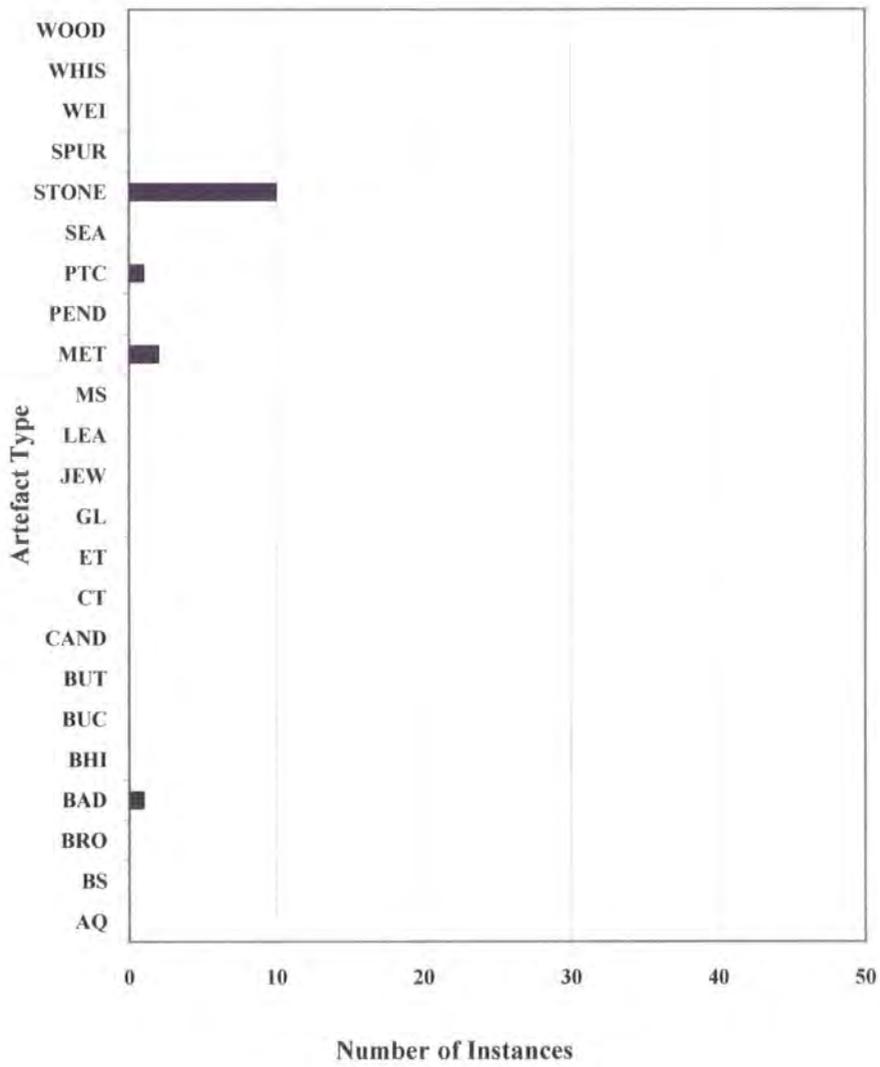


Figure 5.83.

Mind Creatures in the RARD.  
n=14



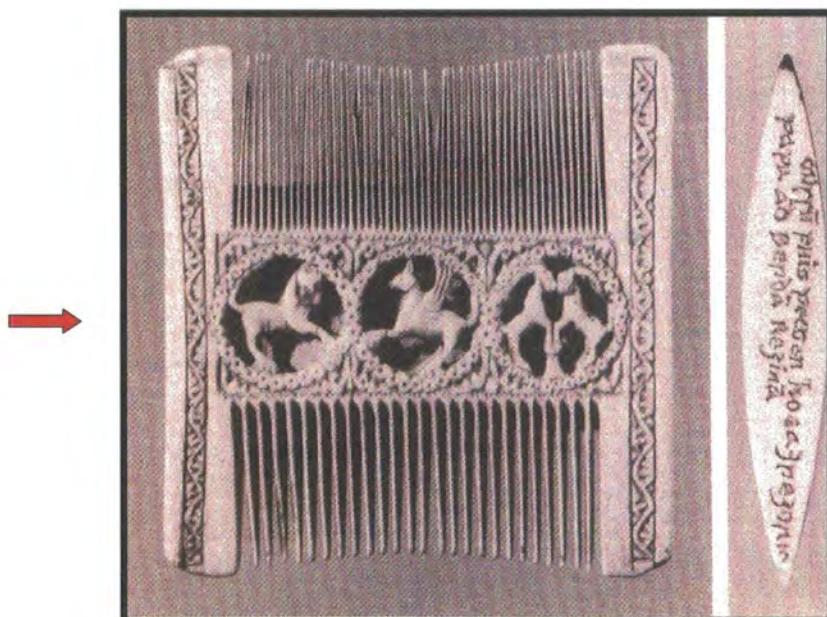
**Figure 5.84.**

Bird and Animal Decorated Ivory Case, Late 11<sup>th</sup> (?) Century,  
(Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984:215).



**Figure 5.85.**

Animals on Queen Bertha's Comb, 12<sup>th</sup> (?) Century (Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984:366).



**Figure 5.86.**

Isle of Lewis Ivory Chess Piece (Horse and Knight), Mid 12<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984:72).



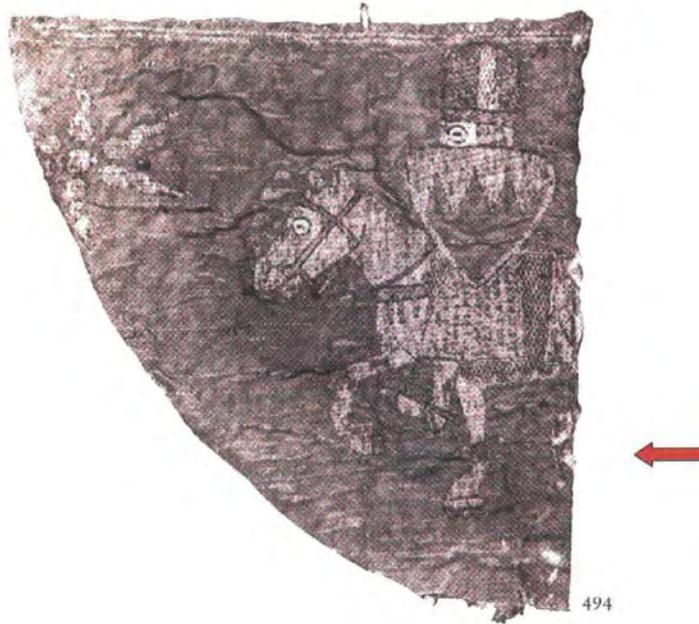
**Figure 5.87**

Animal Playing Harp Gaming Piece, 12<sup>th</sup> Century (Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984:203).



**Figure 5.88.**

Horse on Embroidered Fragment, St John's Seminary, Womersley, c.1180-1210,  
(Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984:359).



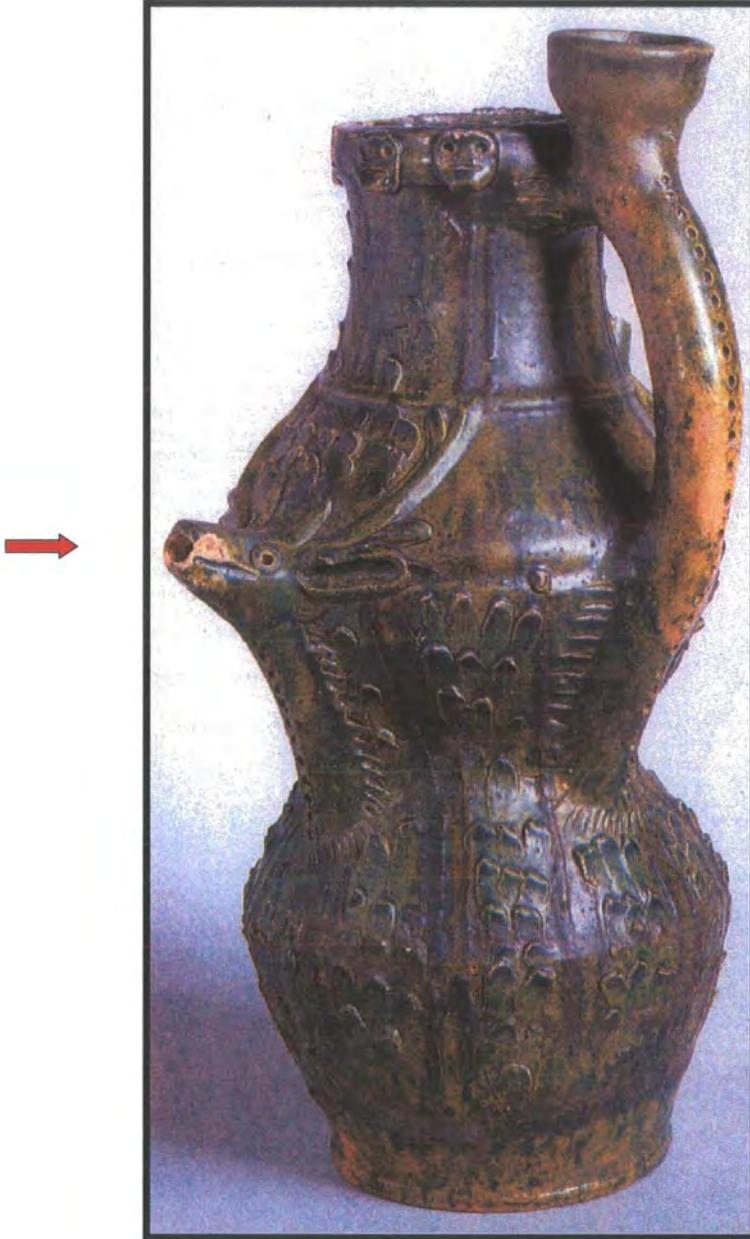
**Figure 5.89.**

Animals on Silk Apparel of an Amice, Canterbury Cathedral, c.1170-1200,  
(Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984:358).



**Figure 5.90.**

Animal Puzzle Jug, c.1300 (Alexander & Binski 1987:440-441).



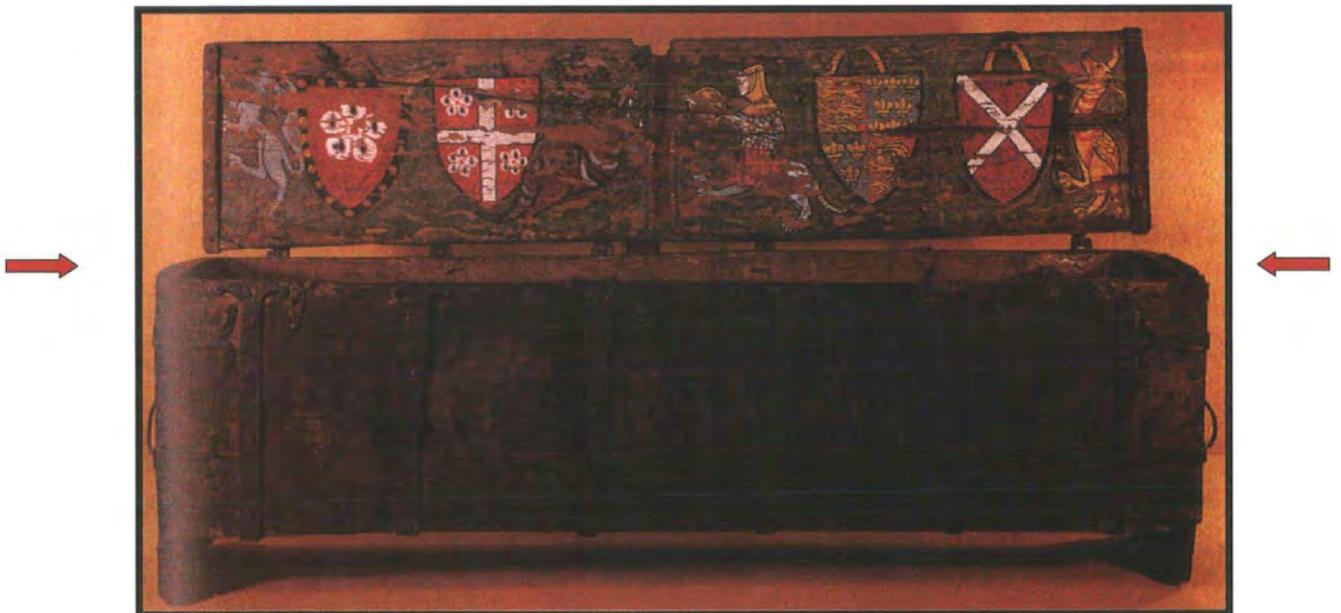
**Figure 5.91.**

Horse Aquamanile, Late 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Alexander & Binski 1987:256).



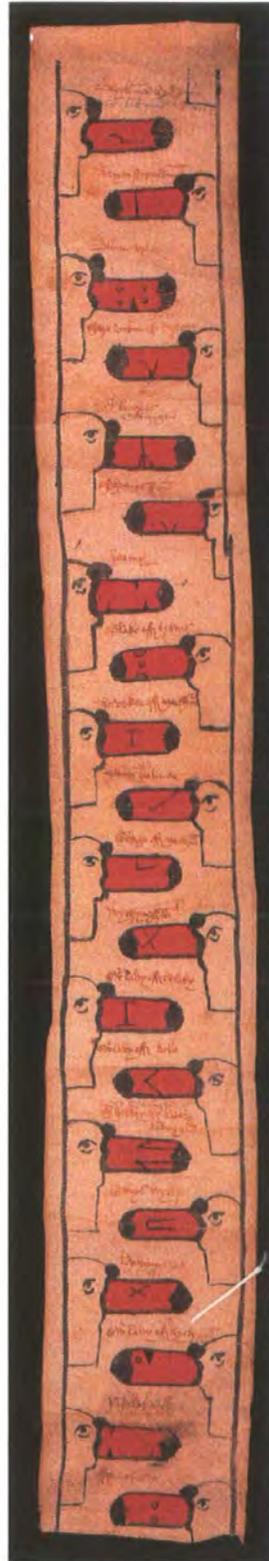
**Figure 5.92.**

Richard of Bury Chest, c.1340 (Alexander & Binski 1987:426-427).



**Figure 5.93.**

Norfolk Swan Roll (NRO MC2044), c.1500 (Marks & Williamson 2003:302).



**Figure 5.94.**

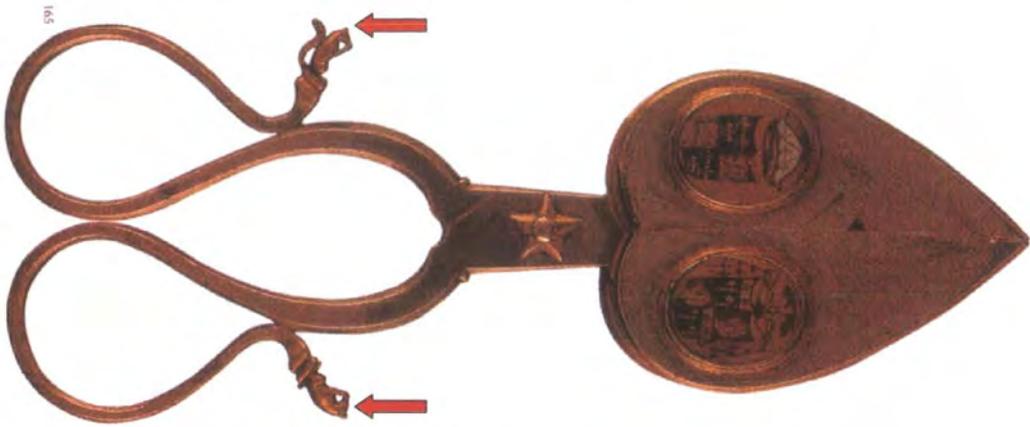
Owl Cup and Cover, c.1530-37 (Marks & Williamson 2003:322).



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**Figure 5.95.**

Squirrel on The Bainbridge Snuffers, c.1512-14 (Marks & Williamson 2003:300).



**Figure 5.96.**

Squirrels and Falcons on Pontifical Stockings of William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, b.c.1395-1486 (Marks & Williamson 2003:370).



**Figure 5.97.**

St George and the Dragon, Mid to late 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Marks & Williamson 2003:397).



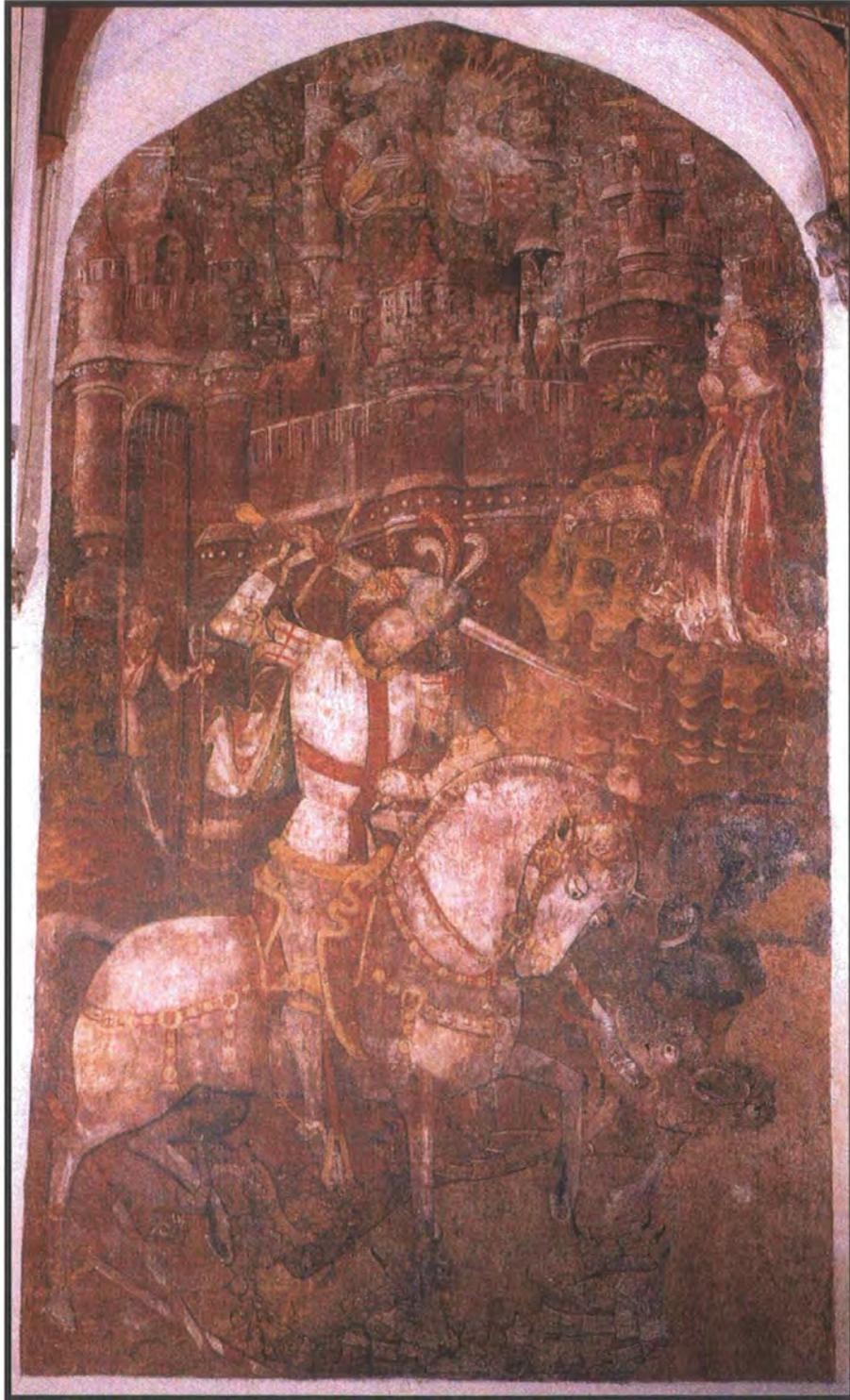
**Figure 5.98.**

The Dacre Beasts (Ram, Gryphon, Bull, Dolphin), c.1520 (Marks & Williamson 2003:292-293).



**Figure 5.99.**

Wall Painting of St George and the Dragon, St Gregory's Church, Norfolk, c.1500  
(Marks & Williamson 2003:408-409).



**Figure 5.100.**

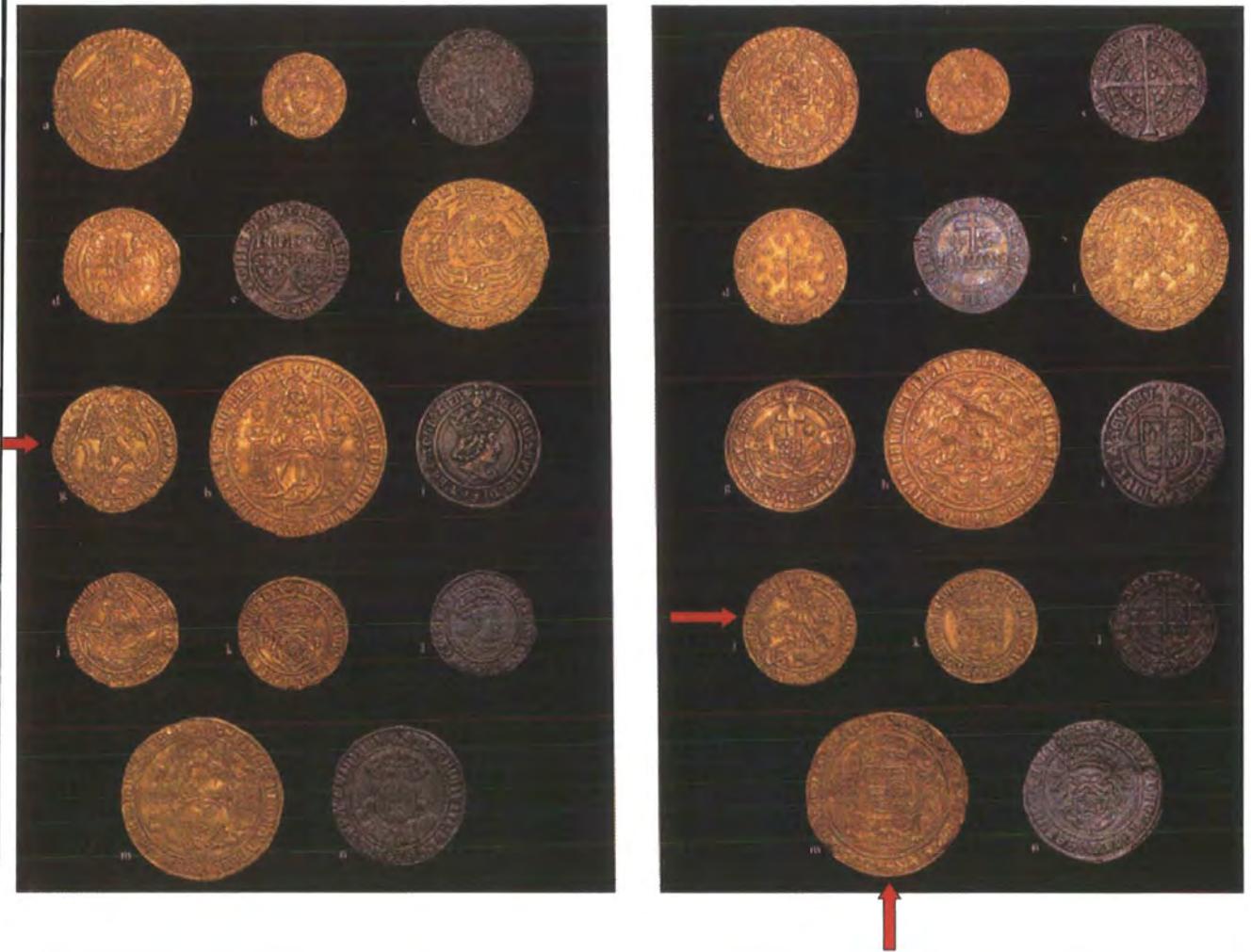
Ape Salt, c.1400 to 1500 (Marks & Williamson 2003:314).



180

**Figure 5.101.**

English Coinage, 1413-1544 (Marks & Williamson 2003:173).



**Figure 5.102.**

Bronze and Silver Gilt Brooches, 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:56-57).

*All scales shown in this chapter were scanned with the image from the original text.*



**NM.143.**  
*Early 14th  
century silver  
gilt brooch  
with birds.*

CM



CM

**NM.142.**  
*Early 14th century  
bronze brooch  
with two birds.*



CM

**NM.140.**  
*13th century silver  
gilt brooch with  
two dragons.*



CM

**NM.138.**  
*Early 13th  
century silver gilt  
brooch, monkeys  
astride beasts.*



CM

**NM.136.**  
*Late 12th century bronze  
brooch with animal heads.*



CM

**NM.137.**  
*Late 12th century Romanesque  
bronze brooch with two lions.*

**Figure 5.103.**

Badges, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:42-44).



**NM.96.**  
*15th century  
badge of  
"pelican in  
her piety".*

CM



**NM.100.**  
*Sporting  
badge, knight  
on horseback,  
14th century.*

CM



**NM.104.**  
*Satirical  
badge, ape  
urinating.*

CM



**NM.102.**  
*15th century  
popinjay badge.*

CM

**Figure 5.104.**

Buckles, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:13-15).



**NM.9.**  
*13th century gilded buckle with lion.*

CM



**NM.5.**  
*Late Romanesque gilded buckle plate, early 13th century.*

CM



**NM.7.**  
*13th century buckle with lion on plate.*

CM



**NM.11.**  
*14th century buckle with beast.*

CM

**Figure 5.105.**

Belt mounts and Strap ends, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:19).



CM

**NM.24.** *13th century lion mount.*



**NM.23.**  
*Early 13th century strap end.*

CM

**Figure 5.106.**

Seals and Seal Matrices, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:25, 27, 30).



**NM.43.**  
*Late 13th century lead seal  
with eagle and private name.*

CM



**NM.52.**  
*Late 13th century  
shield-shaped bronze  
seal with head of stag,  
and private name  
SICILIANUS DE LEO.*

CM



**NM.46.** *Early 14th  
century bronze seal  
with pelican in ptery  
and motto PELLICANUS  
DEI (Pelican of God).*



**NM.51.**  
*14th century bronze seal  
with rampant lion, private  
name S'SIMONIS BELDE.*

CM



**NM.48.**  
*Early 14th century  
bronze seal with  
bird on branch,  
plus love motto.*

CM

**Figure 5.107.**

Finger Rings, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:47).



**NM.112.**  
*15th century gilt  
bronze seal ring,  
engraved with  
running hart.*

CM

Figure 5.108.

Harness Pendants, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:63-72).



NM.193.  
Banner double stiled pendant,  
unknown family, with peacock.

CM



NM.166.  
Quatrefoil stud of the  
Luttrell family.

CM



NM.177.  
Square shaped pendant,  
Corbett family.

CM



NM.172.  
Lozenge shaped  
pendant of  
the Valence  
family (The Earls of Pembroke).

CM



NM.197.  
Shield shaped pendant,  
arms of England.

CM

Figure 5.109.

Steelyard and Trade Weights, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:77).

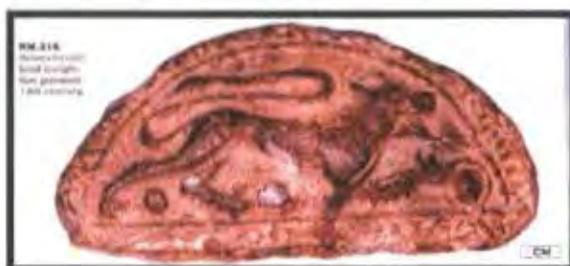


NM.214.  
14th century brass folding balance.

CM



NM.215.  
Late 13th century litter steelyard weight.



NM.216.  
14th century lead shield shaped weight,  
three lions.

CM

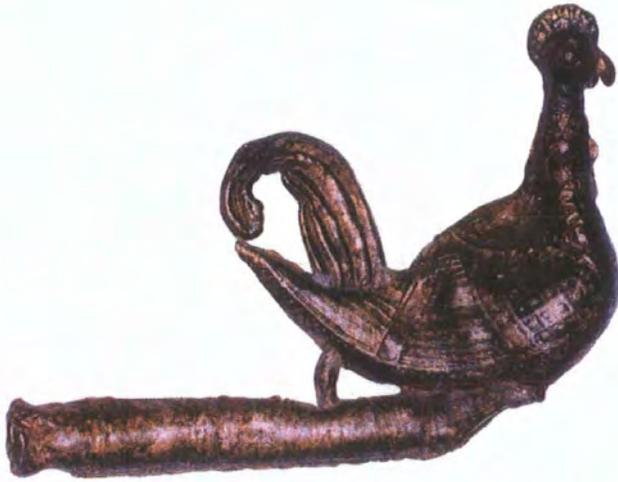


NM.216.  
14th century lead shield shaped weight,  
three lions.

CM

**Figure 5.110.**

Whistle, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:88, 104).



**NM.278.**  
*Early 15th century pewter  
whistle, in form of cockerel.*

CM

**Figure 5.111.**

Button, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:101).



**NM.269.**  
*Late 15th century  
silver gilt badge,  
St. George.*

CM

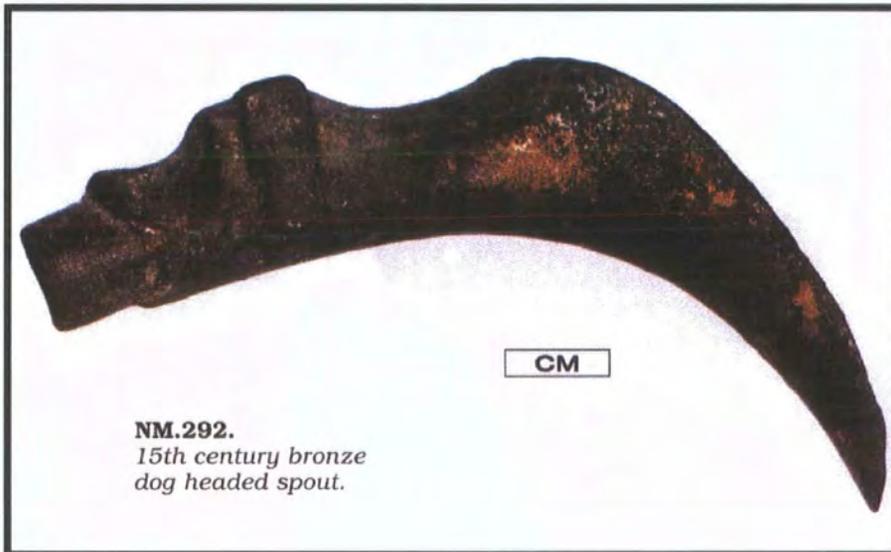
**Figure 5.112.**

Bronze and Gilt Bronze Animal Fittings, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:111).



**Figure 5.113.**

Laver, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Mills 2003:110).



**Figure 5.114.**

Braun & Hogenberg's Map of London, 1572 (Thomas 2003).



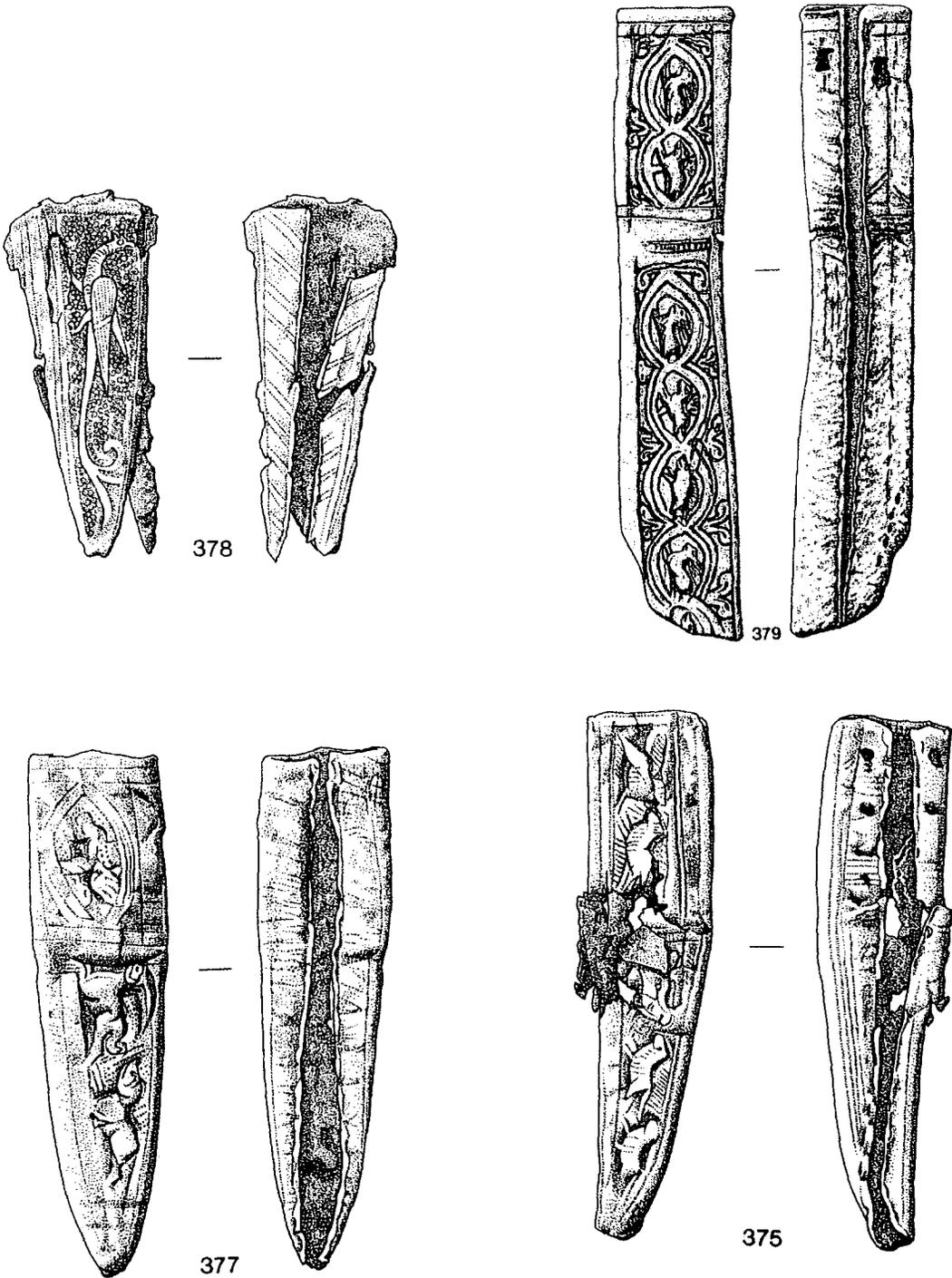
**Figure 5.115**

Animal (Lion Passant) in Scabbard Leatherwork, London, 14<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Cowgill, De Neergaard & Griffiths 1987:150).



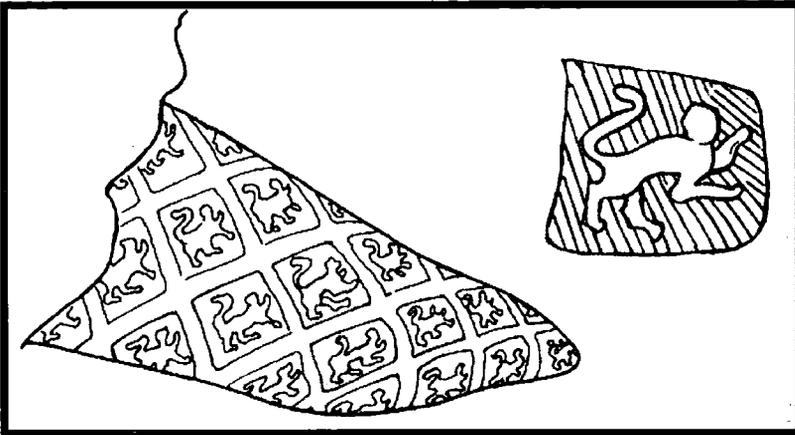
**Figure 5.116.**

Animals in Scabbard Leatherwork, London, 13<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Cowgill, De Neergaard & Griffiths 1987:116-117).



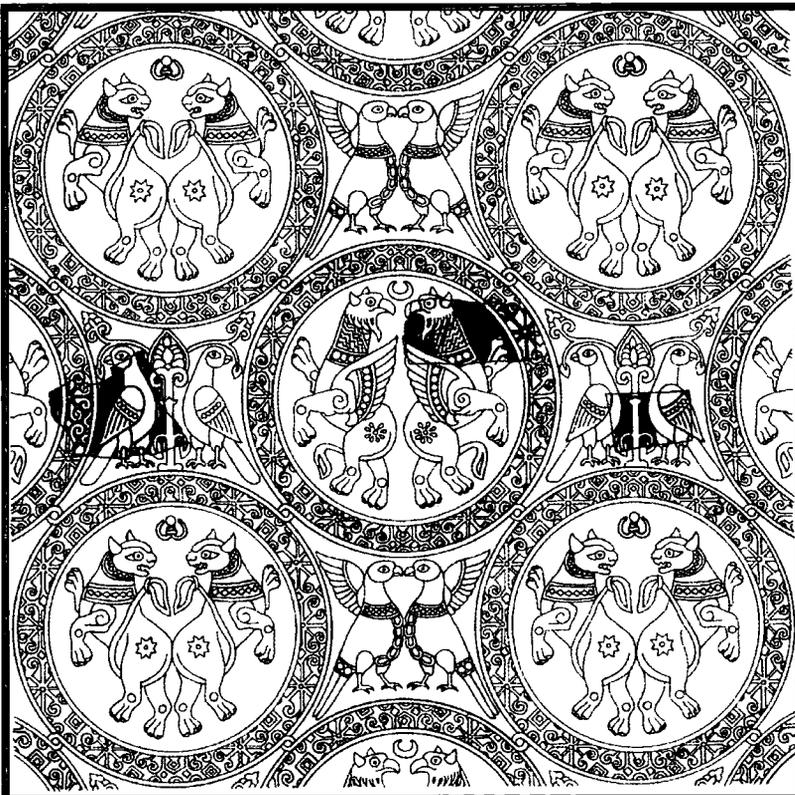
**Figure 5.117.**

Reconstruction of Animals on Shoes of Henry III, from his tomb, Westminster Abbey, London, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Grew & De Neergaard 1988:114).



**Figure 5.118.**

Reconstruction of Animals on silk cloth from tomb of Edward the Confessor, Westminster Abbey, London (Crowfoot, Pritchard & Staniland 1992:87).



**Figure 5.119.**

Swan (?) Rowel Spur with Leathers, London, 1250-1325 (Clarke 2004:132-133).

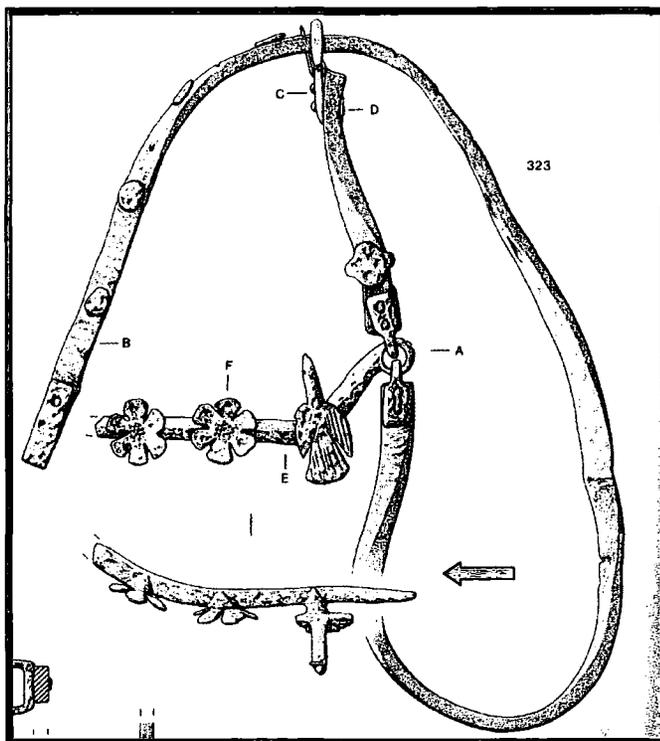
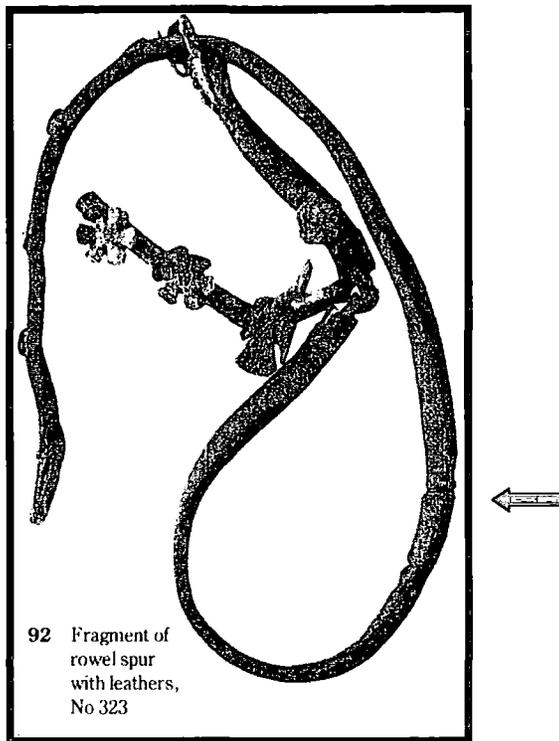
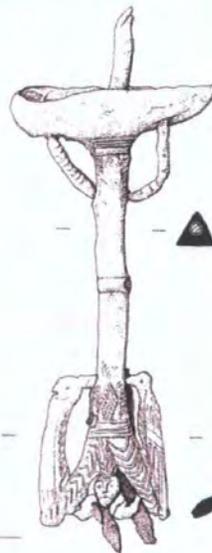
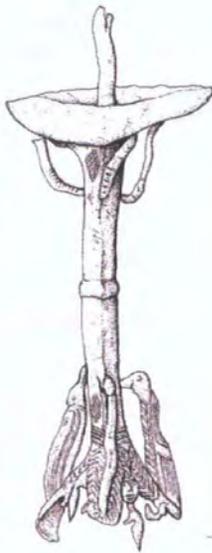
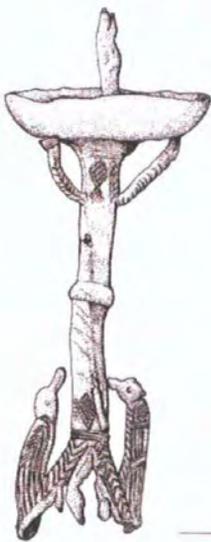
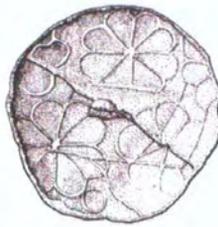


Figure 5.120.

Bird-decorated Candle Holder, London, 14<sup>th</sup> (?) Century (Egan 1998:134-137, Plate 2).

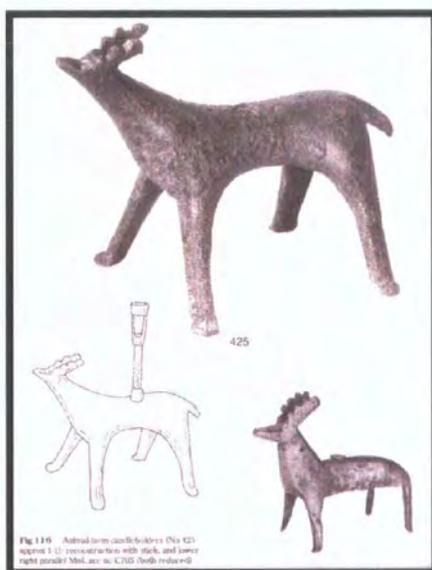


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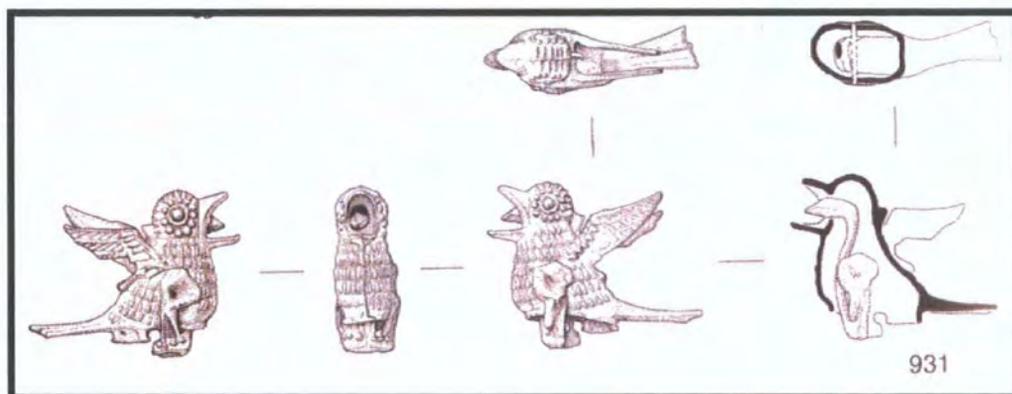
**Figure 5.121.**

Stag-like Candle Holder, London, 14<sup>th</sup> (?) Century (Egan 1998:147-149).



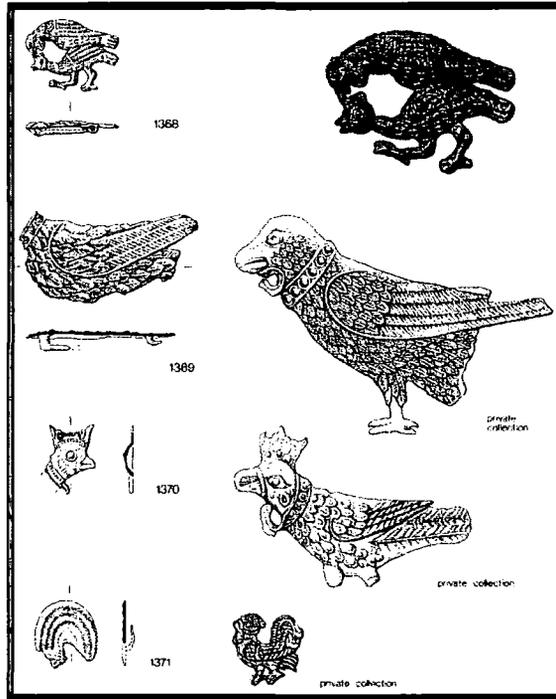
**Figure 5.122.**

Toy Bird, London, Medieval (Egan 1998:282-283, Plate 4).



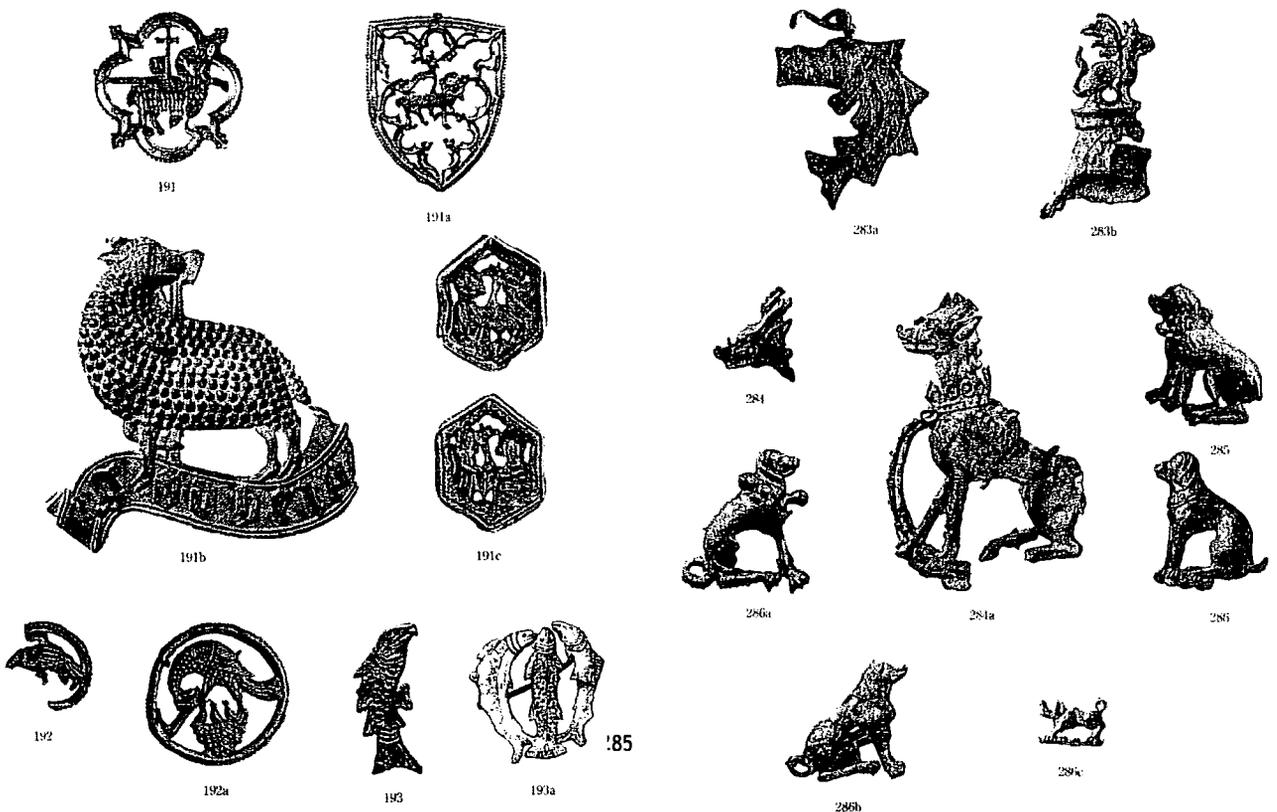
**Figure 5.123.**

Bird Brooches, London, 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Egan & Prichard 1991:265).



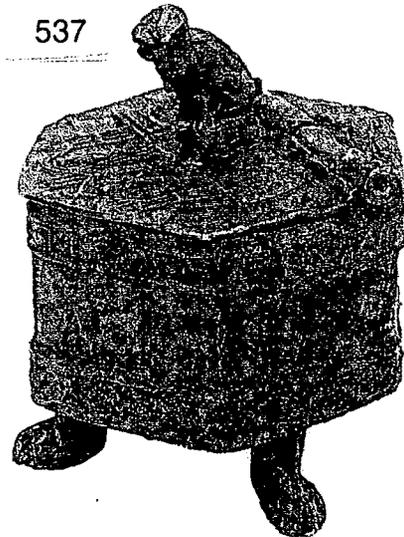
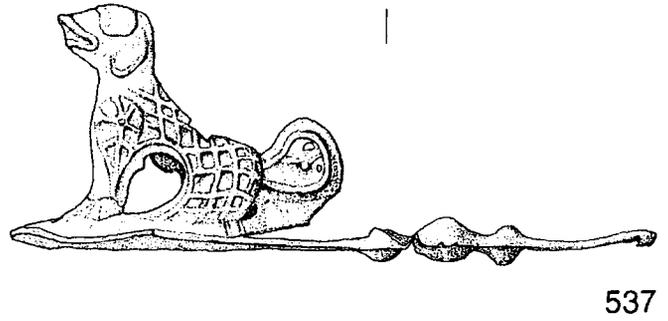
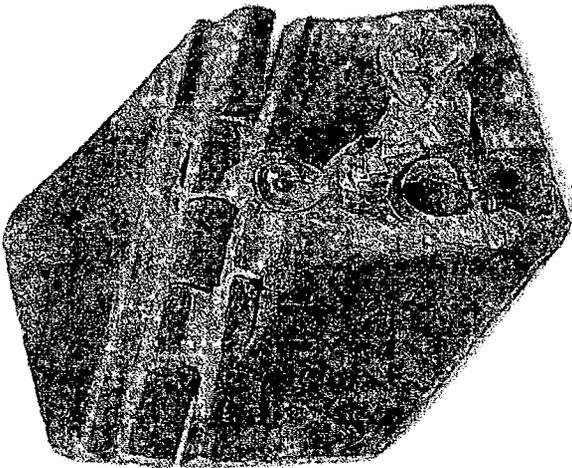
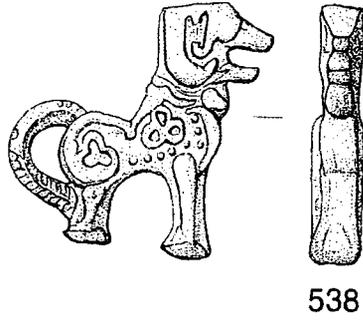
**Figure 5.124.**

A Selection of Animal Badges, London, 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Spencer 1998:172, 290).



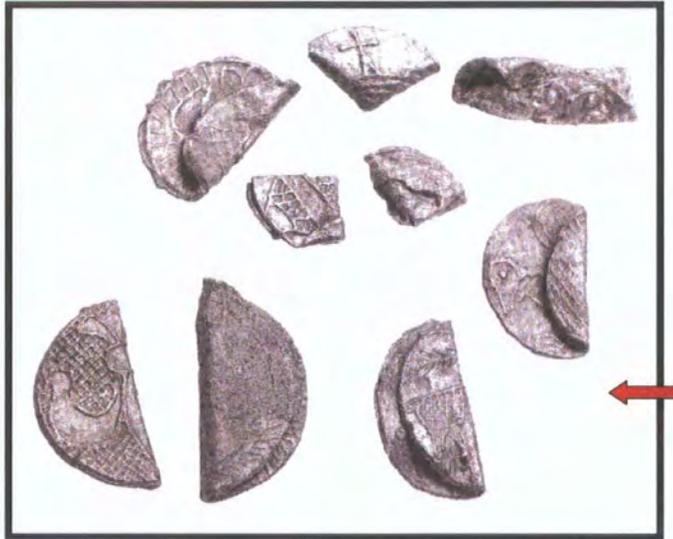
**Figure 5.125.**

Canine Handle (top), Canine Lid (centre), Canine Salt (bottom from V & A Museum), London,  
13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> Century (Egan 1998:191-193).



**Figure 5.126.**

Bent Tokens with Birds, London, 13<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Egan 1998:299-300).



**Figure 5.127.**

Lion on Enamelled Drinking Glass, London, c.1270-1350 (Egan 1998:236).

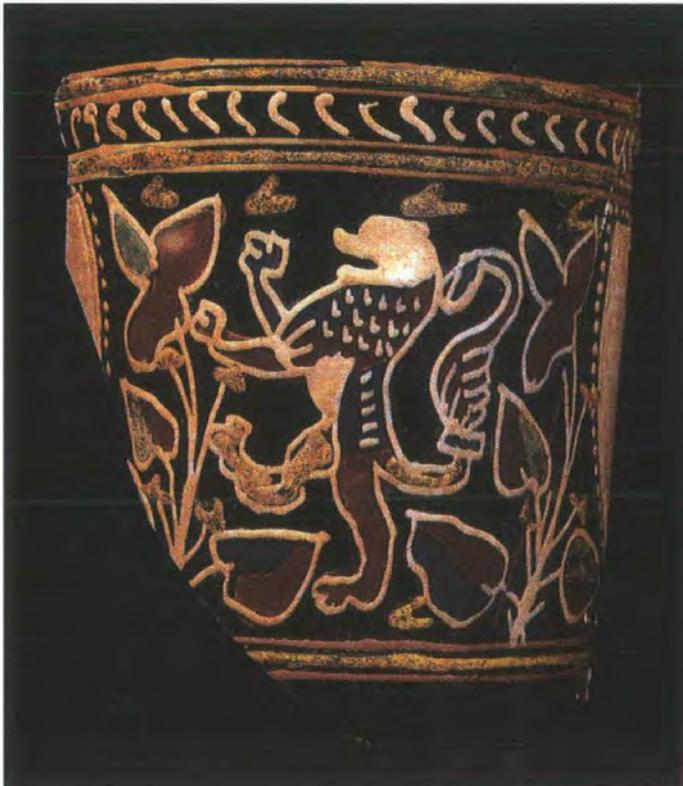
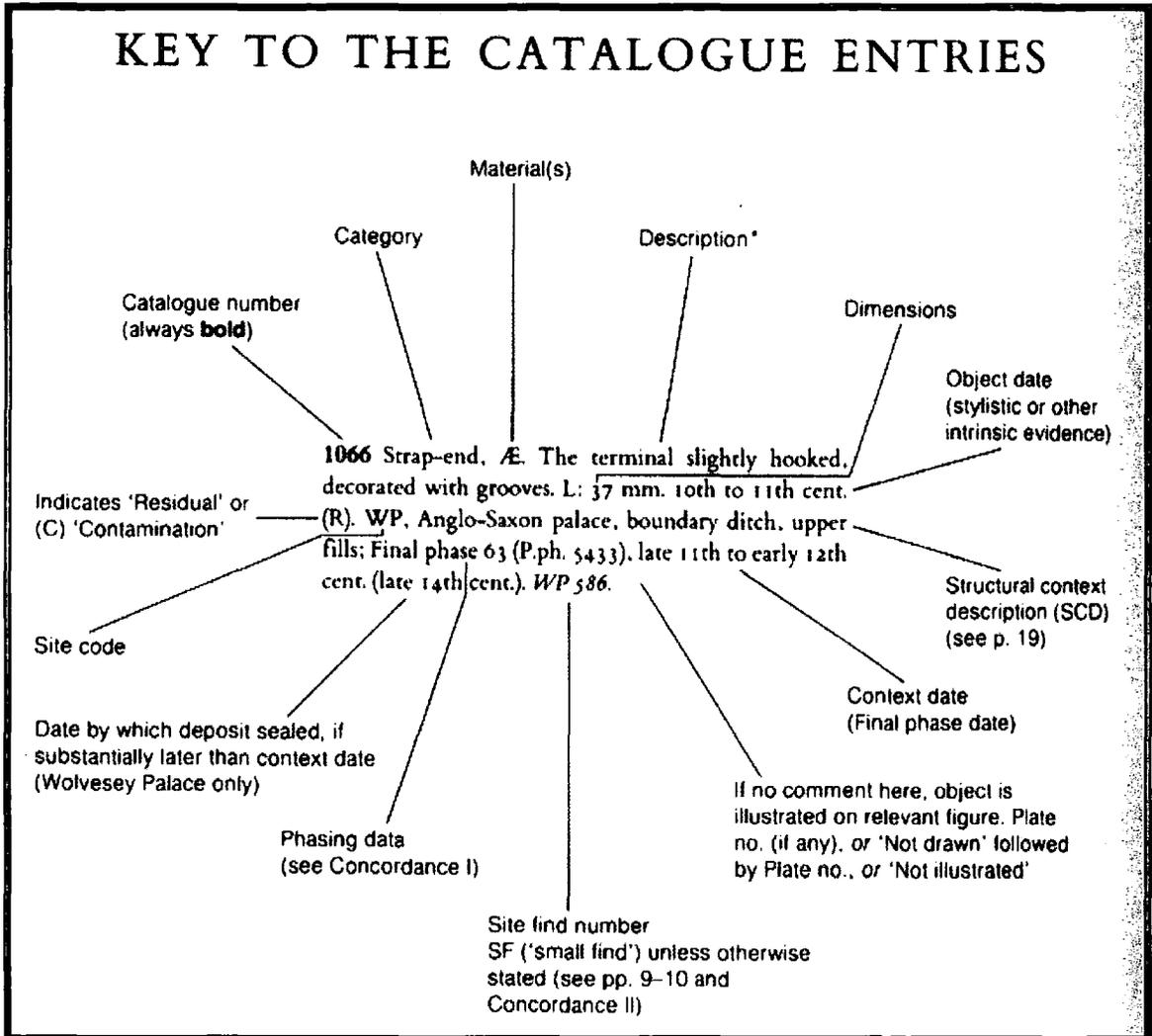


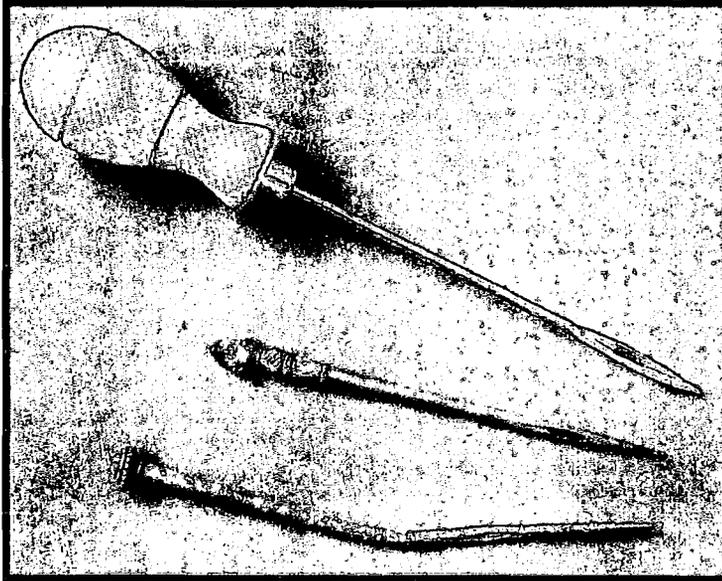
Figure 5.128.

Catalogue Key (Biddle 1990).



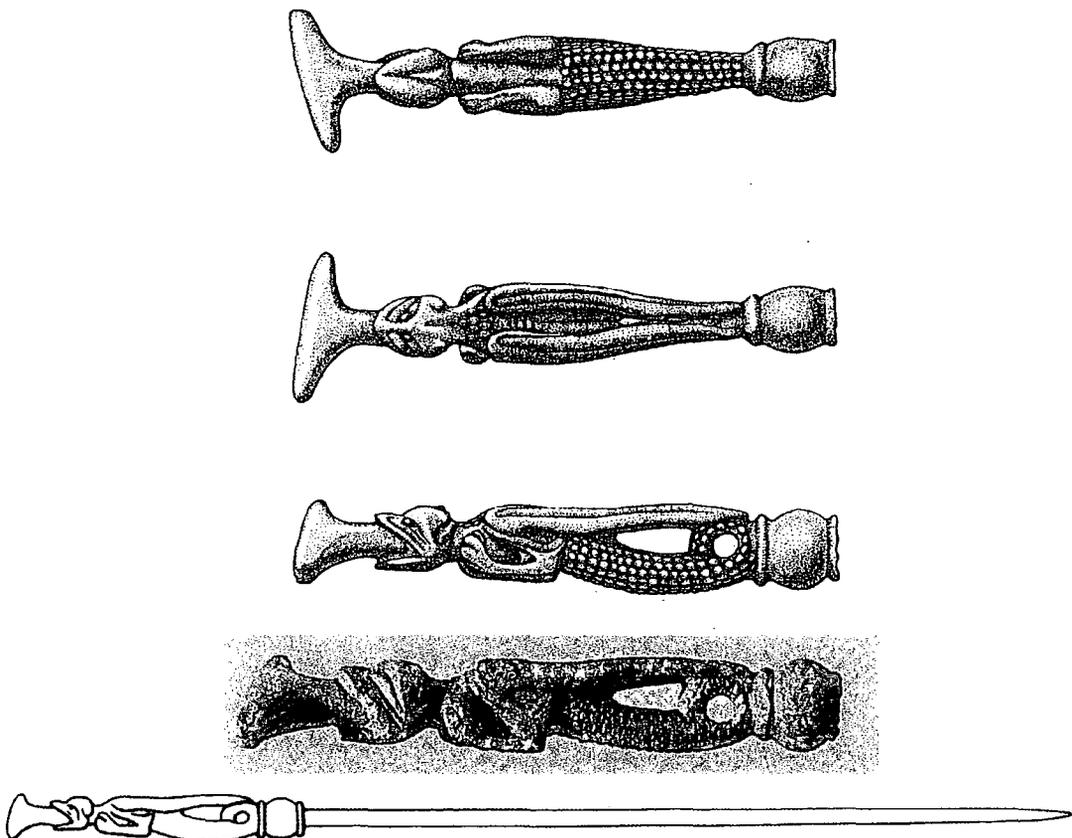
**Figure 5.131.**

Animal Headed (?) Couching Needle, Winchester, Late 13<sup>th</sup> to late 14<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Biddle 1990:807, Plate LV).



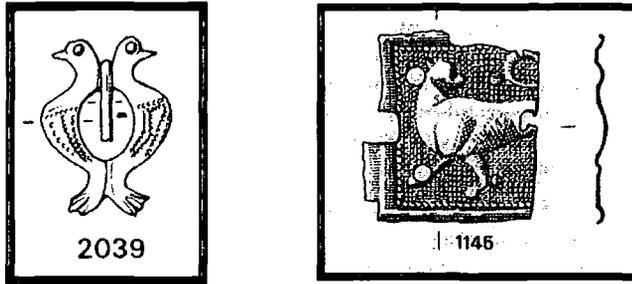
**Figure 5.132.**

Animal (Dragon ?) Stylus (?) with possible reconstruction, Winchester, 12<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Biddle 1990:732, Plate LIVe).



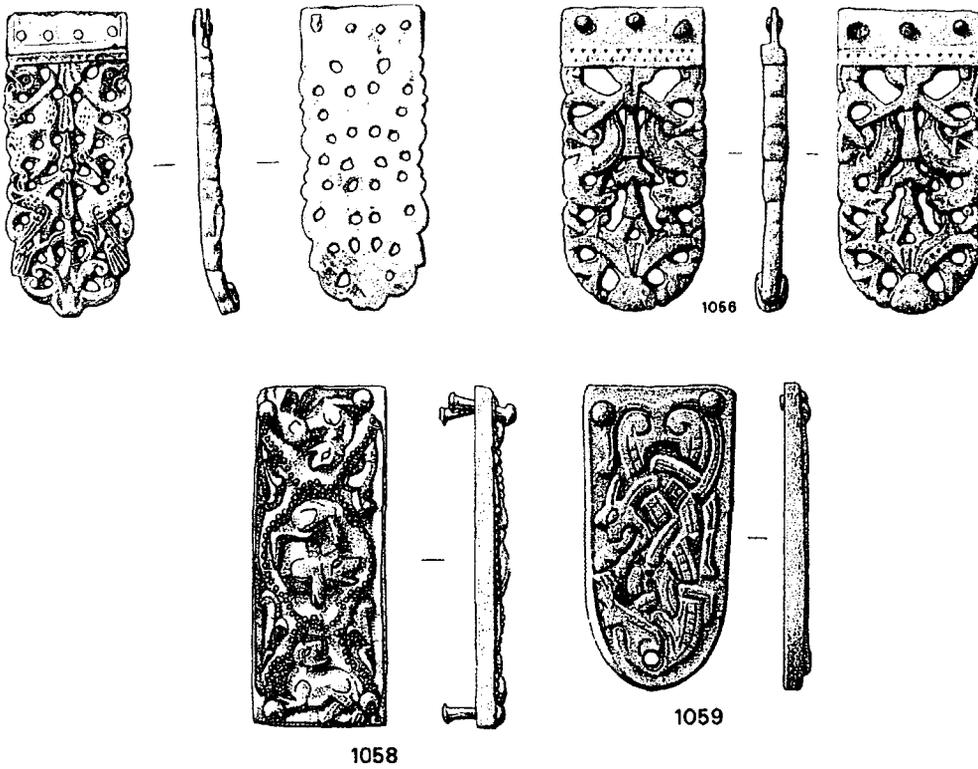
**Figure 5.133.**

Bird Brooch and Pin, (left), Winchester, 13<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> Century, and Animal Buckle Plate (right),  
Winchester, Late 13<sup>th</sup> to early 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Biddle 1990:643, 515).



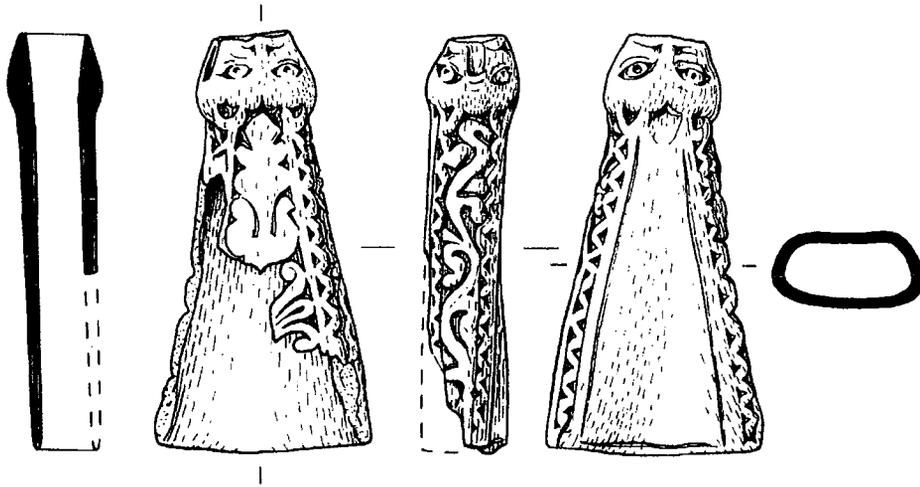
**Figure 5.134.**

Bird and Animal Strap-ends and belt mount (bottom left), Winchester, 10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Biddle 1990:498-499).



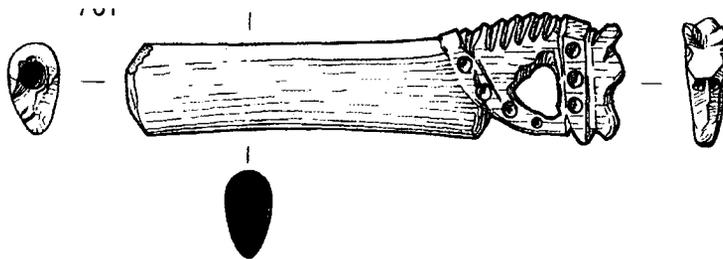
**Figure 5.135.**

Animal Headed Bone Handle, Norwich, c.1096-1200 (Margeson 1993:121).



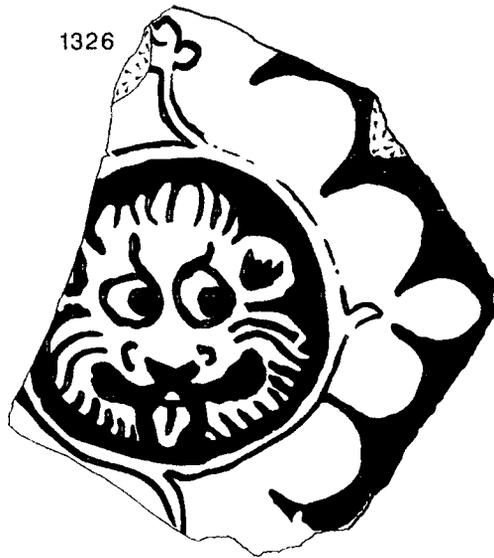
**Figure 5.136.**

Horse's Head Bone Handle, Norwich, Late 14<sup>th</sup>/mid 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Margeson 1993:121).



**Figure 5.137.**

Lion Mask on Painted Window Glass Fragment, Norwich, Late 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Margeson 1993:171).



**Figure 5.138.**

Feline on Gilded Buckle Plate, Norwich, c.1450-1500 (Margeson 1993:26).



**Figure 5.139**

Winged Animal Annular Brooch, (Copper Alloy), Norwich, c. 1275-1400,  
(Margeson 1993:15).



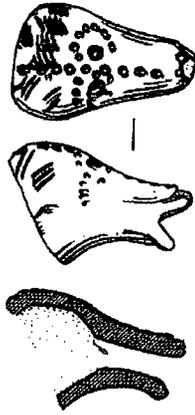
**Figure 5.140.**

St George and the Dragon Pendant, (Copper Alloy), Norwich, Late 15<sup>th</sup> / early 16<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Margeson 1993:7-8).



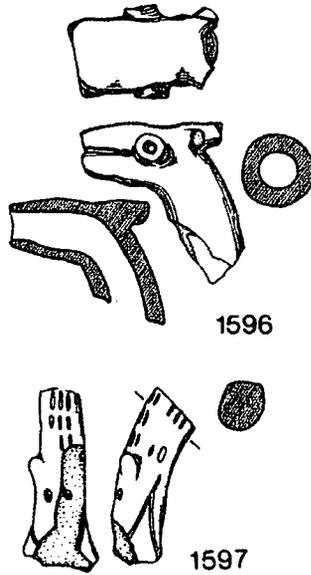
**Figure 5.141.**

Animal Head, Part of Pottery Aquamanile, Exeter, 10-12<sup>th</sup> Century (Allan 1984:76, 79).



**Figure 5.142.**

Animal Head Aquamanile Spout, Exeter, Late Medieval (Allan 1984:95-97).



**Figure 5.143.**

Bird Motif on Saintonge Polychrome Pottery Jug, Exeter, 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Allan 1984:87-88).

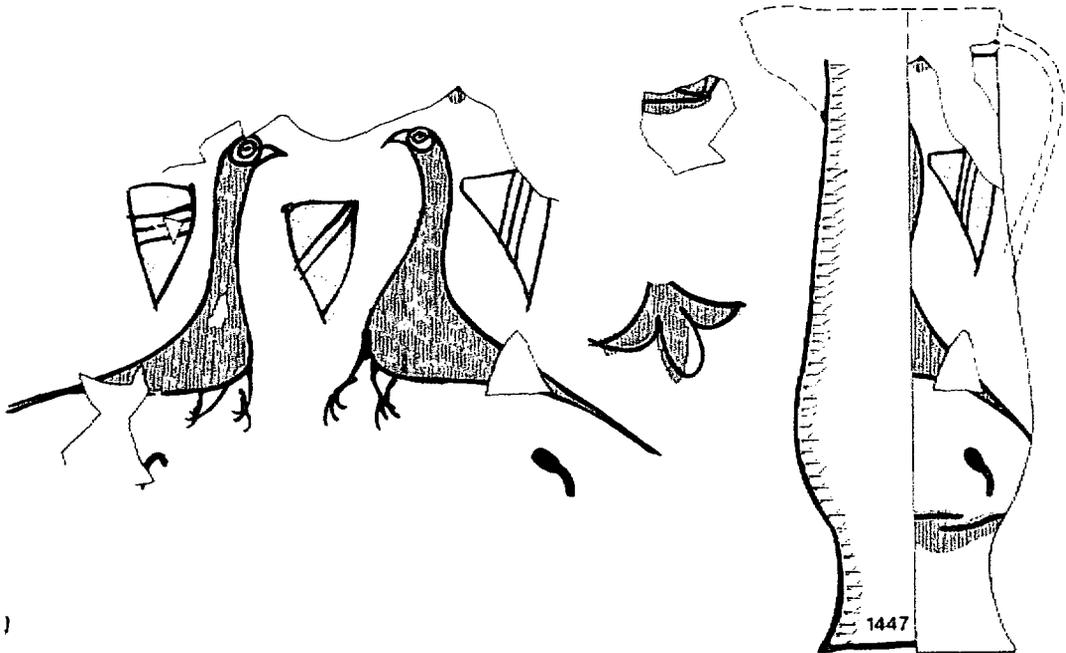
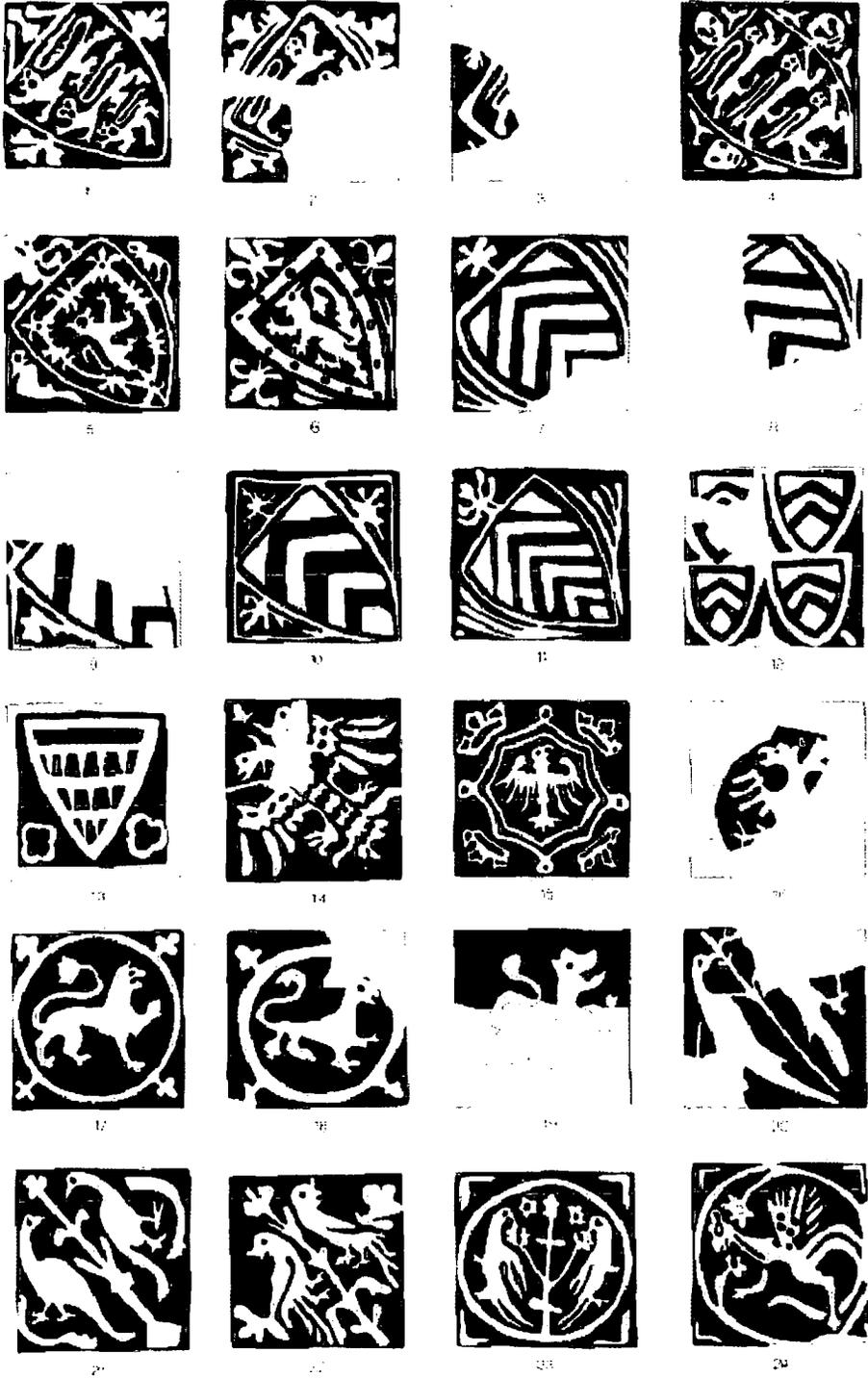


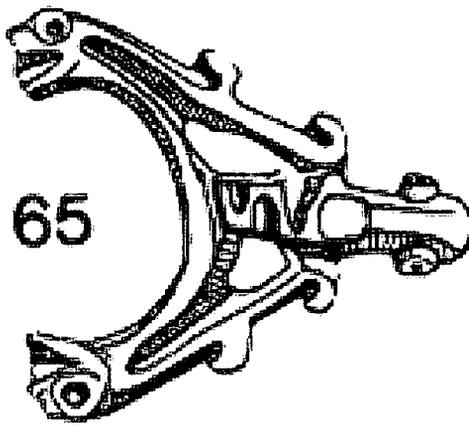
Figure 5.144.

Animals and Birds on Inlaid Floor Tiles, Exeter, after c.1300 (Allan 1984:237).



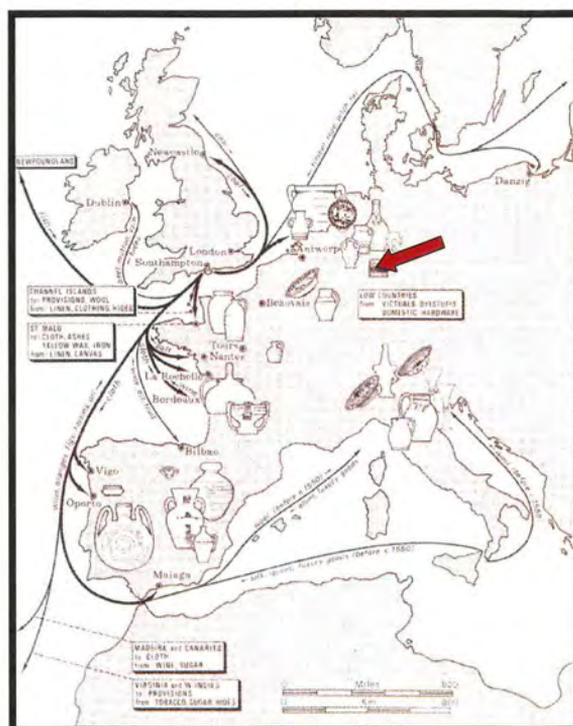
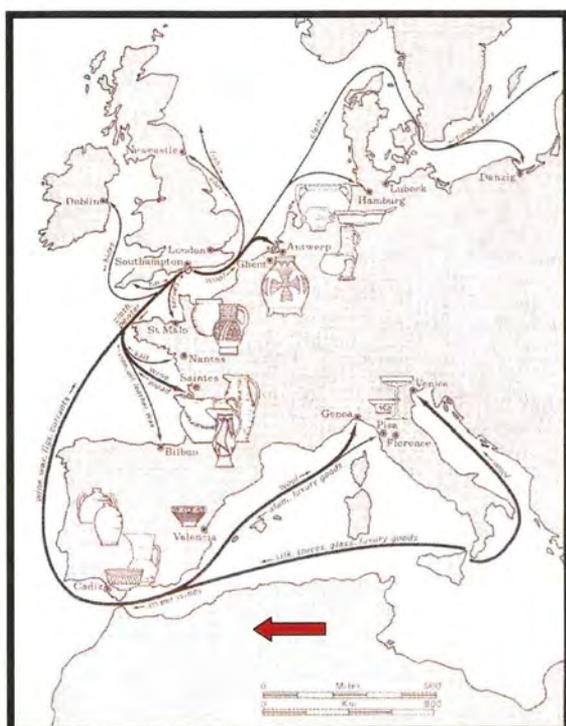
**Figure 5.145.**

Animal Headed Buckle, Exeter, c.1200-50 (Allan 1984:339-340).



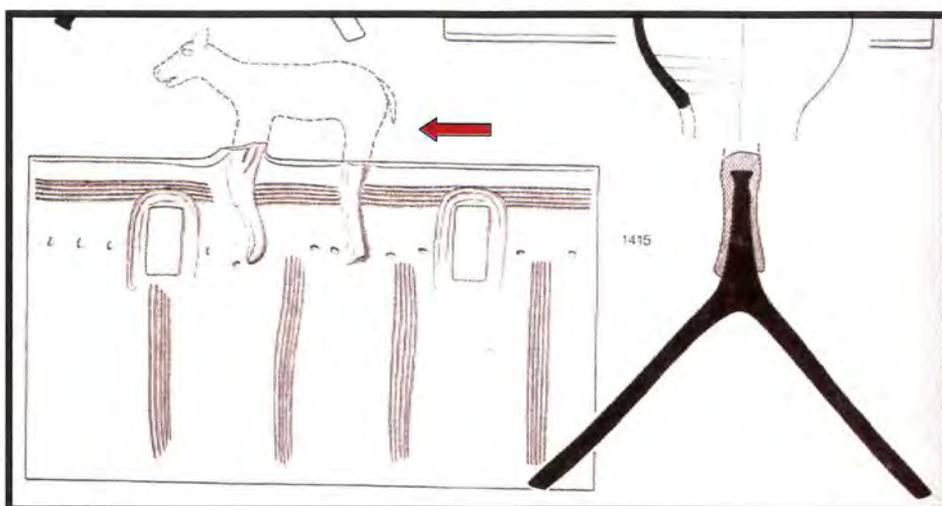
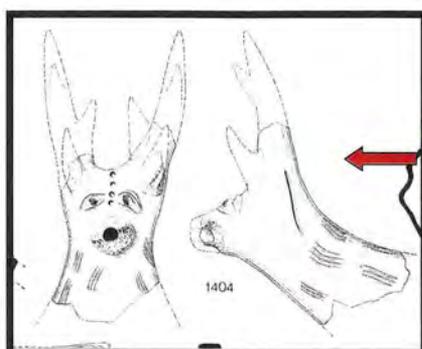
**Figure 5.147.**

Southampton's overseas trade from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> (left) and 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Century (right),  
 (Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975:20-21).



**Figure 5.148.**

Head and Neck of Modelled Stag Finial (top) and Animal Ridge Tile (bottom), Southampton, 13<sup>th</sup> Century, (Platt & Coleman-Smith 1975:192-194).



**Figure 5.149.**

Donkey Sculpture, Rievaulx Museum, North Yorkshire (EH 81065604),  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 5.150.**

Tiger Sculpture, Rievaulx Museum, North Yorkshire (EH 810656052),  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 5.151.**

Stag Tile, Riveaulx Museum, North Yorkshire (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 5.152.**

Double Headed Eagle on Tile, Beaulah, Yorkshire,  
(Photo: Courtesy of English Heritage, Accession No: EH 88092614).



**Figure 5.153.**

Bird Handle/Terminal, Medieval,

(Photo: Courtesy of English Heritage, Accession No: EH 671429).



**Figure 5.154.**

EH Archive Record Sheet for Bird Handle/Terminal,

(Photocopy Image of EH 671429 Archive Record).

THEME: DAILY LIFE			
Object Name:	BIRD TERMINAL	Current Location:	HELMSEY ST E0203
Description:	HANDLE IN FORM OF A BIRD	Photographed	✓
Material:	LEAD WITH TIN & CU. ALLOY	Conservation Requirements:	
Accession No.	671429		
Sketch:			
Dimensions:			
3.9 x 2.6 x 0.8 CM			
Interpretation for Label:			
WHO WOULD THEY HAVE BELONGED TO: <i>Monk / nun's food</i>			
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OBJECT/HOW MANY EXIST: <i>Rare Shows level of embellishment on object.</i>			
DATE/PERIOD:			
FUNCTION/USE: <i>ORIGINAL USE: PROBABLY A BIRD HANDLE FOR A VESSEL. (THE TAIL IS TWISTED, THE CASTING SEAM WOULD HAVE BEEN IN ALIGNMENT WITH THE BELLY SEAM BRINGING THE RIGHT WING HORIZONTAL &amp; THE BROKEN EDGE OF THE LEFT WING CLEARLY VISIBLE).</i>			
<i>LATER USE: HOLE PIERCED FOR SUSPENSION, PROBABLY AS A DECORATIVE OBJECT. or for sewing to clothes.</i>			
CONTEXT/EXCAVATOR:			

**Figure 5.155.**

Animal Headed Tap/Spout, Medieval,  
(Photo: Courtesy of English Heritage, Accession No: EH 671088).



**Figure 5.156.**

Associated Fitting, Medieval,  
(Photo: Courtesy of English Heritage, Accession No: EH 671179).



**Figure 5.157.**

Complete Animal Headed Tap/Spout and Fitting, Fountains Abbey, Medieval,  
(Photocopy of Image, EH 671088 and EH 671179 from Archive Record).



**Figure 5.158.**

Animal Headed Tap/Spout, Medieval,  
(Photo: Courtesy of English Heritage, Accession No: EH 671106).



**Figure 5.159.**

Canine Fitting, Thornton Abbey, Medieval,  
(Photo: Courtesy of English Heritage, Accession No: EH 790685).



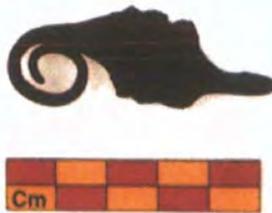
**Figure 5.160.**

Winged Lion Sculpture, Medieval,  
(Photo: Courtesy of English Heritage, Accession No: EH 81430748).



**Figure 5.161.**

Animal Fitting, Fountains Abbey, Medieval,  
(Photo: Courtesy of English Heritage, Accession No: EH 671092).



**Figure 5.162.**

Lion Cloth Seal, Fountains Abbey, Medieval,  
(Photo: Courtesy of English Heritage, Accession No: EH 671474).



## CHAPTER VI

### 6.0 Introduction.

Previous chapters have specifically contributed to the thesis by presenting original surveys of individual types of animal visual culture, dating from the Middle Ages. This chapter builds upon former chapters, by offering a focused synthesis of the combined permanent and portable animal visual culture at particular locations in the form of case studies. This enables additional archaeological and historical information to be considered to contextualise the material culture. This adds value to the thesis by demonstrating the potential of a further dimension to the analysis. It highlights the visual use of animals as a cultural tradition within particular sites. The chapter will focus upon the combined surviving range of permanent and portable<sup>193</sup> animal visual culture (in terms of the media presented in chapters 3, 4 and 5)<sup>194</sup>. Each case study site<sup>195</sup> is focused largely on a main cathedral, and commences with a brief outline of the character and chronology of the site during the medieval period<sup>196</sup>. In section 6.1, the animal visual culture of the City of Durham will be presented; in section 6.2, the City of York; and in section 6.3, the City of Lincoln. Finally, in section 6.4, a conclusion to the chapter can be found<sup>197</sup>.

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<sup>193</sup> This will include the excavated zoo-archaeological remains that can be attributed to that particular city. It is important to discuss and compare the portrayed creatures/animals with the evidence of real creatures/animals (as far as we can from the bones/remains of creatures that existed in flesh and blood).

<sup>194</sup> All data will be drawn from that available in published sources to establish limitations and gaps in research and scope for the future.

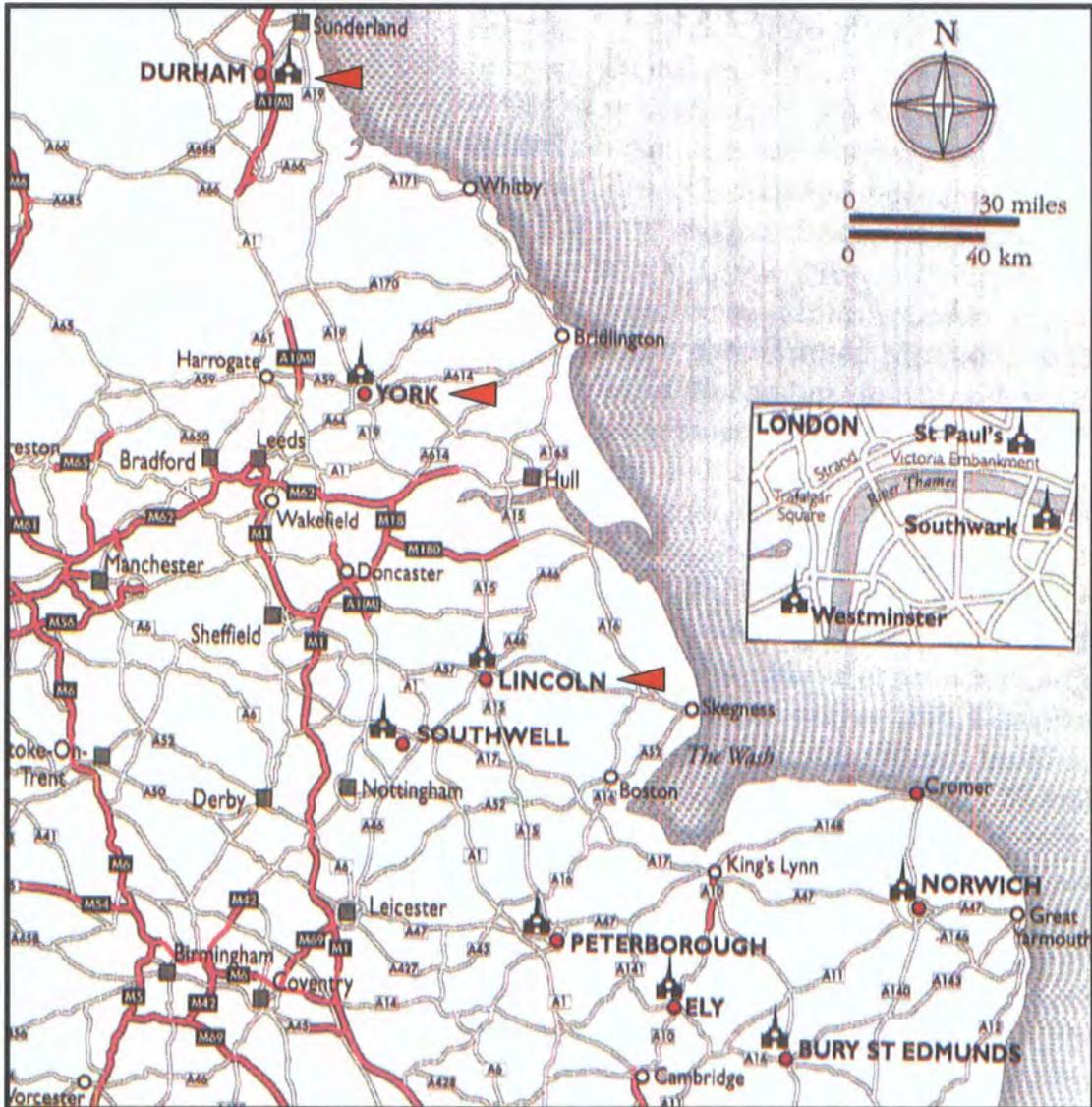
<sup>195</sup> Refer to Mead (2000:133-165) for a general interest guide to all sites, and for the landscape consult Reed (1990).

<sup>196</sup> Records of the animal visual culture being made, by whom and for whom will be referenced where applicable.

<sup>197</sup> This will include discussion of whether permanent and portable animal visual culture was intended to be seen and displayed.

Figure 6.1.

Map of North East Coast of England Showing Locations of Durham, York and Lincoln,  
(after Mead 2000:17).



## **6.1 The City of Durham.**

Durham was chosen as a case study because it was a cathedral and castle city with a strong medieval heritage. Further, Durham was chosen because it was also the location where the majority of the doctoral research was being conducted, and therefore made a cost effective and sensible choice of case study location (in view of the ease of accessibility to the archival material and the limited finances available for the thesis research).

### **6.1.1 The Character, Chronology and Excavations of Medieval Durham.**

Many publications were available for consultation on the history and development of Durham City and sites of historical interest (e.g. refer to Proud 1992; Roberts 2003), and archaeological interest (refer to Durham County Council SMR). The best overall archaeological assessment of the city and area around the castle and cathedral was published by Lowther et al (1993)<sup>198</sup>. This involved nearly one hundred archaeological survey investigations, supported by supplemental syntheses and observations of other sites, and analyses of artefacts. There are also various unpublished reports<sup>199</sup> and assessments<sup>200</sup> relating to sites within the city of Durham and the surrounding county. Some of these reflect more specifically the results of archaeological investigations and excavations conducted within the city, and these were consulted as a source of physical evidence for medieval animals. The most valuable resource for locating excavated material relating to animals was Huntley and Stallibrass (1996), who present an analytical review of the vertebrate remains from the Palaeolithic to the Post-Medieval period in northern England<sup>201</sup> (which includes coverage of County Durham). They cite a large number of published and unpublished documents that can be consulted to detail the finding of animal bones, which are important in order to appreciate the range of real species that existed in the period, and in this respect serve as the best synthesis of animal bones for the period and region relevant to Durham.

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<sup>198</sup> This also includes a very useful bibliography.

<sup>199</sup> Archaeological Services at the University of Durham provided access to additional unpublished material and details of any faunal remains analyses conducted by staff within the environmental unit.

<sup>200</sup> Huntley and Stallibrass (1995) most usefully cite those of 15-18 North Bailey; 16-20 Old Elvet; 61-63 Saddler Street; Silver Street; Bailey Gas Main; Cathedral Reredorter; Claypath, Jeavons House; Milburngate, Queen's Court. See also those of the Castle, Fellows Garden (refer to Mulville 1993); the Castle Ditch (refer to Fraser and Maxwell 1991); Old Durham Gardens (refer to Allen and Roberts 1994); Durham City Tenements (refer to Carver 1979 and Carver 1980) and the Leazes Bowl (Hambleton 1998).

<sup>201</sup> Including a zoo-archaeological assessment by the author.

By combining a selection of the available published and unpublished reports, an indication was provided as to the range of real animal species which medieval people would possibly have had the opportunity to see and become familiar with. The animal bone reports are an important source of evidence because they provide further clues for a social or economic reconstruction of the life and interactions of humans and animals in the medieval city of Durham. Six reports selected for discussion here provide samples of work conducted in various areas around the city and include: the City Walls, the Castle Ditch, the Old Borough, the Leazes Bowl, Walkergate and Saddler Street.

The first site to be discussed was located near to the **City Walls** of the medieval city. This site revealed identification of a variety of animal species predominantly representative of the main food domesticates of the period - these being cattle, sheep/goats and some pigs. The faunal analyst, Rackham, presented the interpretation and highlighted the fact that as well as butchered bones of animals at prime meat-bearing age, the site also revealed a high proportion of bones from the site that represented parts of limited food value but overall the assemblage probably represented butchers' refuse, please refer to the tables A(i), A(ii) and A(iii) in the Appendix, which provides a summary guide to the numbers of fragments taken from the animal remains report at Silver Street (Rackham 1980:124-125).

The **Castle Ditch**, was excavated and revealed 9307 fragments of animal bones. The faunal assessment for the ditch was conducted by Mulville (1991:23). The assemblage contained the three main species of domestic food animal (cattle, sheep/goat and pig), as well as cats, dogs, horses, deer (red, roe, fallow), hares, rabbits, and other small mammals (house mouse, pigmy shrew, rat, field vole, wood mouse), birds (domestic fowl, domestic/wild goose, duck), amphibians and fish. Mulville concluded that the assemblage represented mostly table waste, since the age at death of many of the cattle and sheep/goats was relatively young, suggesting they were culled at the optimum age for meat consumption, and further the representation of elements indicates more wealthy cuts of meat for more affluent consumers in the Castle as opposed to members of the surrounding town. Nicholson's (1991:36) analysis complements Mulville's, by identifying the fish remains from the Castle Ditch. The types of fish that were identified included a large number of both freshwater (brown-trout, eel, perch and salmon) and marine fish (herring, haddock, whiting, ling, saithe, pollack, cod, flatfish, thornback ray, conger eel, sand eel, mackerel, gurnard, scad).

Some bones were also charred indicating roasting or cooking of particular fish, and it has been suggested by some authors that fish was an important food for those days when meat was thought to have been forbidden by the Church (though in reality it is likely that people would have eaten what was available and affordable, irrespective of religious instruction, and concessions were certainly recorded for the sick or old)<sup>202</sup>.

Another area to have been excavated was the **Old Borough**. This site revealed animal bones of mainly domestic cattle and pigs with a few sheep/goat bones indicating again domestic food waste (refer to summary analysis by Stallibrass 1995). There were also the remains of one large rabbit which the analyst suggested was probably also consumed, and also two bird bones (a chicken, and either a wild greylag goose or a domestic goose). Stallibrass concluded that there were no clues left from the material as to “craft use or specialised butchery or processing techniques” (1995:70) therefore ruling out bone-working, horn-working or tanning industries from the site.

Medieval faunal remains were also recovered from the site of the **Leazes Bowl** in Durham. Hambledon (1998) analysed 3665 bones and teeth from hand-recovered excavated material, and a further 222 fragments from the environmental soil sampled. The bones of cattle and sheep/goat, pigs, cats and dogs, horses, fallow deer, hares, rats, rabbits and birds (rook, mallard, woodcock, blackcock, grouse, goose and fowl) were identified, please refer to tables A (iv), A(v) and A(vi) in the Appendix. The overall interpretation made by Hambledon for this site, was that the assemblage represented a milk economy and mixed domestic kitchen, and butchery waste from the town since the cattle that were killed were either very young or aged (milk economy), and the sheep/goats and pigs were culled at prime meat-bearing ages (killing at 2-4 years and 1-3 years respectively for a meat economy).

Gidney (1997) further revealed identifications of the bones of cattle and sheep/goat as the most prominent creatures in the additional hand-recovered material recovered from the site. The next most prominent species were pigs, some bones of larger creatures such as horses, fallow deer (three contexts), and the bones of smaller creatures such as cats and dogs, hares (four contexts), rats, fowl, geese, a rabbit (in one context), and a duck (in one context). All of the contexts excavated from the site revealed some fish bones<sup>203</sup>, and there were also traces of shellfish such as the whelk, winkle, cockle and mussel which would have been obtained locally from major medieval fishing ports such as Hartlepool (about 30 miles east) which was likely a source for sea fish to supplement the diet.

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<sup>202</sup> For further discussion on ecclesiastical dietary rules forbidding meat consumption on Fridays and Saturdays each week, and the practice of having fish days to compensate, refer to Dyer (2000:102).

<sup>203</sup> Fish bones are generally identified by comparing them to the bones of modern known species.

In addition to this site, an archaeological evaluation was conducted outside the medieval walled town of Durham (but within the Borough of the Bishop). This site was investigated in advance of a multi-storey car park being constructed and is known as **Walkergate**. The six trenches that were excavated revealed a number of animal remains, such as cattle and sheep/goat, along with some pig and dogs (Gidney 1999b). Gidney interpreted the collection as consisting mainly of domestic household waste. The site also revealed the presence of butchered dog bones, which does not necessarily mean human consumption of dog meat, but consumption of one animal by another since the analyst suggests,

“Dog carcasses are known to have been fed to other dogs and dog fat was utilised in the post-medieval period as an ingredient of hair pomade and as a cure for lumps on horses’ legs.” (Gidney 1999:21).

Other excavations from within the city, such as those of **Saddler Street** located on the hill slope between the Castle and market place were conducted over a number of years. In the late 1970’s Rackham revealed a variety of domestic animals, game, wild fowl, fish and shellfish (refer to Carver 1979:47-51 for a full list of species fragments). The analyst indicates that animals were mainly exploited as food, but also for skins and hair. There was some evidence that some of the animal bones had been worked, ranging from horse bones made into skates, deer antler made into a comb, pig bone to a toggle, and sheep/goat/ox bones are thought to have been made into spindle whorls. Part of this general area was more recently excavated (in association with the renewal of a seven inch water main) revealing further animal remains relating to the early medieval city (refer to Gidney 2000). This revealed domesticates of cattle, sheep/goat, pig, horse and wild red deer as being the most prominent species suggesting domestic household waste and some craft-working waste (deer).

In summary, the main similarities between the assemblages from the Castle Ditch, the City Walls, the Old Borough, Leazes Bowl, Walkergate, and Saddler Street was in the high relative proportions of domestic cattle and sheep/goat retrieved compared with the survival of other species. The biggest difference between all assemblages came from the Leazes Bowl assemblage analysed by Hambleton (1998), who discovered cattle that were either very young or much older animals which are more commonly associated with a milk economy, further that these bones had been previously exploited for marrow. This suggests that the animals found in the Leazes Bowl were uniquely being used for dairy and lastly for marrow products, which was not the case at other sites since the bones predominantly reflected meat consumption and domestic or butchery waste.

Excavations were also conducted in the ditch around Durham Castle as discussed above (refer to Fraser and Maxwell 1991). In addition to the faunal remains, there are also various animals found within the material culture at Durham Castle, such as those in stone to be found in the Norman Chapel, and those carved in wood as misericords and stall ends in Bishop Tunstall's Chapel as illustrated below in figures 6.2 and 6.3. Similarities can be drawn between the style of carving shown in these and on other regional bench ends thought to be of the same date indicating perhaps that the work may have been completed by the same carver or workshop.

**Figure 6.2.**

Dog on Stall End, in Bishop Tunstall's Chapel, Durham Castle (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.3.**

Lion on Stall End, in Bishop Tunstall's Chapel, Durham Castle (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).

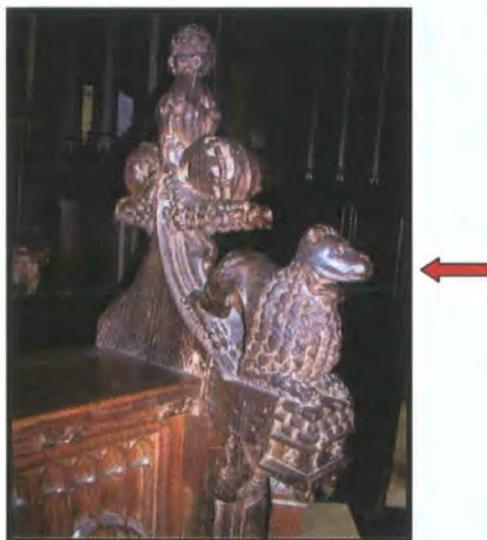
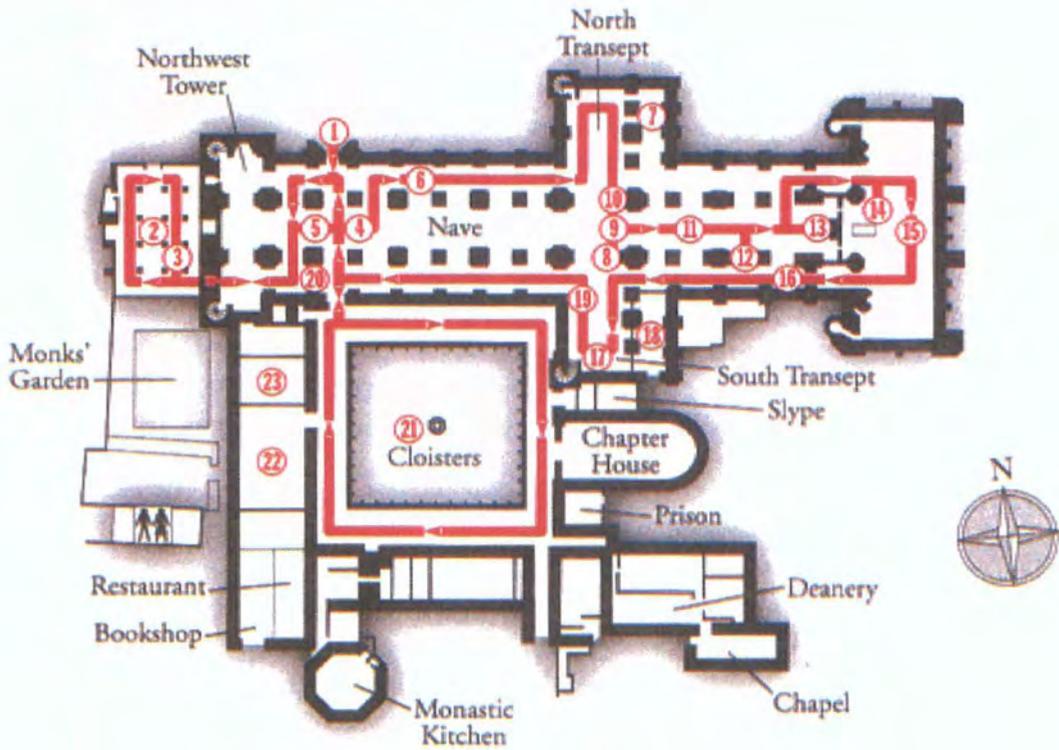


Figure 6.4.

Plan of Durham Cathedral (Mead 2000:158).



Key

- |                               |                               |   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. North Door                 | 8. Pulpit                     | 16. Millennium Window                   |
| 2. Galilee Chapel             | 9. Choir Screen               | 17. Prior Castell's Clock               |
| 3. Tomb of the Venerable Bede | 10. Lectern                   | 18. Chapel of the Durham Light Infantry |
| 4. Nave                       | 11. Choir                     | 19. Statue of Shute Barrington          |
| 5. Font                       | 12. Bishop's Throne           | 20. Miners' Memorial                    |
| 6. North Nave Aisle           | 13. Neville Screen            | 21. Cloisters                           |
| 7. Gregory Chapel             | 14. Tomb of St Cuthbert       | 22. Treasury                            |
|                               | 15. Chapel of the Nine Altars | 23. Monks' Dormitory                    |

## 6.1.2 Animal Visual Culture Synthesis of Durham.

This section will discuss the animals revealed in the stained and painted glass (6.1.2a), misericords (6.1.2b), and portable material culture (6.1.2c) found in Durham.

### 6.1.2a Stained and Painted Glass.

There are no published CVMA surveys for either Durham Castle or Durham Cathedral. Neither were there any other ecclesiastical or secular buildings in the county that were available for research (nor unpublished CVMA surveys currently in preparation for publication). Academic records of fragments of lost stained glass and descriptions of the glass for the Cathedral are available from other published sources such as the *Rites*<sup>204</sup> which describe the religious content of several of the windows in the chapel of the Nine Altars, the Galilee, the axis transepts, the west window, chapter house and cloisters (refer to figure 6.4).

Other major accounts of the glass are provided by Longstaffe (1876) which includes mention of a brown gryphon, black lion, rampant lions, ostrich feathers, a goat head, stag heads, reindeer heads, raven heads, falcon heads and other birds (1876:129, 140-141). The most recent overview was by Haselock and O'Connor (1980)<sup>205</sup>, which also presents a catalogue of fragments along with Longstaffe. The catalogue offered by Haselock and O'Connor (1980)<sup>206</sup>, draws upon both of these sources, and is useful for this research because it reveals a limited variety of named land animals such as the donkey and lion; a variety of unidentified and identified birds such as the duck, eagle, peacock, pelican, swan, and mythical creatures such as the unicorn, which were depicted in the stained and painted glass as detailed below.

Although stained and painted glass is a fragile medium and prone to deteriorate over time, this fact is not the main reason why the majority of the medieval glass once visible at Durham Cathedral, has not survived the test of time. Haselock and O'Connor (1980:105), comment that, "By the 16<sup>th</sup> Century all the glass in the cathedral had at some time or another been replaced and any coherent glazing scheme which might have existed had been destroyed".

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<sup>204</sup> Refer to edition by Fowler (1903) or that of the Surtees Society (1998).

<sup>205</sup> Refer also to other sources such as Norris (2001); photographs of surviving fragments are archived for consultation at The Centre for Medieval Studies, Kings Manor in York.

<sup>206</sup> Haselock and O'Connor (1977).

They support this by making reference to a number of episodes in the glazing history of the cathedral ranging from the loss of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century glass - thought to have been removed and lost when the Chapel of Nine Altars was built; the loss of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century glass - thought to have been lost in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century when the great lancets had mullions and tracery inserted; and the glass of the Rose Window - thought to have been replaced three times between its installation and the time of the Reformation.

The active destruction of medieval glass during and following the Reformation period caused even further serious losses (as is detailed in the *Rites*). The damage to the windows of the cathedral ranges from the activities of a rather destructive dean known as Dean Horne, who destroyed the glass depicting the life and miracles of St. Cuthbert in the cloister (and potentially various animals).

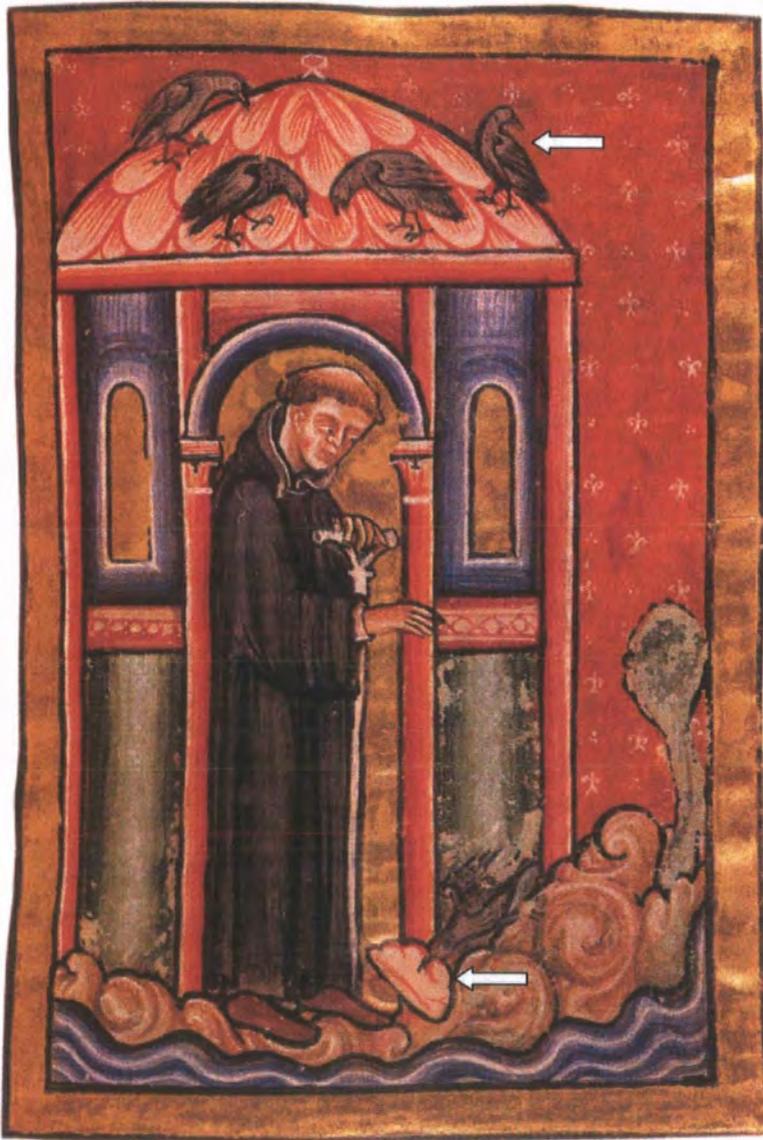
St. Cuthbert (c.634-687), was the main saint associated with Durham and in particular the Cathedral (Mead 2000). He is particularly attached to Durham, where his cult had a strong following and since his remains became housed in Durham Cathedral. He was also an important saint in the medieval world not only throughout England but in Europe (Marner 2000). One example of a heart-warming story of how much animals loved St. Cuthbert is cited by Broughton (1996). The saint stood, icy cold on a beach, after having been praying in the sea, and then,

“there came forth two beasts, vulgarly called otters, from the depth of the sea, which stretched on the sand before him, began to warm his feet with their breath, and busily to wipe them dry with their hair” (Broughton 1996:86).

As with other saints, St. Cuthbert appears depicted through visual illuminations of his life. Often aspects of his life were humanely portrayed with animals such as the horse, birds and fish in depictions demonstrating their affection for him such as in the *Life of St. Cuthbert* (written by Bede), visualised from illuminations in the BL Yates Thomson MS 26 as illustrated below in figure 6.5, but also in MS 165 (Oxford University).

**Figure 6.5.**

Crows pick thatch and bring lard to St. Cuthbert, BL Yates Thompson Ms 26, 44r,  
(Marner 2000:80).



The cathedral also suffered damage following the attacks made upon it by a flood of around 4000 Scottish prisoners following the boredom of being detained there after the battle of Dunbar in 1650<sup>207</sup>. In addition to these events were the effect poor attempts at various repairs had, which were often so bad in the case of the vestry (to the south of the choir) as to influence their further and complete destruction (refer to discussion in Haselock and O'Connor 1980:106).

Environmental conditions are also a cause of the loss of medieval glass from the cathedral ranging from moisture which can cause corrosion and weathering, to gusts of winds powerful enough to tear the glass from its frame. Longstaffe (1876:131) refers to high winds 'blowing in' glass from the east window into the cathedral. It is likely that many of these and other fragments were simply swept up and left lying around the cathedral (unattended), and on various occasions were later taken away as souvenirs by visitors and local people. This activity could account for the appearance of medieval glass being installed within houses around the city. This generated further interest from local antiquarians who made more active attempts beyond describing the disappearing glass to instead helping save some of the fragments of glass by getting them locked up in the cathedral. Some of the pieces of cathedral glass were even sorted and re-lead in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century and became part of the cathedral window glass once again<sup>208</sup>.

The majority of references to glazing activity in the cathedral can be found within the accounts of the Sacrist, who was the official who was responsible for the cathedral's windows (Haselock and O'Connor 1980:107). There is documentary evidence for the glazing of the windows of the cathedral from the account rolls for Durham, which is useful for "the dating, provenance, attribution and cost of the late medieval glazing". This source indicates that the Sacrist also looked toward the glaziers of York when new painted glass was required (Haselock and O'Connor 1980:108-109). It further demonstrates the close links between Durham and York. However, Haselock and O'Connor highlight the limitations of the account rolls in that they offer "very little towards a reconstruction of what the glass actually looked like and of its iconographic scheme" (1980:109)<sup>209</sup>. This is why the *Rites* are such a valuable source of information.

In the five-light **East Window** of the Vestry, the catalogue by Haselock and O'Connor includes reference to a roundel showing the depiction of a unicorn within a foliage border. This is dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> Century on account of the stylistic hair styles of the people depicted within the rest of the window (1980:115).

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<sup>207</sup> Refer to Mead (2000:157).

<sup>208</sup> The window in the south choir aisle (SIX).

<sup>209</sup> This makes the consultation of the account rolls for the research of the animal imagery of limited value, but nevertheless they are an important source on glazing to be recognised.

The records of glass for the surviving window in the **South Choir Aisle** (sIX), contain reference to a number of birds. There were two roundels which contained birds, one is identified as a pelican, shown in the classic piety mode, and the other roundel (dated to c.1500) is catalogued as an eagle. The drapery in the main light is also said to feature birds, and in addition to this there are at least four main lights which show animal fur (ermine), and in the tracery lights is a badge revealing the fragment of a beast (1980:117).

The origin of some of the fragments of medieval glass in the **Galilee Chapel** can be sourced to churches in York where glass were removed in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Haselock and O'Connor 1980:119) and re-housed in the Durham Cathedral<sup>210</sup>. One three-light window divided by transom, containing 19 panels, with 6 tracery lights (G/s VII) has revealed a small lion<sup>211</sup>. This lion, dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> Century was depicted in a heraldic pose as part of a shield, representing the coat of arms for the Percy family. Another three-light window divided by a transom, containing 18 panels of miscellaneous fragments (G/wI) includes a donkey. The donkey is shown on a tracery light dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> Century and is part of a scene known as the 'Flight into Egypt', with Joseph, Mary and Child. A further three-light window divided by transom (G/nVI), shows a series of oak leaf quarries with birds in their borders dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> Century and purchased from a collection in 1957.

The surviving medieval glass of the **Chapter House** is represented by a collection of quarries and fragments in two small windows<sup>212</sup>. Haselock and O'Connor suggest the glass "comes from one of the prebendal houses, and may represent relics of glazing of the conventional buildings (1980:123). In CH/nV, four of the eight quarries depict birds: one depicts a duck swimming in figure 6.6; one pictures a swan swimming; another depicts a peacock standing on a hill; the other illustrates a peacock in its pride in figure 6.7. In CH/sV, there are also four birds shown in quarries: only one bird is identified as a peacock with fruit in figure 6.8, the other three are unidentified birds - one is depicted feeding, the other is shown with a decorative band over its back, and the last one is illustrated wearing a decorative waistcoat (obviously a fashion-conscious bird). A further quarry exists with the Royal Arms of England, and although this does not clarify the representation of any animals, realistic or heraldic, it is clear from figure 6.9, that stylistic lions are painted as part of the coat of arms.

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<sup>210</sup> For location, refer to figure 6.4.

<sup>211</sup> This was obtained in 1962.

<sup>212</sup> For location, refer to figure 6.4.

**Figure 6.6.**

Duck in Durham Cathedral (Haselock and O'Connor 1980).



**Figure 6.7.**

Peacock in Durham Cathedral (Haselock and O'Connor 1980).



A record of one four-light window dating to the late 14<sup>th</sup> Century from the **Prior's Hall** (sII - Deanery), was made in 1902 (no glass survives), though only two lights were seen in 1666 by Dugdale, so Haselock and O'Connor consider the true dating to be a problem (1980:123). The window is thought to have depicted as many as eleven lions. These lions are depicted *rampant*, and described as being either *or* (gold), as part of heraldic shields in the arms of St Oswald, or *argent* (silver) in the arms of the Bishop Thomas Hatfield, and the Church of Durham.

It is possible, that many more animals existed in the medieval glass of the cathedral than is indicated here in this overview. In particular, in the modern references to shields and coats of arms it is possible that when animals formed part of the cognisance they were not always recorded within the description or figure illustration. This might have occurred if the reader was assumed to have the ability to recognize the heraldic animals or have familiarity with the forms of heraldic display and representation of animals. This could account for catalogue entries, such as the case of the quarry glass with the Royal Arms of England illustrated in figure 6.9 (below).

This inbuilt form of assumption on the ability of the modern reader, causes animals to be under-recorded and under-represented in the catalogue entries, and can cause distortions of the textual and pictorial data being collected. However, it also highlights an inconsistency in the manner in which animals are catalogued by particular researchers, since the lions featuring in other coats of arms are described e.g. they are clearly recorded in the fragments of sII, but are not mentioned as appearing in CH/sV.

**Figure 6.8.**

Peacock with Fruit, West Window, The Chapter House, Durham Cathedral (Norris 1984:25).



**Figure 6.9.**

Lions in the Royal Arms of England (Haselock and O'Connor 1980).



### 6.1.2b Misericords.

There are a number of medieval misericords available for study in Durham. In Durham Cathedral, a single medieval misericord survives as illustrated in figure 6.10 (Remnant 1969, suggests it is dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> Century). There are also over twenty misericords that can be found in Bishop Tunstall's Chapel (in Durham Castle), which are believed to be medieval in origin<sup>213</sup>, and thought to have come from Auckland Castle (Phipson 1896), having being moved during the life of Bishop Tunstall. There is also a more recent set of over thirty misericords which were installed<sup>214</sup> within the Cathedral to replace the medieval originals which were destroyed (Roberts 2003), possibly being torn up for firewood (Mead 2000). It is not know to what extent these reflect the themes depicted by the medieval originals, but similarities in carving style can be found between the later misericords in Durham Castle, and the post-medieval replacements currently in the cathedral (figures 6.11 and 6.12). These are illustrated to demonstrate that those in Durham Castle, may have been used as a model for those produced later as replacements for the medieval misericords removed from Durham Cathedral.

**Figure 6.10.**

Medieval Misericord, Durham Cathedral, 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



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<sup>213</sup> Early 16<sup>th</sup> Century.

<sup>214</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> Century.

**Figure 6.11.**

Medieval Misericord, Durham Castle, 16<sup>th</sup> Century (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.12.**

Durham Cathedral Eagle Misericord, 17<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>215</sup> (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



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<sup>215</sup> This image is used only as a comparison of style with figure 6.11.

All catalogued misericords with animals were investigated in order to compile the animal visual culture database. This was done for the completeness, and in view of the uncertainties presented by the dating of carvings by non-scientific techniques. A number of differences were established between catalogued accounts. Comparison of the catalogued misericords revealed inconsistencies in both the identification of species<sup>216</sup>, and in terms of the number, order and sequence<sup>217</sup> of misericords presented by previous scholars. This was only appreciated because a comparison was made between sources of data, and compared with the own catalogue of misericords compiled during a visit as part of the thesis research.

Phipson (1896) and Remnant (1969) both recorded **22** medieval misericords for the **Castle**. The creatures depicted range from a bear, dog, horse, pigs, eagles, a whelk shell, to a dragon, a mermaid, a unicorn and a number of other unidentified grotesque and winged monsters. However, in terms of the catalogued records, there were confusing inconsistencies regarding the ordering of the misericords. Although the accounts from Phipson (1896) and Remnant (1969) matched, indicating either they were correctly catalogued in the first instance, or the latter was copied from the former, it was clear that since the latter catalogue had been published (now more than thirty years ago), some of the misericords had changed position entirely.

If such a comparison between different sources of misericords had not been made, a great number of mistakes in the published data would not have been revealed. For example, the misericords numbered **3** and **4** on the north side of the choir were described as missing in the 1969 catalogue. When the misericords were assessed on site, misericords with animals were found in these positions. The misericord in position **3**, instead of being blank featured a muzzled bear (which sounds like the description of misericord number **2** from the south side - and which has since been replaced by a misericord featuring a whelk shell). The misericord in position **4**, instead of being blank, featured a winged animal and a single surviving human foot.

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<sup>216</sup> Phipson's (1896) catalogue of misericords recorded a misericord of a peacock with an out-spread tail for the north side of the Cathedral, yet in 1969, Remnant recorded this same misericord as a crab. These are creatures which in no way could be confused. One is a bird with two legs which is highly distinctive on account of its ornate tail, the other being an eight-legged crustacean. The accuracy of Phipson's account was confirmed by the current author during a fieldwork visit during 2004.

<sup>217</sup> Phipson's (1896) catalogue cites **32** misericords for Durham **Cathedral** in the Choir<sup>217</sup> (**12** cited as being destroyed), yet, fifty years later, Remnant's (1969) catalogue cites **36** misericords for the Cathedral (four extra than were recorded in 1896, and including the addition of a second crab, an unidentified winged scaly animal, a winged dragon and a misericord of a head between foliage). This demonstrates an inconsistency between the data sources.

Originally, the misericord catalogued as number **5** on the north side, depicted a unicorn, but this misericord currently depicts foliage (possibly originally misericord number **11**), and instead a unicorn appears where misericord **8** was missing. Misericord **6** and **7** are now blank. Infact, misericords **9**, **10**, and **11** no longer exist either on the north side and are also currently blank. It is difficult to understand why the published data does not match with the surviving misericords.

It is possible that the misericord that was in position **11** on the south side over thirty years ago had either become loose and was replaced in the wrong position or was moved to position **7** to keep all the complete misericords together. Of the two that have been added in positions **3** and **4** (which were originally missing) - one is pulling out its tongue and it is possible that one of these at least was the grotesque monster described as being in position **9** on the north side).

It appears that there were once **26** misericords rather than the **22**, recorded by Phipson (1896) and Remnant (1969), since an additional two blank misericord ledges (**12** and **13**) were visible. The same pattern can be identified on the south side. Only three out of the original eleven featured the same scenes as were described in 1896 and 1969 respectively, and only these three were in the same position. When Phipson recorded the misericords in 1896, she found that six were missing on the south side. When the misericords from the castle were examined in 2004, only two were found to be missing, and four were actually just blank.

In addition to these sources there are a further seven locations within the county of Durham, where misericordia have been recorded (refer to Remnant 1969) but only two of these revealed animals, at St Cuthbert's Church in Darlington, and at the Castle Chapel in Bishop Auckland. Other animals such as the dragon can be located in nearby counties such as at Jarrow, Hexham.

### 6.1.2c Portable Material.

Unfortunately as previous chapters have indicated, much was either removed or destroyed from the cathedral from the time of the Reformation and afterwards around the Civil War. Nevertheless, surviving descriptions of the precious metalwork such as gold, silver and gems within the cathedral relics<sup>218</sup>, or inventories and wills have survived which can help fill in our gaps of the materials lost (refer to Geddes 1980:141)<sup>219</sup>.

One piece of animal ornamental metalwork that is only known to us from archival description is the enormous Durham Paschal Candlestick (estimated at 23m or 75ft high). The candlestick was detailed in the *Rites of Durham* (compiled in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century) and was described as having four flying dragons at each corner, with holes in the heads for precious stones, and men on horseback (refer to Fowler 1903 or the Surtees Society 1998). There are surviving pieces of metalwork that contain animal-styled details such as the cast bronze 'Sanctuary Ring' (c.1140) of the wooden north nave door at Durham Cathedral<sup>220</sup> as illustrated in figure 6.13 below. Geddes (1982) described this as a lion's head, similar to those depicted in the St. Calais manuscripts and stone sculpture of the period (refer also to Geddes 1999:320). The door itself has been dated by dendro-chronology and radiocarbon dating to offer a date of felling of 1109-1144 (refer to Caple 1998).

Some of the animal carvings that survive relate to local stories such as that of the 'Lost Cow' on the external wall of the Cathedral (refer to Fowler 1903:66-74 and The Surtees Society 1998 reprint; and Deary 2001:5-7) as illustrated in figure 6.14 below. A number of creatures can be found around the cathedral and cloisters without any tales attached, such as the stone and wooden carvings (refer also to Brown 1978) ranging from winged lions and griffins, to creatures resembling dogs, frogs, rabbits/hares, fish and a range of birds and double-headed creatures with feline styled heads (refer to Cave 1948). Other materials that have been recovered include fragments of an English oak coffin dating to the late 7<sup>th</sup> Century. This depicts the symbols of the Evangelists including the lion, ox, and eagle. There is also the head of a crozier and ferrule, dating to the mid 11<sup>th</sup> to the early 12<sup>th</sup> Century which contains animal interlace on its socket; and another piece known as the Conyers Falchion dated to the mid 13<sup>th</sup> Century was also recovered. This is a steel sword decorated with a number of animals including winged serpents (on the bronze guard), a black eagle and the arms of England displayed on a shield (on the pommel).

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<sup>218</sup> See Battiscombe (1937) and (1956) for further discussion of the cathedral relics.

<sup>219</sup> The main study of art and architecture for the cathedral are the papers published within Coldstream and Draper (1980).

<sup>220</sup> Please refer to Geddes (1982:124) and Whittaker (n.d:1, 4).

Amongst the more portable materials are equestrian seals dating to the 12<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries which contain mounted horses such as those of King Stephen (1135-39); Henry III (1259-72); Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham (1378); and Henry V (1414); and a charter of 1165-71 with the seal of William the Lion attached (refer to Whittaker, n/d). Within the cathedral itself it is also likely that there were a number of animals that appeared in objects made out of metals such as brass. The modern cathedral has a Victorian lectern that depicts the pelican in her piety<sup>221</sup>. It is thought that this was a copy of an original lectern that has been documented in the same form (Norman Emery, Cathedral Archaeologist, 2006, Pers.Comm).

**Figure 6.13.**

The Sanctuary Ring of Durham Cathedral (Whittaker n.d:1).



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<sup>221</sup> For location, refer to no.10 on figure 6.4.

**Figure 6.14.**

The Lost Cow of Durham Cathedral (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.15.**

Section of Oak Coffin from Durham Cathedral (Whittaker n/d: 31).



**Figure 6.16.**

The Great Seal of Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, 1378 (Whittaker n/d: 31).



**Figure 6.17.**

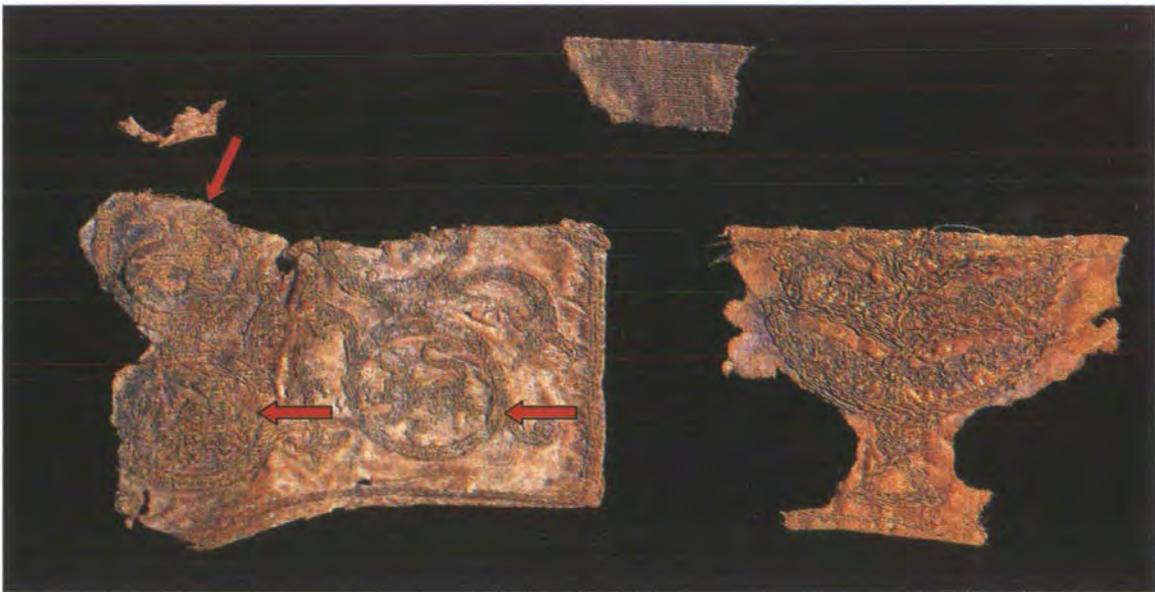
The Second Great Seal of Henry III, 1259-72 (Whittaker n/d: 31).



The area around the cathedral has revealed evidence of more fabulous creatures in some surviving fragments of medieval textiles dating from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> Century. One example is the Earth and Ocean Silk, containing fish and ducks dating to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> Century (refer to Whittaker n/d:34). This demonstrates that imports were sought to satisfy a taste for animals. Indeed, during the demolition of the Norman Chapter House in 1796 (refer to Carver, 1980:12), fragments of a robe were recovered from a grave thought to belong to Bishop William of St Calais (Bishop of Durham from 1081-1096). Carver, quoting from Raine (1852) suggests these fragments of silk contained griffins *passant* and other quaint devices richly embroidered in gold; whilst Ivy (1997:17) describes them as containing “Lions, griffins and foliage” embroidered with silver-gilt thread as illustrated in figure 6.18<sup>222</sup>.

**Figure 6.18.**

The Lion Silk of Durham Cathedral, 11<sup>th</sup> Century (Ivy 1997:16).



<sup>222</sup> Refer to the Battiscombe (1956) for further discussion of the relics of St. Cuthbert.

## **6.2 The City of York.**

York Minster was chosen as a case study because it was a Cathedral and Castle city, but primarily because of the wealth of information available on it as a research resource. Firstly, the Cathedral was one of the largest extant in Europe, and as such had numerous published volumes about the glass in situ from the CVMA. Secondly, it did have some surviving misericords in one of its chapels, but a fire in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century destroyed most of them, as well as those from surrounding churches.

Finally, the city itself has been extremely well excavated and published. One of the supervisors of the thesis research had also worked for the excavation unit there, so coupled with their supportive expertise it was considered there would be sufficient material in print that could be researched effectively for evidence of animal visual culture. It was also within an hour travelling distance of Durham, which made it more of a cost effective location to conduct research on a limited budget.

### **6.2.1 The Character, Chronology and Excavations of the Medieval City of York.**

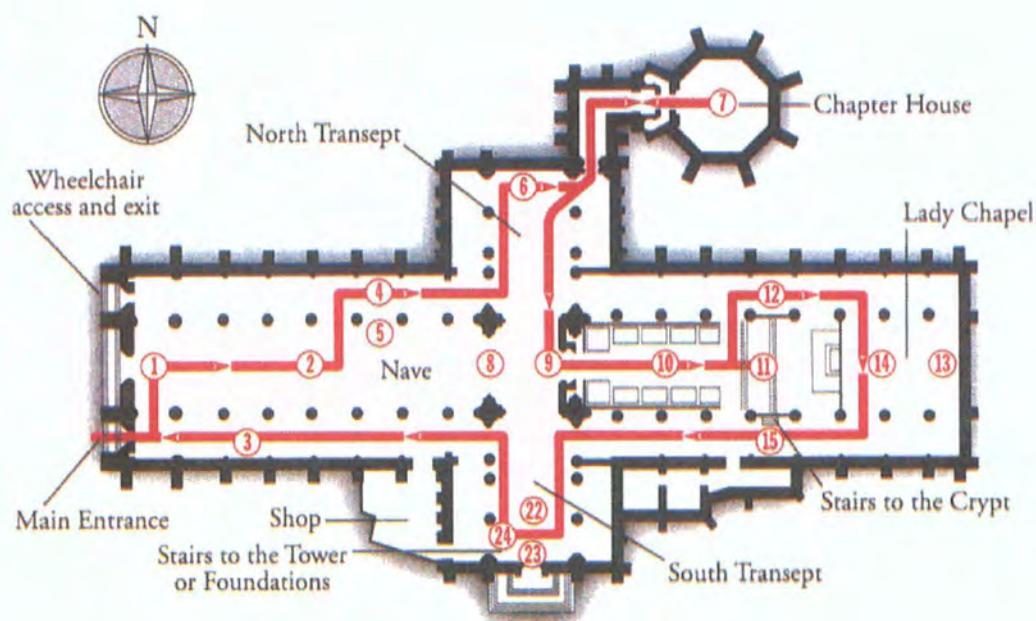
There are a number of works which were useful in putting the data on York into context such as Wilson and Mee (1998) on parish churches, Swanson (1983) for an interesting contribution on the craftsmen of late medieval York; and Drake (1989) generally for the city. The main source for the iconography in York can be found in Davidson and O'Connor (1978)<sup>223</sup> who offer a work on the extant and lost art.

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<sup>223</sup> Archives can be consulted at Kings Manor library in York.

**Figure 6.19.**

Plan of York Minster Cathedral (Mead 2001:147)<sup>224</sup>.



**Key**

- 1. Great West Window
- 2. Nave
- 3. Jesse Window
- 4. Bell Founder's Window
- 5. Dragon's Head
- 6. Five Sisters Window

- 7. Chapter House
- 8. Central Tower
- 9. Pulpitum
- 10. Choir
- 11. Sanctuary
- 12. North Choir Aisle
- 13. Great East Window

- 14. Lady Chapel
- 15. Stairs to Crypt
- 16-21. See plan of Crypt
- 22. South Transept
- 23. Rose Window
- 24. Stairs to the Tower or Foundations, see Foundations plan

<sup>224</sup> Refer also to Willey (1998), Norman and Hampson (2003), McIlwain (2003), for works on York Minster Cathedral.

## 6.2.2 Animal Visual Culture Synthesis of York.

This section will discuss the animals revealed in the stained and painted glass (6.2.2a), misericords (6.2.2b) and portable material culture (6.2.2c) found in York.

### 6.2.2a Stained and Painted Glass.

“The stained glass plays an important role in making York Minster one of the major Gothic cathedrals in Europe.....When we consider the enormous losses sustained by English medieval glass, then the survival of so much in the Minster becomes something of a miracle. Although most of the rich works of art which once adorned the cathedral were ruthlessly destroyed at the Reformation, the glass escaped the iconoclasts, doubtless because of its functional value”, (Haselock and O’Connor 1977:313).

Much of the medieval glass in York has survived despite world war, fire (i.e. those of 1829, 1840 and 1984), the effect of the elements (moisture can cause corrosion and weathering), and neglect from the Reformation and religious iconoclasm. Unlike the windows at Durham Cathedral, those at York were often replaced for their own protection (Haselock and O’Connor 1977:315). Therefore an investigation of stained glass for ‘Yorkshire’ was well documented through three volumes of the CVMA, covering various windows within the Minster in the City of York by French (1995) for the Great East Window; French (1999) for the St. William Window; and French and O’Connor (1987) for the West Windows of the Nave. There were a wide variety of animals that were revealed within the three catalogues, the most numerous category being from the land animals.

**The Great East Window I** (c.1405-8<sup>225</sup>) is regarded as one of the largest areas of surviving medieval glass (Mead 2000:148), and depicts the story of the Creation and the destruction. There are various land animals represented within this window ranging from animals associated with the evangelists -the bull/calf, eagle, lamb and lion (often each animal had wings); to the representation of pets such as the dog (some lucky enough to be handed bones); amphibians such as the frog (jumping out of a chalice), the snake, serpent and winged serpents and insects such as the locust (shown with curved fangs yet humanised). Other domesticates such as horses were often included within scenes (frequently bridled and shown complete with riders); as well as the mule (carrying a rider); the sheep (most often used to enhance the scene rather than doing anything); and the monkey (pulling the tail of a lion).

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<sup>225</sup> Haselock and O’Connor (1977:376), refer also to figure 6.19 for its location.

There are also numerous lions (shown crouching, in attack, one having its tail pulled, others in association with St. Mark or shown as part of a heraldic coat of arms); as well as depictions of the leopard and leopard masks (most frequently in border decoration), and a number of other unidentified animals were catalogued as being part of particular scenes with biblical personalities such as Adam. A number of air creatures were represented in this window. There were a few depictions of the eagle, though most that were catalogued appeared in association with the evangelist St John, and were depicted flying or with scrolls or nimbus. Other birds that were represented were heraldic martlets, a flying and swimming swan and a number of unidentified birds in flight, standing, or being blessed by the hand of God. However, unique to the other windows catalogued, it was the only window in the cathedral that revealed any sea creatures from the catalogued information, having recorded a number of unidentified fish in the main panel and one scallop shell. It was also the window that depicted the largest number of dragons, and they are shown in activities such as being attacked, attacking, holding sceptres, often depicted in the colours of ruby and sometimes shown with wings. There were also a variety of unidentified beasts that were catalogued. Some of these had several heads, a series of horns, a number of crowns, and held swords.

**The Great West Windows of the Nave wI** (c.1339)<sup>226</sup> revealed a number of animals including one ass and one ox (both depicted together as part of a nativity scene); a lamb as the Agnus Dei; a number of heraldic lions which were depicted in association with a number of saints (St Wilfrid, St Oswald, St William, St John, St Paul) and personalities including eight archbishops e.g. Archbishop Sewell de Bovill; and a number of unidentified animals shown in the catalogue but having no mention within the catalogued descriptions. There were also a couple of eagles either being held or in association with St. John (but without any catalogued description beyond a figure title), a pelican depicted in her piety, and a number of unidentified birds (illustrated as photographic plates but without any catalogued description). There were no depictions of sea creatures and only one bushy-tailed dragon, being pierced with a staff and being trodden on by a saint (to represent creatures of the mind).

**The St. William Window nVII** (c.1423)<sup>227</sup> revealed a few animals, ranging from a couple of dogs (one standing and one being handed a bone); horses (the head and neck of one, and others being ridden); a couple of leopard's masks; a roasted piglet on a dish; to a few unidentified birds and a few doves (not depicted within any of the other two windows) and on each occasion represented to signify the Holy Spirit. There were no sea creatures or creatures of the mind.

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<sup>226</sup> Haselock and O'Connor 1977:360.

<sup>227</sup> Haselock and O'Connor 1977:380.

**Non CVMA Catalogued Windows:** unfortunately the three volumes on York by the CVMA only deal with three windows, and so do not cover all window glass in the cathedral, and there are other windows which contain creatures which have not been published to date by the CVMA. There are various birds represented in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century quarries of the windows in the Zouche Chapel, which remain unpublished though are easy to view as many are not too much taller than head height. Figures 6.20 to 6.26 demonstrate the range of species depicted in these from the horse, bear and monkey to a wide range of hook-billed and long-billed birds. Other non CVMA publications supplement and detail the above such as O'Connor and Haselock (in Aylmer and Cant 1977:313-393) who discuss the stained and painted glass of the Minster; and the Royal Commission volumes on glass for York Minster. These reveal descriptions and images of animals in the windows of York Minster such as the windows from the south nave aisle (sXXXV, c.1350) which include creatures such as a flock of sheep depicted with Joachim in the wilderness.

One of the earliest windows was known as the **Five Sisters Window** nXVI (c.1250<sup>228</sup>) and dominates the north transept. Although this window has lost much of its original glass and paintwork, the window depicts the Old Testament scene of Daniel in the Lions' Den c.1180. The **Wolveden Window** nVIII dating to the 12<sup>th</sup> Century, also depicts an animal since a person is being run over by a horse and cart - relating to the legend of the Jew who called upon St Nicholas to recover a debt (Haselock and O'Connor 1977:322).

The **Heraldic Window** nXXIII (c.1310-20<sup>229</sup>) reveals a set of eight shields emphasising the arms of England and figures of the kings of England and France, supported by heraldic eagles and lions within its borders. The **Bell Founders Window** nXXIV (c.1325<sup>230</sup>), reveals a canopy of various bells (it was donated by the owner of the local bell foundry), and ape musicians within its borders.

The **Pilgrimage Window** nXXV dating to c.1320-30, reveals a number of creatures in its vertical borders recreating parodies especially the monkeys involved in a funeral procession - relating to the iconography of the Funeral of the Virgin (Haselock and O'Connor 1977:360); or the depiction of monkey doctors holding flasks of urine (refer to Hardwick 2000 and 2002; and Brown 1999). Other animals depicted (not necessarily in their original order) include a heraldic lion, owls on the wrists of the monkeys, hounds, a stag and squirrels eating nuts. There is also a fox preaching to a cock from a lectern, and a fox stealing a goose, both popular medieval themes. In addition to these animals are a number of other mind creatures such as centaurs and griffins.

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<sup>228</sup> Haselock and O'Connor (1977:325).

<sup>229</sup> Haselock and O'Connor (1977:349).

<sup>230</sup> Haselock and O'Connor (1977:352), and refer to Mead (2000:146).

**Figure 6.20.**

Long Billed Bird (Stork ?) and Owl with Mouse (?) in Quarry Glass, Zouche Chapel, York Minster (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.21.**

Deer and Bear in Quarry Glass, Zouche Chapel, York Minster (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.22.**

Monkeys in Quarry Glass, Zouche Chapel, York Minster (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.23.**

Birds in Quarry Glass, Zouche Chapel, York Minster (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.24.**

Birds in Quarry Glass, Zouche Chapel, York Minster (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.25.**

Birds with Scrolls in Quarry Glass, Zouche Chapel, York Minster (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.26.**

Birds in Quarry Glass, Zouche Chapel, York Minster (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



Unfortunately, there are no individual CVMA publications for the other churches within the city of York such as All Saints and Holy Trinity<sup>231</sup>. However, Sprakes (2002) has published a survey of 'South Yorkshire' to add to the volumes on the Minster, which cites locations where stained glass can be found around this part of the county. These include both in-situ (25 locations) and excavated glass (5 locations). This volume will be briefly considered as a comparative of the range of species depicted within the region.

The CVMA catalogue for south Yorkshire revealed that the most frequently represented creatures were those of the land (as at York Minster). This included most interestingly, a number of elephant heads depicted as part of the arms of Fountayne; leopard heads (within the shields of Levett and of Gascoigne); a bear's head and a bear shown within the shields of Vincent of Barnburgh and Thomas Vincent; goats (as part of a shield of arms and as part of the badge of Henry VII); a lamb shown in association with St John; a hunting dog; numerous lions (mostly heraldic within the shields of Darell, Everingham, Mowbray, Talbot, Vincent of Barnburgh, Thomas Vincent, The Prince of Wales, England and Lancaster).

Other creatures included squirrels and the representation of a camel's skin and animal fur/ermine. There were also a number of creatures that were not identified in the catalogue, but from the figures resembled lions and squirrels. The most common birds that were represented from the glass catalogued in south Yorkshire were the heraldic martlet, followed by a few eagles, an owl - again all depicted with family coats of arms, and one unidentified white bird perched on an oak tree shown as part of a medallion.

There were no sea creatures and only three dragons that were depicted, two were shown in conjunction with St Margaret and St John, the other was part of a roundel with the head of a king. There was one griffin, shown as part of a coat of arms, and two additional unidentified beasts (one heraldic, the other fabulous) that were represented on a roundel and medallion respectively. The lack of sea creatures and the limited variety and number of mind creatures represented within the churches of South Yorkshire is consistent with the findings at York Minster. In addition to this, there are a number of papers and publications on the glass of York Minster (refer to Gibson 1979, and Toy 1985) or in 'York' within other works, primarily, the JBSMGP.

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<sup>231</sup> Refer to Dobson in Ford (1992:206) for discussion of buildings associated with other orders of mendicant Friars such as the Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites and Austin Friars.

### 6.2.2b Misericords.

Although Phipson (1896) makes no mention of any surviving misericords at York Minster, Remnant (1969) and Chapman (1996), both cite two misericords that have survived in the Minster (Cathedral of St. Peter). Chapman (1996:36), comments that “Jonathan Martin destroyed 64 of the 66 misericords by an act of arson in 1829”. The two that survived the fire, have been dated to around the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, can now be found as free-standing choir stalls within the Zouche Chapel.

Animals can be identified in both of the surviving misericords, as illustrated below in figures 6.27 and 6.28, and both of these have heavily worn bench ends of what appears to be a winged maiden (siren), one complete with a shield. The first misericord shown below in figure 6.27, illustrates what is catalogued by both as an eagle. The second misericord illustrated below in figure 6.28, reveals a lion mask as part of its supporters.

There is also one more modern misericord within the main choir of cathedral which remains unrecorded depicting foliage which must have been carved following the renewal of the choir in the early to mid-nineteenth century, and there is no mention of this in any of the currently published literature<sup>232</sup> or why it was carved.

Nevertheless, the catalogues also cite only one or two surviving misericords from around the city of York such as at All Saints Church North Street e.g. a 15<sup>th</sup> Century pelican survives - refer to Wilson and Mee (1988:31); at St. Mary’s Church, Castlegate; and at St. Saviour’s Church in York. When these numbers are combined, the total number of surviving misericords for the city of York is extremely disappointing.

Remnant (1969) also cites sixteen further locations within the County of Yorkshire where misericordia can be found<sup>233</sup>. In addition to this, Chapman (1996) cites two further locations (not catalogued previously by Remnant) within the County of Yorkshire where misericordia can also be found.

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<sup>232</sup> This is currently located in the fourth row back on the north side in the main choir area, located under the seat of Cubicularius (the Chamberlain).

<sup>233</sup> See also, the work of Purvis (1929) for Ripon misericords.

**Figure 6.27.**

Medieval Bird & Scroll Misericord, Zouche Chapel, York Minster, 15<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



**Figure 6.28.**

Medieval Misericord with Lion-mouth Supporters, Zouche Chapel, York Minster, 15<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



### 6.2.2c Portable Material.

A vast range of artefacts have been excavated in and around York. Refer to Lee (1972) for silver finds; Addyman (1987) for medieval pottery from archaeological sites such as Aldwark. Ottaway and Rogers (2002) offer a volume on archaeological finds in York, including copper alloy seal matrices representing animals such as birds, or in the case of figure 6.28 the squirrel, the hawk and the deer as clarified by the red arrows. There are a number of animals that can be found within horse equipment such as copper alloy harness pendants in a variety of shapes, some with enamelling, gilding and animals, e.g. heraldic lions.

Another type of material culture recovered from York is embroidery and textiles. Surviving fragments are presented by Ingram (1987) as illustrated in figure 6.30<sup>234</sup> showing a textile fragment from the tomb of Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York (1215-1255). This was recovered during restoration work during the late 1960's. It reveals a chequer pattern similar to those revealed from other tombs dating from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century and depicting a pattern of squares containing various animal motifs including doves, peacocks, lions and deer.

Other material featuring animals can be found within the building architecture of the cathedral such as the dragon in the nave<sup>235</sup>, perhaps associated with a carving of St. George on the opposite side (refer to Mead 200:146). Other wooden carvings also exist such as the 13<sup>th</sup> Century carvings of a cat and a pig above human heads that decorate the canopies of the stalls within the Chapter House.

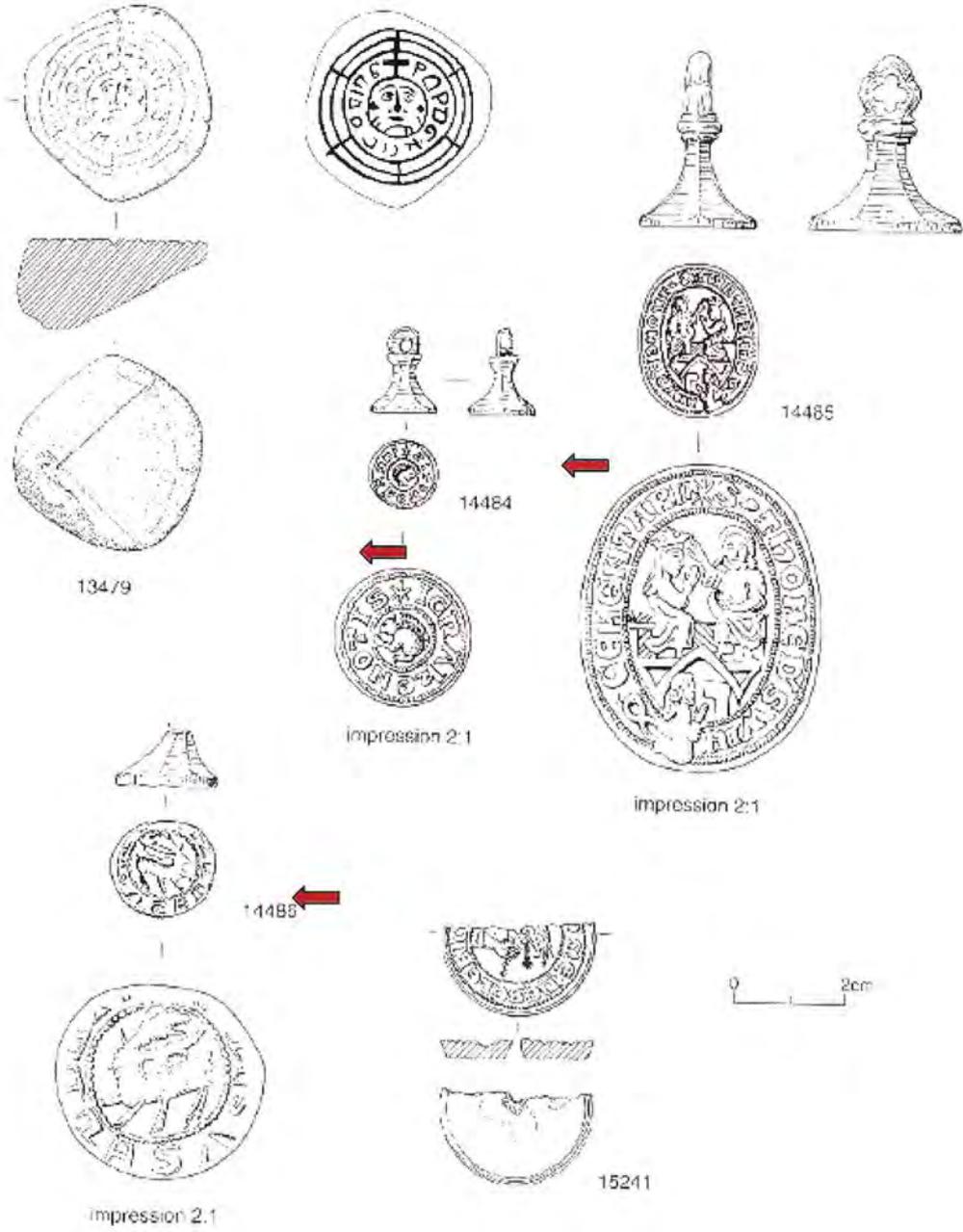
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<sup>234</sup> See also modern comparison in figure 6.31.

<sup>235</sup> Refer also to figure 6.19 for its location.

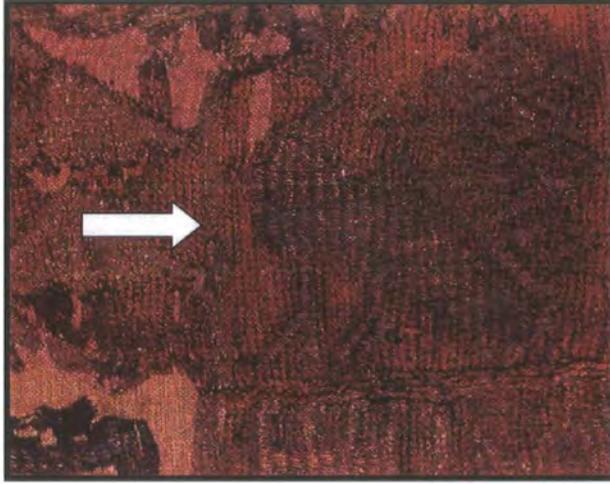
Figure 6.29.

Seal Matrices (Ottaway and Rogers 2002:294).



**Figure 6.30.**

Peacock on Medieval Cushion Fragment from the tomb of Walter de Gray, c.1255,  
(Ingram 1987:20).



**Figure 6.31.**

Peacock on Modern Kneeler, c.1987<sup>236</sup> (Ingram 1987:20).



<sup>236</sup> Used to assist recognition of the motif.

### **6.3 The City of Lincoln.**

Lincoln was chosen for the third case study for similar reasons to York. It is a historic Cathedral and Castle city. The glass in the cathedral had been published by the CVMA. The cathedral also had a large collection of misericords. Numerous excavations had also been conducted within and around the city. One of the supervisors of the thesis research had also previously worked for the excavation unit in Lincoln, so following discussion, it was considered that there would be sufficient material in print that could be researched effectively for evidence of animal visual culture. The city archaeologist was also supportive in suggesting relevant publications. Although it was beyond a day's travelling distance of Durham, a visit to the cathedral was made possible through a tour led by the leading world experts in misericordia from 'Misericordia International' as part of an international conference held in the UK. This visit enabled a cost effective visit to be made in order to see the material first hand.

#### **6.3.1 The Character, Chronology and Excavations of the Medieval City of Lincoln.**

One of the personalities associated with Lincoln, was St Hugh<sup>237</sup>. St Hugh was associated with a swan<sup>238</sup>, who was thought to have become devoted to him following being fed with crumbs of bread, and was said to "symbolise an alternative way of life and a different, more spiritual, set of values" (Marcombe 2000:38);

"When he fed it, the bird used to thrust its long neck up his wide and ample sleeve so that its head lay on his breast; for a little while it would remain there, hissing gently, as it were talking fondly and happily to its master and asking something from him", Marcombe 2000:37 citing D. H. Farmer, Saint Hugh of Lincoln (1985).

The vertebrate remains from various sites within the city of Lincoln have been presented by O'Connor (1982), and Dobney, Jaques and Irving (1996). These reports are important to understanding the range of real creatures for which we have the physical remains. Dobney et al (1996:21) identified high proportions of domestic cattle, sheep/goat and pig (80%) from the late Saxon period. This was similar to the findings from medieval Durham.

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<sup>237</sup> For the cathedral, and story (Foster 1997), and personalities refer to Goodman (1994) and Marcombe et al (2000), and for its architecture (refer to Brighton (1985), Heslop (1986), Broughton (1996), and Bennet (2001).

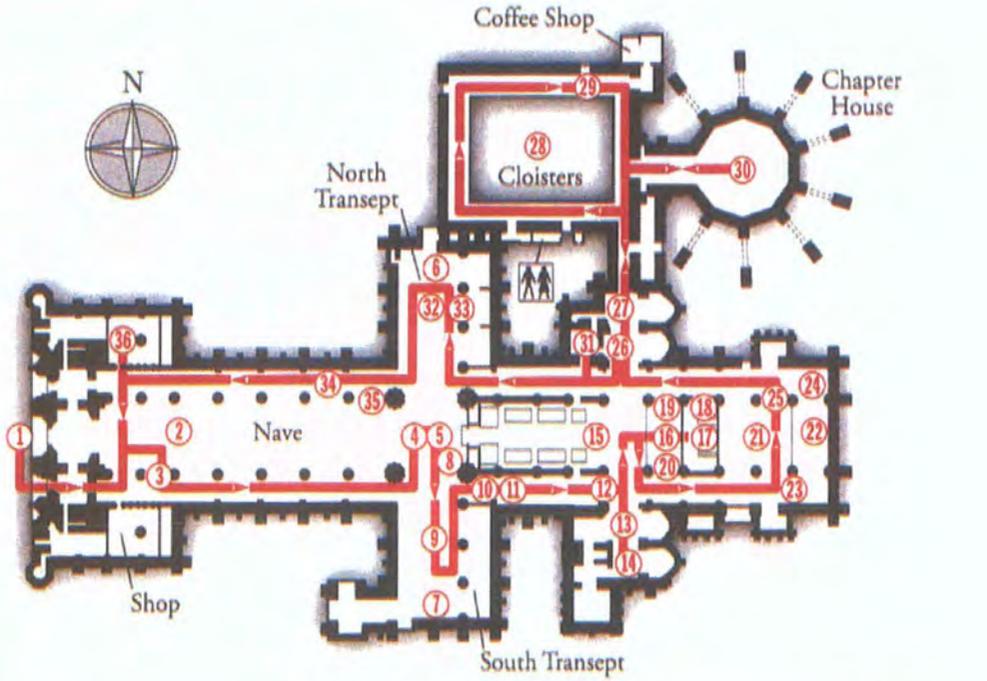
<sup>238</sup> St. Hugh The Greater.

In addition to these species were small numbers of other domestic mammals e.g. red deer, fallow deer and roe deer; rabbit, ferret, hare, red fox, black rat, otter, badger, and daubentons bat (1-6%); domestic birds e.g. chicken (5-12%); and a small and varied proportion of wild birds e.g. buzzard, kestrel, wood pigeon, gulls, crows, raven, ducks, geese, swan, mute swan and waders. In addition to these creatures, were the remains of fish including cod, halibut, turbot, conger, garfish, eel, thornback ray, haddock, gurnard.

However since a programme of sieving was not used (only hand recovery) the faunal assemblage is not considered representative of those species consumed and exploited, particularly for smaller creatures that are difficult to identify without soil sampling (refer to Dobney et al 1996:53 for further discussion and quantitative data on species by period and element). In addition to the zoo-archaeological information, Jones, Stocker and Vince (2003) provide an extensive archaeological assessment of the city of Lincoln from the prehistoric to the Industrial era; supported by Young, Vince and Naylor who offer a corpus of excavated pottery (2004), and Adams (1973) presenting a specific work on medieval pottery.

Figure 6.32.

Plan of Lincoln Minster Cathedral (Mead 2000:136).



Key

- |                                 |  |                                  |
|---------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. West Front                   | 12. Trondheim Pier                     | 24. Head Shrine of St Hugh       |
| 2. Nave                         | 13. Southeast Transept                 | 25. The Lincoln Imp              |
| 3. Font                         | 14. Bishop Grosseteste's Tomb          | 26. Damini Wall Paintings        |
| 4. Great Transept               | 15. St Hugh's Choir                    | 27. Touch Exhibition             |
| 5. Crossing                     | 16. Sanctuary                          | 28. Cloisters                    |
| 6. Dean's Eye                   | 17. High Altar                         | 29. Wren Library                 |
| 7. Bishop's Eye                 | 18. Easter Sepulchre                   | 30. Chapter House                |
| 8. Pulpitum                     | 19. Tomb of Remigius                   | 31. Treasury                     |
| 9. South Side of Great Transept | 20. Chantry of Katherine Swyford       | 32. North Side of Great Transept |
| 10. South Choir Aisle           | 21. Angel Choir                        | 33. Services' Chapel             |
| 11. Shrine of Little Hugh       | 22. Great East Window                  | 34. North Nave Aisle             |
|                                 | 23. Eleanor of Castile's Visceral Tomb | 35. Tournai Marble Tomb Slab     |
|                                 |  | 36. Morning Chapel               |

### 6.3.2 Animal Visual Culture Synthesis of Lincoln.

This section will discuss the animals revealed in the stained and painted glass (6.3.2a), misericords (6.3.2b) and portable material culture (6.3.2c) found in York.

#### 6.3.2a Stained and Painted Glass.

An investigation of stained glass in Lincoln is afforded by two CVMA volumes. One CVMA Occasional Paper was available on the Cathedral stained glass itself (Morgan 1983); and a volume on the County of Lincolnshire by Hebgin-Barnes (1996)<sup>239</sup>. Firstly, the catalogue by Morgan (1983) was investigated for each catalogued occurrence of an animal appearing in the stained and painted glass. The findings of animals catalogued by Morgan in the stained and painted glass were limited, but in the context of such a short volume, this can't be considered a problem with the catalogue.

There were only a few descriptions of animals within the glass that could be found in the catalogue by Morgan (1983). This consisted of a calf, bull, oxen (being sacrificed), one horse and two lions (one heraldic and one winged); in addition to the land animals are two doves (one depicted in association with Noah and the Ark, and the other in association with St Joseph), one eagle (in association with St John), and one falcon (being held), all the animals dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> Century. There were no catalogued sea creatures (though one of the horses was submerged in the sea) nor were there any creatures of the mind. This was quite a disappointing result compared with the wide range of creatures represented within the glass around the county of Lincolnshire.

The most numerous types of creatures that were depicted within the CVMA catalogue for the county of Lincolnshire were the land animals. The range of species recorded included the depiction of a bear (mask) - one instance in the form of corbels<sup>240</sup>; a cat-headed beast (in border work); the dog (being ridden by a hare); and a dog-headed beast; the ass (depicted in two roundels); the horse (various fragments), the hare; the monkey (depicted as a fiddler, a drummer and blowing bubbles); the hart (half depicted with St Giles); the lamb (all as the Agnus Dei in association with St John), rams; the ox and winged ox (associated with St Luke); the sow (in a quarry), the squirrel (in a roundel) and the wolf (as part of the shield of Fletewick).

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<sup>239</sup> This also refers to both 143 locations in-situ and 8 locations for excavated glass.

<sup>240</sup> The number of instances refer to the number of pieces of glass catalogued that contained that species, they do not refer to the total number of times that creature was represented. This could not be calculated from the catalogued data, since phrases such as 'lions' or 'birds' do not give any indication of number.

There were a large number of lions (ranging from fragments to being depicted in scenes, shields and coats of arms) and lion masks, as well as variations of these creatures such as the winged lion, a demi-lion and the skin of a camel.

There were a good range of air creatures throughout Lincolnshire. The depictions catalogued range from doves (appearing with Christ, the Virgin Mary, Angels and in quarries), a double-headed eagle (on a shield), nearly twenty eagles (about a quarter appearing in association with St John, others are depicted perched, with foliage or in canopy fragments), falcons (the majority within roundels), one finch, one heraldic martlet, one depiction of swan feathers (in the badge of Mortimer), and over twenty various birds not identified to species within fragments, panels and depicted as border detail.

However, there were only two instances of the depiction of any sea creatures. Those found in Lincolnshire included one dolphin within a quarry (15<sup>th</sup> Century) and one lion-headed fish (14<sup>th</sup> Century) which was depicted as part of a border to oak grisaille. This is consistent with other sites, in terms of the limited number of sea creatures that are depicted throughout the UK. The most frequently represented mind creatures in the county were dragons (nearly twenty instances, often associated with saints such as St George, St Michael, St Margaret or St John), followed by griffins, a number of other unidentified beasts/monsters, a phoenix, and curiously a dog-headed worm.

Other papers on stained and painted glass have been published on Lincoln which provide supporting details such as Lafond (1947); as well as the additional published and unpublished reports on glass held in storage from various areas around the city and region as cited by Hebgin-Barnes (1996:373) such as for: Bishop's Palace<sup>241</sup>; St. Marl's Church; St. Mary's Guildhall; Broadgate; Broadgate East; Cottesford Place, Danes Terrace; Flaxengate; Greyfriars Library; Hight St; Hungate; Lawn Hospital; Michaelgate; Mint Wall; Pottergate; St. Mark's Station; St. Paul-in-the-Bail Church; Steep Hill; Swan St; Vicars Court; and Winnowsty Cottages.

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<sup>241</sup> Refer to Graves (n/d) for unpublished material on the Bishop's Palace.

### 6.3.2b Misericords.

In comparison to the rather limited records of animals within the stained and painted glass, the investigation into the misericords was rather more fruitful. Remnant's Catalogue (1969) cites a large collection of **92** misericords at Lincoln Minster in St. Hugh's Choir, supported by the works of Wickenden (1881), Phipson (1896), Anderson (1967), and Block (in preparation<sup>242</sup>) who all offer detail on the misericords within the choir stalls.

However, the record of the misericords provided by each author is not consistent. For example, several of the misericords recorded for the north side of the choir (upper row) are in a different order between the accounts of Anderson (1967) and Block (2003).

Anderson's misericords numbered **26** to **31** correspond exactly to the order of Block's misericords numbered **1** to **6**. This order would make more sense, if one of the author's sequences for these misericords was reversed. This would mean that the overall order of the misericords was the same, but that they had just been recorded east to west by one, and west to east by the other e.g. if Anderson's misericords numbered **26** to **31** were reversed, then misericord number **31** would correspond with Block's misericord number **1**, and Anderson's number **30** with Block's number **2** and such forth. So, is this a printing error, or have six misericords been re-ordered in the last **30** years ?

Nevertheless, there are also differences between the misericords on the north side (lower row) of the choir. Anderson (1967) records misericords **4** to **11** (eight in total out of twenty-four), as being un-carved, compared with the account provided by Block (2003) who records that misericords **8** to **15** had no carving. Again, there is a difference between the ordering of the misericords, since Anderson's misericords numbered **1**, **2** and **3**, correspond exactly with Block's **5**, **6** and **7**, yet Block has an additional four misericords which commence the overall sequence, and these are exactly the same as the last four misericords which end the sequence for Anderson.

The order of Phipson's misericords from **1** to **9**, corresponds with Andersons **24** to **16** (so they have simply been recorded in a different order), compared with Block, where misericords **1** to **4**, which correspond with Phipson's misericords numbered **4** back to **1**, or **21** to **24** by Anderson. The motif of a pelican in her piety is recorded as number **7** by Phipson, number **18** by Anderson (same order but revered), yet misericord number **22** by Block.

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<sup>242</sup> The details were kindly supplied in advance of the publication of the Corpus of Medieval Misericords of Great Britain.

The same difference in the ordering from the misericords on the north side is apparent for the thirty-one misericords on the south side of the choir (upper row). Here the descriptions and ordering of all the other misericords are again consistent in as far as Anderson's misericord numbers 1 to 25, equate directly with misericord numbers 7 to 31 in Block e.g. Anderson's first misericord is described as "Man in armour fighting a griffin" with "Griffins" as supporters. Block's seventh misericord reads:

"Knight and Griffin. Knight in armour, hand held back as if about to toss a missing spear, right leg bent as if ready to pounce or run, confronts a huge griffin which sits calmly on a bench, head tossed back and tail curved around its thigh. The griffin's front paws are missing, but it is not in an attack position. It might be waiting to be harnessed to Alexander's throne or to be trained in some way", with "Griffin" supporters (Block, in preparation).

However, Block has an additional six misericords (numbers 1 to 6), and these correspond to the last six misericords recorded in Anderson (if they are read in reverse from 31 to 26 rather than 26 to 31). So unless all the misericords have been shifted or swapped in position, it seems one of the authors has simply made a mistake, perhaps started numbering the misericords at a different point, and possibly got the order of the misericords mixed up at the opposite end.

In comparison, for the twenty-one misericords on the south side of the choir (lower or base row), the sequence of the misericords is identical for the first ten misericords (between Anderson and Block). With the exception of misericord 11, which is not carved in Anderson's account, the rest of the sequence is fairly consistent for the next nine misericords. The only difference being the last two misericords for Block (numbers 20 and 21) have no record provided, and the last misericord for Anderson (number 21) is carved with foliage. It seems likely that for these two catalogues to match, one of the misericords may have been removed (Anderson's number 21), and that Anderson may have counted one too many misericords as being un-carved. This seems more likely than a total of nine misericords being shifted along one place.

Otherwise the descriptions and ordering of all the other misericords are consistent, with the exception of Anderson's misericord number 15 (described as a lion and dragon, with dragon supporters) and Block's number 14 (described as an eagle and dragon, with wyvern supporters). It seems likely that Block may have made an error since Phipson (1896), like Anderson (1967) records a lion and not an eagle, as Block (2003) has recorded.

Overall, the range of species depicted at Lincoln Cathedral is vast. There were a good selection of land animals such as the lion (particularly common as well as lion masks), horses, oxen, pigs, apes and monkeys to domestic dogs and even a donkey.

The air creatures range from unidentified birds to eagles, cranes, a falcon, peacocks and pelicans; unfortunately there were no sea creatures but there was a whelk shell depicted; and there were a number of mind creatures such as the dragon (a very popular creature), the griffin, the mermaid, the unicorn, the wodehouse, the wyvern, the basilisk, and other winged and humanised monsters such as the siren, satyr and the centaur.

Remnant (1969) also cites four further locations within the County of Lincolnshire where misericordia can be found. St. Botolph's Church in Boston has a very large variety of species that are represented. There are a number of land creatures such as the antelope, ape, camel, dog, hound, fox, hare, lions and stags. There are a variety of birds and fowl, such as cock, hen, eagle, double-headed eagle, owl, pelican and swan that are also depicted.

Although there are no sea creatures depicted, there are a number of dragons, griffins, the siren, the wodehouse and unicorn that are represented. Other locations around the county of Lincolnshire include Browne's Hospital in Stamford, where the eagle is depicted; and at Holy Trinity College Chapel in Tattershall where a dog is catalogued on a surviving misericord.

### **6.3.2c Portable Material.**

In addition to the stained and painted glass and misericords, there are other media which depict animals such as the carved oak roof bosses of the cloister as illustrated in figure 6.33, refer also to Brighton (1985), and Bennet (2001). Although these are not portable, they do strengthen the visual imagery of animals within the cathedral. Around sixty out of one hundred remain, probably being originally installed towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century. There are a number of domestic and wild creatures that are represented (Brighton 1985:43-47).

The land animals that survive include the ape (unusually depicted with wings), the bull, the deer, dogs (depicted as domestic rather than hunting animals since one is scratching itself, the other is shown nuzzling for fleas, and a third is depicted in the lap of a queen within the Angel Choir). Other animals include the goat (with long horns), a horse, a hare (wearing a tightly fitting jerkin), a lion and lion mask, oxen (one scratching its nose, another scratching its ear with its hind hoof), a pig (with long snout and bristly spine about to be killed with an axe).

There are also some fowl such as the cock, and a number of unidentified birds. There were no sea creatures, but various creatures of the mind, including a number of dragons and winged dragons (depicted biting and fighting each other), griffins, the basilisk, and combinations of humans and animal creatures such as the human-bodied bird-winged siren, and the lion-bodied scorpion-tailed human-headed mantichora.

Broughton (1996) also discusses some of the animals that can be found within the cathedral. She suggests that “Lincoln seems to have been a centre for illustrated Bestiary manuscripts in the twelfth century”<sup>243</sup>. If this was true, it might account for the great diversity of creatures that can be found represented within the cathedral (both real and fantastic). She further cites some of the different interpretations which animals may have been associated with.

It is certainly probable that a particular animal has behavioural qualities that enable it to be understood to be a representation of something unpleasant, bad, evil, and the Devil. A number of animals have been associated with the Devil. Broughton cites the example of the cat, “the devil is said to play with the sinner as the cat does with the mouse” (1996:82). This is one of the animals that are depicted within the arcading of the Chapter House vestibule at Lincoln Cathedral.

Other animals, can more easily be used to represent jokes, humour, and the more light-hearted aspects of life (religious and secular) e.g. Psalm 104 indicates God created Leviathan, the sea dragon to play in the sea (King James Version 1979:782), and indeed commands a kind, loving and caring attitudes towards animals, e.g. St Francis of Assisi was particularly associated for his communication to and with animals, in addition to various other classical authors.

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<sup>243</sup> Refer also to Baxter’s interpretations.



#### **6.4 Conclusion to the Case Studies.**

The three case studies presented in this chapter on Durham, York and Lincoln offer a more focused emphasis on the varied usage of animal visual culture at particular locations and/or sites. This material enhances the groundwork of previous chapters, by offering an integrated analysis of animal visual culture surviving at a particular place, as opposed to analysis of one type of animal visual culture distributed nationally. In this way the chapter demonstrates the broad use of animal visual culture by and for a medieval community.

The animal visual culture at York, offers a great deal of surviving stained and painted glass which has been preserved, restored and researched. However, environmental disasters such as fire, has left little trace of the more combustible animal visual culture in the same context of display, such as the misericords which have perished. Similarly, the medieval misericords that could once be found in the choir stalls at Durham were destroyed by fire but this was not an accident of nature.

Unfortunately, the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries experienced a great deal of iconoclasm at the hands of Henry VIII and his successor Edward VI (refer to Aston 1988, and Dimmick et al 2002). It is likely that various images were destroyed in many ecclesiastical contexts over various periods of time, and amongst these are likely to be some of the stained and painted glass, misericords and other artefacts investigated for this research. It is difficult to be certain of Iconoclasm as a cause for lost material since we only really know that material has been lost with certainty when attacks are recorded.

At Durham Cathedral, we can be certain that material was lost in this manner, since only one of the original medieval misericords has survived, and damage to other visual materials is evident. In the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, it is likely that Dean Horne had statues removed from the Neville Screen, and in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, the heads of the weepers from the Neville Screen were hacked off. It is possible that the latter damage was caused by the Scottish prisoners imprisoned in the cathedral following the battle of Dunbar, to whom are attributed to using the original misericords as firewood (refer to Roberts 2003).

Other indications of iconoclasm can be revealed by archaeological excavation. In both the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries we know that monuments and shrines did suffer iconoclastic attacks at Lincoln. The remains of parts of the shrine of Little St. Hugh have been found during the excavation of a nearby well in the churchyard of St. Paul-in-the-Bail (Dr C P Graves 2006, Pers. Comm.). It is thought that this probably occurred during the Civil War, as part of Parliament's programme of iconoclasm, with the intention to erase idolatry.

It has not been a realistic objective (within the time constraints and funding allocated to this research project) to schedule a visit to every location where stained glass, misericords and portable material have been surveyed and catalogued. With an expanded timescale and funding, visits could be afforded to all locations where animal visual culture has been revealed. A visit is preferable, in order to see images first hand and assess the accuracy of identifications, and the quality of previous published records and catalogue entries.

The misericord case studies presented within this chapter have already revealed that there are many significant mistakes within the existing leading catalogue for Great Britain (Remnant 1969) published only just over thirty years ago. At the time this thesis was being completed a photographic corpus of medieval misericords for Great Britain was in progress (Block, in press). This corpus is regarded as a key research tool in order to produce an updated, objective and accurate catalogue, which is much needed.

A piece of further research that could also be conducted, would be to systematically survey each location to ensure every potential ecclesiastic structure was investigated for animal visual culture. The Council for the Care of Churches has estimated there to be over 33,000 churches in the entire country - but not everyone will have surviving stained glass, misericordia or other portable material culture to be researched.

However, even if a visit to all places were possible, stained glass windows are not the most amenable areas of a structure to access, particularly since many are out of reach, and to view close up would require additional resources, equipment and training for safely working at height. In comparison, the position of misericords facilitates ease of viewing, and therefore those extant can more easily be re-visited simply with the use of a torch for greater illumination if one is prepared to crawl underneath those that can no longer be uplifted.

Nevertheless a wide variety of animal visual culture was revealed by these case studies. This indicated that it was not necessarily the domesticated native species that were the most common subjects (in contrast with the faunal evidence), but a wider variety of often foreign and imaginary creatures which had much greater symbolic currency. The reasons why a number of these creatures were chosen, and the value of their investigation will now be explored further within the contextual analysis presented by chapter 7.

## CHAPTER VII

### 7.0 Introduction.

This thesis takes a first step in collating specific data on animals generated on various types of visual material culture. This chapter will begin with a section on the interpretation of the social context of animal visual culture, against which the discussion and graphical analysis of the results from chapters 3, 4 and 5 can be better appreciated and contextualised<sup>244</sup>. The chapter ends with a series of thematic case studies to explore some of the reasons why individual creatures may have been represented.

### 7.1 The Social Context of Animal Visual Culture.

There are a wide variety of individual contexts that animal visual culture can appear, be used and be displayed. This section considers a number of these contexts from the point of view of the social practices through which the animal representations would be encountered or viewed, as these would contribute to the construction of meaning of the animal visual culture. It is possible that even within the same context of use there can be different users of animal visual culture e.g. those using the choir of a church would range from clerics, to more public and secular users such as high status patrons and invited guests.

Animal visual culture could also be used for multiple purposes within the same context of display. Variations in the use of animal visual culture through time may also have contributed to changing understandings of the creatures in particular contexts, and so it is acknowledged that individual situations could be complex (Aston 1991). In terms of religious practice, animal visual culture may have been used to develop, intensify and discipline the virtuous emotions and dispositions (desire, humility, remorse<sup>245</sup>) necessary for the obedient Christian. Asad (1987) raises the anthropological notions of ritual (symbolic communication) to explore religious power in medieval Christianity. This may have had a bearing on the use of architectural space, since space was used as integral to religious and ritual practices, and these were aimed in part to focus the wider community socially and economically.

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<sup>244</sup> Refer to Barrett (1987) for a further discussion of Contextual Archaeology.

<sup>245</sup> Asad (1987:167) cites the examples of desire (*cupiditas/caritas*), humility (*humilitas*) and remorse (*contrition*).

Graves (1989) further discusses how the use of architectural space is understood in the later medieval church of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries according to social practice within that space “social practice is the means by which any kind of societal discourse or interaction is maintained. Discourse involves people in certain social relations, and is a form of communication” (1989:297-298). She further draws upon Bourdieu’s concept of *Habitus* (1977:72) - socially constructed knowledge, to emphasise how cultural meaning and values are formed and reproduced, and Barrett’s concept of the *Field of Discourse* (1988:11-12), and develops the notion of a religious *habitus*.

It is possible that animal representations were used in conjunction with other religious resources and formalized social practices such as physical routes of procession, and hierarchical positioning (i.e. standing order and direction) and expression of extreme gestures for time-dependant liturgical observances (Graves 1989:308-309). The medieval ecclesiastical audience would have been captivated by the religious actors marketing the ideas and moral conundrums of the day. In this respect, an individual entering the church would be socialized within animal visual culture enabling the church and their patrons (who supported the widespread rebuilding of parish churches) to maintain their relationship over their parishioners. This meant that the provision of animal visual culture in ecclesiastical contexts was generated by a more complex construction than explanations offered suggesting animals were used as a means to educate the illiterate and immoral majority by a more literate (and possibly less moral) clergy such as Gathercole (1995) who says that, “The medieval “animaliers,” or that animal artists, used their animal figures for symbolic, narrative, or purely decorative purposes”, and further states:

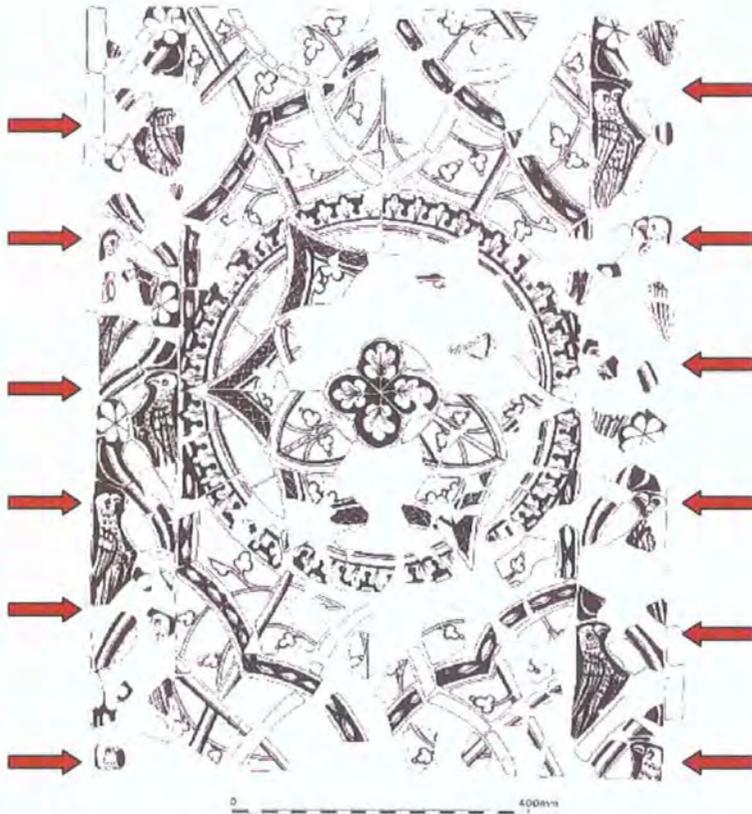
“The beauty and characteristics of animals, their role as objects of affection, pity and compassion, are all found in medieval literature and art with the result that connections were made between the behaviour of the animal and that of people” (Gathercole 1995:105).

Mâle (1978) makes an interesting point in emphasizing that many of the creatures of 12<sup>th</sup> Century religious art in France, were reproductions of those found within Eastern tapestries, textiles and carpets [as in Britain may be]. He further suggests that the origins of stained glass windows were in imitation of these textiles (1978:345), since window openings were closed by pieces of cloth, which may have been beautifully patterned and coloured just like the stained and painted glass that followed. This fact may have influenced some of the more strange (mind creatures) that can be found in particular within stained and painted glass. Nevertheless, it is clear from consultation of the results in chapter 3 above that there are a wide variety of creatures represented in the glass.

Croft and Maynard (1986:107) provide further discussion of the rare finding of a late 13<sup>th</sup> Century grisaille window panel from Bradwell Abbey, thought to have been discarded in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century (see figure 7.1 below). The fragments of glass associated with this contained a number of different birds, thought to have been painted freehand as opposed to having been traced from a cartoon. Croft and Maynard indicate it is possible the design elements fit into a transitional phase between the formality of the mid 13<sup>th</sup> Century and the more relaxed naturalism becoming apparent in the later medieval period (1986:111).

**Figure 7.1.**

Bird Quarry Fragments from Bradwell Abbey, Milton Keynes, Bucks, c.1270,  
(Croft and Maynard 1986:108).



Other scholars have also indicated that towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, and in the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, a more naturalistic representation of foliage began to predominate in material culture (Coldstream 1994 and Sekules 2001), and with this, more identifiable species are represented in flora and fauna. Camille (1996) also touches upon this more naturalistic attitude to be identified in certain manuscripts dating from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century with regard to birds and insects (1996:146-147, see also Coldstream 1994 or Sekules 2001 on discussion of this trend).

Marks adds that birds enjoyed a considerable vogue as a quarry pattern in windows from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, “together with ornamental designs bearing an affinity with the gold dots and sprays found in the borders of contemporary English manuscripts” (1993:48). He cites Bradwell Abbey in Milton Keynes as evidence of this (refer to figure 7.1 above), attesting that the abbey “expanded in this period to include all manner of creatures, both real and fantastic, as well as drolleries” (Marks 1987:144). He also cites a number of accounts that evidence the increasing inclusion of more naturalistic themes such as the creatures within glazing schemes e.g. in 1383 in Windsor “John Brampton received 13d per square foot for 160 feet of coloured glass decorated with falcons and the royal arms” (1993:48); and from the accounts for the royal palace at Eltham (Kent) we have details of the types of glazing found in the living quarters that contained animals:

“1401.....78 feet 4 inches of new glass worked and ornamented with various figures, birds and beasts, namely in the first light a figure of St John Baptist, in the second light a figure of St Thomas and in the third light St George.....42 feet of new glass worked and ornamented with birds and other grotesques [Baboueny], bought of the same William for 6 windows in the parlour, at 20d a foot, 70s.”and in 1402 “.....91 square feet of new glass, diapered and worked with broom-flowers [genestres], eagles [ernes] .....” (Marks 1993:95).

The Chapter House at York Minster is another particularly good example of the adoption of naturalism during this period. Marks (1993) identifies that birds occur in the borders of several windows in the south aisle of the Minster. He compares the animal scenes in the borders of the Pilgrimage window in the north aisle to those found in bas-de-page illustrations in contemporary illustrated manuscripts. Similarities can be picked up in the designs, suggesting a common repertoire used by artisans working in various media<sup>246</sup>. Marks notes that zoomorphic representations, hybrids and drolleries were not confined to borders, and recognises a series of monsters, griffins and centaurs in the small roundels of the pilgrimage window “which enliven the grisaille panels between the main historiated scenes”.

Wealthy people (such as the traditional wealthy elite; the “new wealth” of the urban elite e.g. individuals or merchants; and the existence of craft and trade guilds who were able to generate wealth by pooling resources to pay for “acts of patronage”) were the increasing driving force behind many of the large artistic and architectural projects of the medieval period, and through the endowment of gifts enabled many of the great cathedrals to become built and adorned e.g. York and Lincoln.

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<sup>246</sup> Refer also to Haselock & O’Connor (1977:357-8 pls 113, 114); Aylmer & Cant (1977:313-93 reprint with corrections 1979); and Randall (1966).

The church was extremely influential as a centre of visual display and culture for a long time. Works of art could be commissioned by individual patrons e.g. Archbishop William de Melton paid for the West Window at York Minster and local aristocrats and ecclesiastics contributed to the Great East Window. Whilst the use of animal visual culture may have been executed in stained and painted glass windows, in wall or floor designs, carved as misericords and bench-ends, in stone statuary and even exterior architecture such as gargoyles, it is possible that the surviving selection of species motifs represents combined and successive attempts by both the church and their patrons to maintain and presence their authority.

Ford suggests that from the 15<sup>th</sup> Century people were becoming more interested in the acquisition and consumption of various types of goods, such as imported products further strengthening the strong links between Britain and the continent (1992:4). He indicates that people began spending their money on more personal arts e.g. wooden panel painting, sculpture on tombs, memorial brasses, and chantry chapels within parish churches, rather than more architectural 'showcase projects' within the great cathedrals (1992:29).

It is possible that the obligation to demonstrate wealth and standing was changing amongst the increasing nouveau riche. Ford cites the example of the city of York, which expanded rapidly in the fifteenth century. He suggests whilst the parish churches were being built and decorated, various guilds were building lavish meeting halls which matched the town houses of the nobility in London. He demonstrates that the members of the guilds became patrons for a whole variety of material culture in the city ranging from "plate, illuminated charters, civic regalia, tapestries and hangings" (1992:33).

The technological boom in the Middle Ages catapulted the growth of medieval industry, ship building and shipping, enabling a greater potential for travel, commerce and trade. The availability of materials accessed locally or through imports e.g. the metal factories of Flanders and the Rhineland (Ford 1992:31) may have facilitated the influx of new tastes, alternative ideas, knowledge and understanding about a wider variety of real creatures/animals. This was increasingly possible under the wing of a newly emerging political and economic power as noted by Graves:

"In the latter Middle Ages, particularly the fifteenth century, there was a vast amount of rebuilding ... not by established seigneurial families, but by merchants and those aspiring to gentry status ... to establish their own claims to respectability, wealth and secular status" (1989:312).

The aristocratic fortunes that were once poured into ecclesiastical structures were therefore being overtaken by more secular manifestations noticed from “the profit-making merchants, lawyers, guilds and civic authorities who were pouring money into extensive rebuilding of urban churches” to changes in processional behaviour, expanding out of the interior space of an ecclesiastical building such as the church to beyond the exterior and into the town (Graves 1989:315), and indeed the home. The religious spheres of influence were increasingly being replaced with those more associated with civic authority, and this meant the creation and use of animal visual culture was passing into the more individual and more private secular arena.

Ford suggests that the stylistic ornateness and intricate complexity of animal design of the earlier Medieval period had been superseded by a desire for greater realism, and notes claims for this in the carving at York, Lincoln, Exeter and Southwell (1992:22). He further suggests that marginal motifs became increasingly secular in character “grotesque zoomorphic forms, allusions to fabliaux and bestiary motifs, courtly and hunting scenes, find themselves in bizarre conjunction” (1992:30). This may reflect a choice of theme that was not designed to fit within a wider explanatory context as may have been the attempt in earlier centuries when a collective scheme of representations may have been used to educate en masse.

Ford (1992:26) states that until around 1350, most of the writers of English literature were clerics, writing about religious themes<sup>247</sup> - with the exception of the authors of romances. Perhaps then, as time progressed and literacy expanded into other classes, the range of accepted subject matter and focus of interpretive literature also changed. In the fourteenth century there was also a growth in mysticism and mystical writing (Ford 1992:29), which afforded the opportunity to open up people’s minds further. The artistic and authoritative grip of the church had weakened, meaning people’s experience of religion and religious practice was changing. As a consequence, people may have increasingly rejected the visualisations of certain species talked about in antique classical texts, in favour of others enthused following physical sightings in person or from other travellers, and this may have been one source of change leading to an increase in naturalism of representation.

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<sup>247</sup> One example is the ‘Prick of Conscience’, an 8000 line poem “of remorseless doctrinal instruction which survives in more manuscripts than any other English poem of the Middle Ages” (Ford 1992:26).

Gathercole supports the idea of “A forceful new trend of naturalism” as late as the start of the fifteenth century spreading through all the principal schools of book illumination in Europe, and states “There was a diversion from the contemplation of the afterlife to the emotions of individuals who took a new pleasure in nature, in trees, flowers, birds and beasts”, she adds, that the “teachings of St. Francis of Assisi had released this fresh approach to nature”, and notes that in heraldry “the symbolic association of animals in new forms became prevalent on the part of kings and knights” (Gathercole 1995:105-106). This may be being reflected in the chronological and species data represented in the graphical data analysis presented in chapters 3, 4, 5 and the final synthesis in chapter 8.

Gender (Wylie 1991) is another area that has potential for further investigation when attempting to understand the animal visual culture within the structuring of medieval society. Contributions by Aston (1991), Gilchrist & Olivia (1993) and Gilchrist (1994a, 1994b, 1996) offer more of a balance to the corpus of predominantly androcentric research and literature on gender in ecclesiastical archaeology. Gilchrist applies Bourdieu (1977), to consider the notion of material culture and gender being “connected through *habitus*”, this time as “an informing ideology which is communicated and reproduced through material culture” (1996:120).

Gilchrist notes that in her studies of gender, religious women were likely to develop their own vocabulary of images to put themselves into context. She indicates that there was a common trait found in female piety, such as a focus on “the femininity of Christ, and on his suffering, such as the *Agnus Dei* (the lamb, or sacrifice, of Christ)” and states that the general type of imagery dominating the nunnery was “the Virgin Mary as Mother, an overtly feminine image and one which was taken to signal the redemption and salvation of the world, achieved through Mary’s immaculate conception” (1996:133).

Aston (1991) examines the long held customary and hierarchical separation of the different types of worshippers in church ritual<sup>248</sup> not only by the clerics, but in terms of vocation of the laity, their age and sex and notes “At the rite of Communion deaconesses would come first, followed by virgins and widows. These graduations affected worshippers’ places in church, and where they stood or sat” (1991:239). She cites St Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem in his *Catecheses*, who “compared the congregation behind the closed doors of the church to the inhabitants of the Ark, in which despite the total seclusion of Noah and his wives, decency prevailed” (1991:240).

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<sup>248</sup> The arrangement of people at worship is considered in the *Didascalía Apostolorum* dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century.

Physical separation of the sexes was necessary to minimise the risks of sexual attraction and maintain the purity of worship. Aston states that medieval women were placed “furthest from the altar, chancel, and holiest part of the building” usually sitting on the north (left)<sup>249</sup> side of the church, whilst men could be found positioned on the south (right) side<sup>250</sup>. Proximity to the south door generally meant that you were closer to the “perils of the world outside”. Aston further cites the *Annals* of St Bertin, which tell of “the terrors that might invade the Ark of the church” and where at one church, where during a Mass, “a wolf suddenly came in and disturbed all the men-folk present ..... then after doing the same thing among the women-folk, it disappeared” (1991:242). It is possible that similar concepts of segregation were exerted within the display of animal themes spatially positioned around the church, not only in terms of direction but with level of display (both above and below eye level) and ease of vision (within a window or within a concealed carving underneath a seat).

The positioning of animal themes within church architecture and furniture may have been influenced by perceptions of the accepted order of the church and God’s view of it; and those who regularly used, and sat in particular seats, and who may have contributed to their upkeep (Aston 1991:248). Those who came to use the church, like those who were members of a guild, acquired a certain identity from participating in the shared activity.

Gender therefore may offer implications for our understanding of the creation and transmission of animal visual culture. A synthesis of the standards, expectations and authentic religious experiences of both women and men would benefit future research into animal visual culture - even if from a largely patriarchal context.

The character of animal visual culture therefore may be expected to reflect social and religious transformations, altering the nature, function and context of use of the material. In the late medieval period the influence of the church, once a dominant and powerful character over medieval society, had become eroded. This culminated in the Dissolution of the Monasteries which removed “one of the major institutional components of the medieval period, leading to a major re-distribution of land and the removal of a major local, regional and national political force”<sup>251</sup>.

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<sup>249</sup> Assuming the church typically faces east.

<sup>250</sup> In later periods it became common for a family to sit together.

<sup>251</sup> Mr R Daniels, MIFA, FSA (2007, Pers. Comm.).

There was a growing trade in animal information, parts and products (Pluskowski 2005). As a consequence, individuals may have had greater opportunities to become socialised with animal visual culture including the personal display of animals as part of one's clothing. In this way animal furs, skins and emblems on artefacts (as reflected by the broaches, buckles, buttons and pendants etc reflected in chapter 5), could be used on one's person to mark affiliation and personal or group identity, position or status.

This opened up the doors to new influences on the visual culture of a period, ranging from the use of animals by those individuals with enough disposable income to put their personal interest and tastes into reality, to those who used the splendour of animal visual culture as a means of ostentatious social propaganda, commissioning and creating specific and striking images to demonstrate and strengthen their position or role within aristocratic life e.g. the Wilton Diptych (refer to chapter 5 and figure 5.12).

Animal visual culture would also have been widely used within the household as the range of artefact types in chapter 5 indicate (and especially in within the hall as a major focus for the display of animal themes) to reinforce the same internally, and further underline identity and embracement of seigneurial culture to guests (refer to Woolgar 1999:147; Bumke 2000:114; Vale 2001: 93-99; Woolley 2002:40; Pluskowski 2007:36-40). In this way animal visual culture became widely used in the various decorations associated with medieval feasting and tournament where heraldic motifs and coats of arms may have been widely displayed on fabric and badges etc, as well as the animals (or parts of them) themselves. Such feasting was a popular activity in medieval society. Ford comments that a range of animals (both real and represented) were found within the second course of the feast of Henry VI's coronation of 1429, and the feast included,

“Meat blanched, barred with gold. Jelly divided by the writing and musical notation, Te Deum Laudamus. Pig gilded. Crane. Bittern. Rabbits; chickens gilded. Partridge. Peacock adorned. Great bream. Which leach [sic], with an antelope of red carved therein, a crown about his neck with a chain of gold. Flampayne powdered with leopards and fleurs de lis of gold. Fritters, a leopard's head, with two ostrich feathers” (1992:15).

In understanding how animal visual culture can be contextualised within the community therefore, the concept of the fraternity or guild and their feasting and drinking activities (which served a defining role) used often in conjunction with any patronal mass, must also be appreciated (Rosser 1994). Rosser estimates there were around 30,000 medieval guilds (1994:431), for whom the ritual of the commensal feast would provide a more social means of congregation than the religious alternative.

Guilds served as a diverse social exchange network to enable relationships to be sealed between those engaged in a variety of crafts and trades, between rich and poor, male and female, whilst further offered a type of spiritual dignity, stability and solidarity that the controlling church did not. Members of these fraternities may also have dressed in common livery hoods specific to their guild, which may well have displayed representations of animals. This would have offered a strong focus for the context of use of portable medieval animal visual culture such as badges, buckles, embroidered designs and such forth. Guilds provided occasions where animals played an important role either being consumed visually and/or orally:

“At Maidstone, in 1487, no fewer than sixteen cooks were retained to prepare the banquet of the Corpus Christi guild, ... The principal dish each year on this occasion was goose: some 120 of these birds were annually fattened and killed. Smaller amounts of fish, chickens, pigeons, rabbits, pork, lamb, and veal, all garnished with spices, accompanied this centrepiece (Rosser 1994:446 citing MSS M.G.14 and Md, G1-27 from Kent Archives Office).

The diversity and complexity of these factors indicate that it is impossible to examine each context applicable to every individual piece of animal visual culture that has been created and was viewed, but the above section demonstrates that the major contextual considerations have been considered, and in support of this a synthesis of thematic case studies will now be presented in section 7.2 to highlight why individual creatures may have been chosen.

## 7.2 Thematic Creature Case Studies.

The sample data sources revealed representations of around 150 different species. This section will present a series of thematic case studies to explore why some of these various creatures may have been represented. It does not deal with every species indicated by the thesis database, but presents a selection of creatures within the context of themes to highlight why a range of creature types may have been displayed together in the same context.

### 7.2.1 Images of Service.

Animals were frequently represented alone or with humans functioning as modes of transport and beasts of burden in peacetime and during war. This includes depictions of the horse, ass, donkey, mule, camel and elephant. The horse was depicted in several hundred images in the thesis data. It was the second most popular land creature to be represented in the window glass, and the most frequently depicted land creature out of all those represented in the EFD (not only in terms of depictions on finds such as badges, but in terms of fittings associated with the use of the creature).

Horses themselves were often lavishly adorned in body coverings and plates of bright colours when ridden by ladies, royalty, the aristocracy, heavily armoured knights and the cavalry, possibly even co-ordinating with their riders' heraldry<sup>252</sup> (for further discussion refer to Howey 1923; Rowland 1966; Hewitt 1983; Ford 1992; Clutton-Brock 1992; Salisbury 1994; Gathercole 1995; Hyland 1999; Figg 2002).

The horse had various qualities that influenced its depiction in narrative or symbolically. The riding of a horse was thought to offer numerous advantages, including stimulation of the digestion to the opening of pores and cleansing from sweat (Telesco 2001:68). The horse was associated with virility, wisdom and reason: "the leg and foot symbolize in folklore the male generative organ, the curved shoe the female organ, whereas the hoof came to represent the reproductive powers of both male and female" (Gathercole 1995:54).

The depiction of the horse may therefore reflect the importance of the creature as a highly appreciated and valued animal. The horse was a creature associated with the elite, and they had the means to depict and display the animals they chose in visual culture. This may indicate one reason why images of horses predominate over other species in particular contexts of display.

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<sup>252</sup> The 'Leopards of England' embroidery (which actually depicts elongated lions passant) was an opulent combination creatures crafted with gold thread and pearls, and completed with polished crystal eyes to produce a stunning effect, this was probably intended for a wealthy or regal consumer. It is thought this piece may have formed a matching set of cloths for both a horse and its rider (Heslop in Ford 1992:193 and colour plate 1).

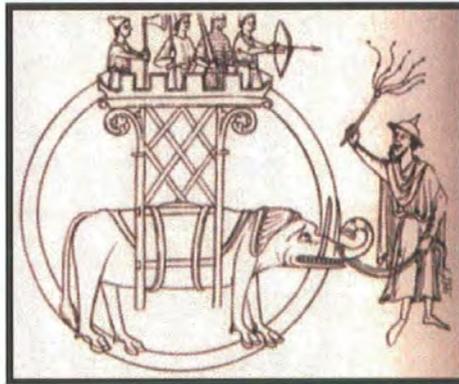
**Figure 7.2.**

Horse in Stained and Painted Glass, Zouche Chapel, York Minster (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



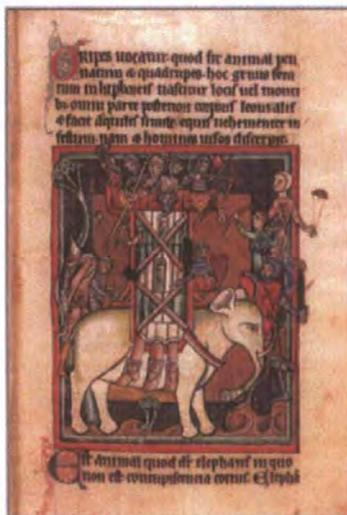
**Figure 7.3.**

Asian (?) Elephant in Bestiary, 12th Century (White 1984:24).



**Figure 7.4**

Asian Elephant in Bestiary M.S. Bodley 764, f. 12r, 13th Century (Baxter 1998: Plate 8).



Elephants were also creatures that were depicted as a mode of transport. They had various accessories specially constructed for them to enable humans to be carried during battle whilst engaged in archery. This was revealed by the depiction of elephants with a structure on their back - the 'elephant and castle' motif<sup>253</sup>. This was a common theme repeated in a range of visual material culture, and was demonstrated by the larger majority of misericords in the thesis data<sup>254</sup>.

The motif can be found being used in the Classical period, though it appears that it was not known to the Classical world in this context before Alexander's eastern campaigns (the most famous use of elephants in war being by Hannibal in 218BC), though Toynbee (1996:35) cites the earliest recorded use in Carthage during 262BC.

Payne (1990:31) suggests this was "the most popular bestiary illustration for this animal and became a familiar subject in ecclesiastical carving and heraldry". Gathercole (1995:36) states this image serves a symbolic function, "In the medieval church the elephant's turret on its back symbolized the indestructible church supported by the elephant called Mary".

However, there is a more simple explanation, considering the country of origin of many of the elephants (India) where it is more natural to find the use of the 'Howdah' (a strong wooden tower). The elephant is a strong muscular creature able to support this accessory and is dealt with at length in the bestiaries (with a certain amount of mis-information) where the elephant was said to be "so strong that it can carry a tower full of armed men on its back, and therefore it is of great service in battle" (Collins 1913:38).

No doubt the trumpeting of the elephant was another reason for its use and association with use in war, and it is clear that this was a source of inspiration used for some of the depictions, considering that the representations of the creature's trunk are often depicted like a musical trumpet<sup>255</sup> (for further discussion on the elephant refer to Collins 1913:38; Druce 1919:1-73; Anderson 1955:178; White 1984:24; Clarke 1986; Payne 1990:15, 31; Gathercole 1995:36; Toynbee 1996:35; Baxter 1998; and Hassig 1999).

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<sup>253</sup> Anderson informs us that the name 'rook' for a castle chess-piece took its name from the Persian word for elephant (1955:178).

<sup>254</sup> Refer to chapter 4 for reference to the data. The number of elephant misericords in the UK is much greater than that found in Iberia (two elephants are recorded by Block - one saddled and one with a castle); and France (three are depicted with castles), refer to Block (2003 and 2004).

<sup>255</sup> Another reason why the elephant might have been represented perhaps was because it was associated with longevity and chastity - since it was thought to live to 300 years old; and since it was thought to breed only once in life, thus was linked to the concept of eternity and the afterlife, according to the 12<sup>th</sup> Century Bestiaries (refer to Anderson 1938; and White 1984).

Other types of domestic animals such as the cat and dog also performed a valuable service performed and this may also indicate why they were chosen to be represented in particular contexts. The cat was recognized within “the codes and customs of various European countries” (Swan 2005:66) for its prowess and service as a predator, killer and controller of vermin such as mice<sup>256</sup> and rats (serving in both houses and aboard seagoing vessels). It’s possible some people starved their cats to make them keener to predate. One of the most famous cats was that of the legendary Dick Whittington, who is said to have served as a mouser in the late 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Swan 2005:74), and earned his master a fortune both in respect and wealth. The cat was also believed to have the power to keep vermin at bay even after its death, though the presence of its spirit, and this is a possible reason why cats were plastered into the walls, or buried under the floorboards or doorstep of houses in towns such as Cambridge, Dublin and London (Swan 2005:57-58).

Some authors indicate that the cat could be trained as a servant. Braekman and Macaulay (1969:691, 696) discuss a 15<sup>th</sup> Century poem written by various hands, which includes references to animals including a cat taught to hold a candle during the time his owner has supper (successful until the cat spots a mouse and drops the candle)<sup>257</sup>. Others suggest that cats were kept dually as companions for themselves. Swan cites a guidance code for a small community of Cistercians that enabled the sisters to keep one cat as a companion to get through the long hours without human contact (2005:59) and makes reference to affection bestowed on cats in English medieval households (2005:62). Therefore some of the representations of cats may be linked to a recognition and appreciation of the valuable function they served within the medieval community (for representations of mousetraps refer to the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci)<sup>258</sup>. Indeed, Swan suggests that the cat became a symbol of “the oppressive and extortionate ruling classes and the rats and mice in the tales represented the downtrodden peasants” (2005:65). If this were the case, the cat was a comparatively high status creature to be represented.

Ojoade (1990:215), presents an interesting discussion on cultural attitudes to the dog which emphasise the complex ideas that people may have had about particular companion animals. Affectionate and companion-like relationships between humans and dogs are expressed through some of the animal visual culture. Dogs are also depicted engaged in a range of activities linked to their human companions, and these are likely to have been observed from everyday scenes of real life such as serving their master with the hunt, a popular medieval theme for visual imagery (Collins 1913:37).

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<sup>256</sup> Refer also to Zupnick (1966:126-33) for further discussion of the depiction of the making of mousetraps, and Roth (1956:244ff) for medieval manuscript illustrations of mouse-traps.

<sup>257</sup> This story is found within the literature of a variety of countries within Europe, India, Asia and Africa.

<sup>258</sup> Refer to Swan (2005:71).

The bestiaries represent the domestic dog in a very positive way, and emphasise qualities such as bravery, faithfulness, and wisdom. Many of the depictions of dogs present themes that could support these associations e.g. a dog at its master's feet and guarding its owner as 'guard dog', a dog watching over a group of sheep - the dog as 'sheep-dog' or shepherd' (an allegory of the priest, Cirlot 1962:84); a dog at the foot of his or her masters bed, or a dog affectionately curled up in their lap. Gathercole suggests "The fidelity of the dog was above all prized by the population of the Middle Ages" (1995:33). If this were true, this could account for some of the many depictions of canines that have survived also may serve as symbols of faithfulness (Cirlot 1962:84). Werness (2004:139) states that the Dominicans<sup>259</sup> were known as "the dogs of God", and used a white and black dog with a torch in its mouth as an emblem. It was thought that this was to signify the dog's watchfulness, and the burning torch was held in "readiness to burn witches and heretics". In this respect, an image can serve as a means of symbolic communication, as will now be further explored in section 7.2.2.

**Figure 7.5**

Dog in Stained and Painted Glass, Zouche Chapel, York Minster (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



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<sup>259</sup> *Domini-canēs*.

### 7.2.2 Images of Communication.

A wide range of animals have been represented in order that humans could communicate, express and record information held about those creatures characteristics, habitat and behaviour; and so that they could express human ones through the use of creatures. A number of animals recorded in the thesis data were depicted in a variety of different colours including white, cream, yellow, orange, red, pink, blue, brown, grey and black. The use of colour in conjunction with a particular creature could be used as a means of communication.

There were a number of depictions of the sheep, lamb and ram revealing a variety of colours of their coat between the more naturalistic colours such as shades of white, cream, brown, grey and black to a more unnatural blue or pink complete with an orange halo/nimbus. Colour was used in conjunction with other details such as differences in the length and curliness of the coat and style of horn to distinguish species - although Gathercole believes these animals often appear distorted and more akin to pigs in manuscript representations (1995:89).

Other creatures had colour applied to convey greater symbolic information to represent various human concepts, conduct and emotions, to emphasise the contrasts of good and evil, positive and negative, light and dark, life and death (Cirlot 1962:39). The cat was considered to have a devilish, demonic or sinister association, associated with darkness and death - particularly if they were coloured black and (less so), if they were grey (Cirlot 1962:39). The dove could be interpreted according to the use of the colours white, yellow, red and blue. The Physiologus cites links the white dove to the divine messenger, and the red dove to the ruler and pacifier of all. Mâle discusses how various 'Church Doctors' contemplated nature, such as the dove, including a citation from the *De bestiis et aliis rebus* attributed to Hugh of St Victor, commenting the bird has:

“two wings, just as for the Christian there are two kinds of life, the active and the contemplative. The blue wing feathers are the thoughts of heaven. The subtle graduations of the rest of the body, the changing colours that remind us of a rough sea, symbolize the ocean of human passions in which the Church sails. Why does the dove have eyes of a beautiful golden yellow ? Because yellow, the colour of ripe fruit, is the very colour of experience and maturity. The yellow eyes of the dove symbolize the wisdom with which the Church regards the future. And finally, the dove has red feet because the Church proceeds through the world, its feet in the blood of the matyrs” (Mâle 1984:34).

The use of the colours in conjunction with a particular creature could also influence the meaning represented. The eagle was symbolic in the colours of white and red (Cirlot 1962:88)<sup>260</sup>, and the swan in white, red and black. Pure white was used as a symbol of purity<sup>261</sup> (and femininity) and red as a symbol of the sun. However, swans were also associated with successful skills of deception because of their colour, since their white feathers were supposed to hide their black flesh and sinful heart and so could be used as a signifier of the dangers of pride - when a rich proud man dies he is stripped of his worldly pomp (compared with the white feathers of the swan) and goes to the flames of hell (where the swan loses its feathers to reveal its black flesh when roasted)<sup>262</sup>.

Nevertheless, if this belief was held it can't be picked up from the surviving representations since most of the swans that appear are depicted naturalistically either swimming alone, with other swans or with cygnets, and represented in ways to show detail of their physique - i.e. wings raised, extended or displayed; or behaviour (engaged in preening activity, or with markers of ownership being shown with a coronet/crown or with one encircling their neck). A number of the images can be appreciated geographically according to the locations they are found such as the clustering of misericords at locations along the River Thames e.g. Oxford, Windsor and London. The representation of the swan here at least would suggest that people were carving swans because they were a feature in these areas, and so were a natural model to copy.

The location of creature representations can provide additional clues as to why the images were made, how they were viewed and functioned in social and religious life. The owl is thought to have been utilised as a means of portraying a person of a particular religious faith when depicted in a particular manner and in a particular geographic location<sup>263</sup>. In this way, when an owl is depicted alone but being mobbed by numerous smaller birds either in a tree, bush or vine some authors have interpreted this as an owl being persecuted and thus have drawn parallels with the Jews. Owls have been purported to be found in unusually high numbers at Norwich, in visual materials including misericords and stone work relief (Miyazaki 1999:48).

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<sup>260</sup> The dragon was represented by the same colours. The red dragon was regarded as the guardian of higher science and the white dragon was regarded as the lunar dragon by the Chinese (Cirlot 1962:93).

<sup>261</sup> This applied to other animals such as the rabbit - which when white was associated with purity (Friedmann 1980:287).

<sup>262</sup> The swan might have been depicted if it was regarded as a symbol of joy, rejoicing, a celebration of life and over-indulgence since was one of the creatures eaten at the feast of Epiphany on January 6<sup>th</sup> (there are various authors who deal with the serving of swans at feasts, refer to Cosman 1976).

<sup>263</sup> Illustrated examples of this theme can be found in Rose (1994:28, 57) and Farley (1981:9).

The owl in this geographical location has been argued to represent the Jews, and that owls have been carved to incorporate Jewish features, where the beak was linked to the shape of the Jew's nose and horns to the pointed hat of the Jew (*pileum cornutum*; for further discussion see Miyazaki 1999:28). This owl theme accounts for a quarter of all owl depictions in misericords. However, there are equal numbers of owls depicted in this manner at other geographic locations such as Windsor and in Oxford, and even greater numbers can be found at Beverley, locations where there are simply larger numbers of surviving misericords - so what other clues does Norwich offer? In this case, Miyazaki cites the history of the earlier 12th and 13th Century in Norwich to make this link, a time when relations were thought to be especially tense between the sizable Jewish and Christian communities. It may be that in this location, images of owls were interpreted differently to other regions. However, there are alternative explanations for the representation of the mobbed owl motif, beyond the persecution of the Jews, and these interpretations are not tied to a particular geographic location.

**Figure 7.6.**

Owl Misericord, St. Andrews Church, Ludlow, UK, 15th Century (Harding 1998:54).



Medieval hunters were thought to have used stuffed owls as bait to attract smaller birds in the forests (Miyazaki 1999). As already highlighted, this is because the owl usually being a night bird was not common to the daylight and therefore would attract attention from other birds if it were out. At a simplistic level, the use of the 'mobbed owl' image as a motif could be one associated with or used to represent either knowledge of this practise, or as a motif for the concept of deceit. I would like to offer the latter as an alternative interpretation for the owl mobbing scenes, and by way of support draw upon a medieval Welsh folk tale called the Mabinogion dating back to around the 14<sup>th</sup> Century (Jones and Jones 1972:74, refer also to Ford 1977).

The Mabinogion recounts the story of Math Son of Mathonwy. In this branch of the tale, a woman named Blodeuedd commits adultery against her male partner Lleu Llaw Gyffes. As a punishment for her crime, she is turned into an owl by a local witch, who further renames the woman Blodeuwedd (meaning owl - in Welsh). Blodeuwedd's fate thereafter was to be plagued – to be mobbed and molested by the smaller birds of the forest as a constant reminder of the shame and dishonour she had brought upon herself through her deed, and so in this tale, the wrong doer is attacked and visibly punished.

If this story reached medieval England, then the depiction of an owl being mobbed could well have been used to portray adultery. This would certainly serve a moralistic purpose (a reminder of the consequences you have to face if you are deceitful), and so a suitable theme to represent in an ecclesiastic setting. Unfortunately, there is no known evidence for knowledge of the tale of the Mabinogion in Medieval England (Dr M Jones 2006, Pers. Comm.), but that is not to say that it wasn't known, and may have been a cautionary tale that was communicated but wasn't spoken or written about, and therefore has not survived in any documentary form.

Other creatures that were depicted can be used as a record of species type and distribution such as the bat. The bat was a poorly represented creature in stained and painted glass and in portable material, however, we find them in misericords. The earliest dated representations of the 'Bat' in misericords are to be found in English Cathedrals<sup>264</sup> dating from the early 14<sup>th</sup> Century. More recent representations can be found in churches and priories dating as late as the early 16<sup>th</sup> Century, e.g. St. Martin, Kent (illustrated in Grössinger 1997).

Although the number of species or families of bats that existed in the medieval period is unknown, there are many types of bats and these display differences in morphological characteristics and it is possible to identify these from the animal visual culture. In terms of a species analysis of the bats carved in misericords, support can be found for the two main families of bats in England: the '*Ordinary Bats*', which are characterised by narrow wings with pointed tips, a long tail with a deep membrane, a dog-like muzzle and a fleshy spike or tragus/central lobe in each ear; and the '*Horseshoe Bats*', which are characterised by broad, rounded wings, a short tail with a shallow membrane, a horseshoe shaped fold or skin around the nostrils projecting between the eyes, and no fleshy spike in each ear, both types are illustrated below<sup>265</sup>.

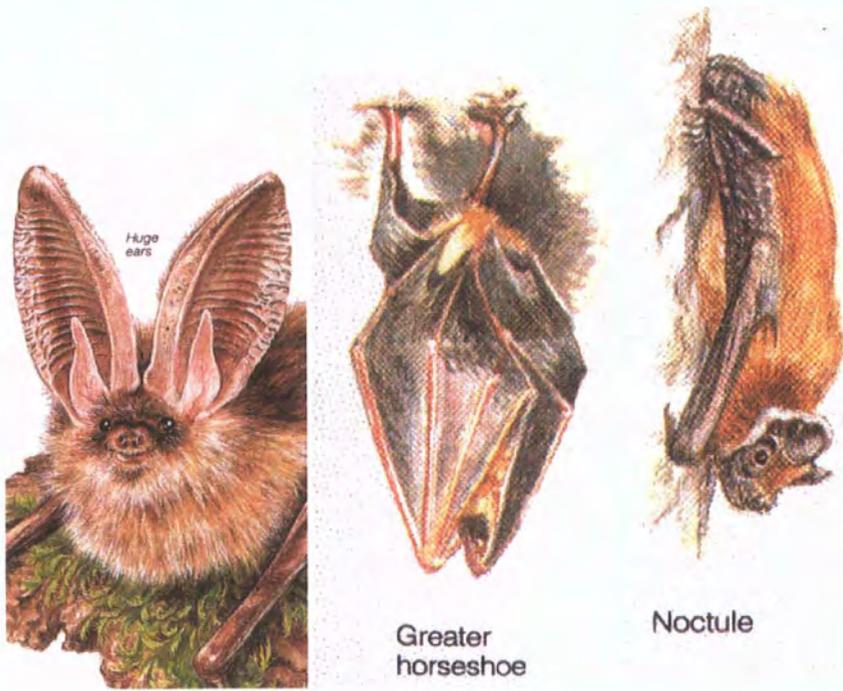
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<sup>264</sup> All dates and numerical data in this paper are drawn from those cited in Remnant (1969) for consistency of both accuracy and error.

<sup>265</sup> For full diagnostic characteristics for identifying and representing the 'Bat' refer to Buczacki (2002); Burnie (2001) or Reader's Digest Association (1984).

**Figure 7.7.**

Ordinary Bats, Readers Digest Association (1984:178-179, 193).



**Figure 7.8.**

Horseshoe Bats, Readers Digest Association (1984:178-179).



The colour of the face e.g. dark, light brown or pink - would also provide important clues to current species identification (though it is appreciable that some of the species differences are subtle and might be difficult to express depending upon medium, and one without colour).

The bat is usually depicted alone (not depicted with other bats) - which is interesting considering the bat often lives with other bats in colonies, and considering that the bestiaries comment that bats cling onto one another like grapes (White, 1984:140-141 and McCulloch 1962:94; Barber, 1992:157). The bat is also infrequently represented upside down in its naturalistic position for sleep, and tends to be carved head up, but is shown either with outstretched/extended wings, in flight, being chased, or with foliage. Since, the bat does not appear to be depicted with anything else, and in view of the there being some degree of representational accuracy in the way the bat is carved, I do not think there is any clearly symbolic or iconographical value or meaning attached to these representations.

Of at least a dozen species of 'Ordinary Bats' in this country, we find a number have been identified in the medieval period such as the *Long-eared Bat* from a misericord at Edlesborough (refer to Laird, 1986)<sup>266</sup>, the *Pipistrelle* has been identified on a misericord from Cambridge, as well as the *Noctule* identified from a carving in a misericord from Herefordshire (refer to Laird, 1986). The two most common species of 'Horseshoe Bats' are the Greater Horseshoe Bat and the Lesser Horseshoe Bat. The *Greater Horseshoe Bat* is represented from a Hampshire misericord (see photograph in Laird, 1986). However, there are a variety of other species currently known but not identified in the misericordia such as the *Barbastrelle*, the *Whiskered Bat*, *Daubenton's Bat*, *Natterer's Bat* and the *Serotine Bat* (which are all found throughout the country). In addition to these are bats found in even smaller colonies or restricted to a habitat within a more specific geographic region, such as is the case with *Bechstein's Bat*, the *Mouse-eared Bat* and *Leisler's Bat*.

The bat might also have been depicted because it could have been regarded as a mysterious creature, since it would only actively appear at night out of the darkness, and thus, perhaps, was regarded as a creature of the unknown or of unknown horror - although we have no real reason to believe this was the prevailing attitude or belief. If an accurate, true-to-life representation of a bat (or any other creature), was required in the medieval period, this would necessitate a close view or examination of a live, or freshly dead, specimen in order to accurately observe these features. This would also be important to identify features that define a species, and distinguish one family from another.

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<sup>266</sup> Refer to Buczacki (2002 ) for a *Long-eared Bat* from a staircase carving in Hertfordshire.

**Figure 7.9.**

Long Eared Bat, Readers Digest Association (1984: 193).



**Figure 7.10.**

Ordinary Long Eared Bat Misericord, St. Mary the Virgin, Edlesborough, Buckinghamshire, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Laird's "Long Eared Bat" 1986, fig 77).



**Figure 7.11.**

A 'Vampire Bat' (Burnie 2001:112, 109).



**Figure 7.12.**

Bat Misericord, St. Martin, Herne, Kent, C. 1511-31 (Grössinger 1997:143).



**Figure 7.13.**

Detail of Bat Head (Buczacki 2002).



**Figure 7.14.**

Bat Misericord, Hereford Cathedral, Herefordshire, 14th Century,  
(Laird's "Noctule" 1986, fig 76).



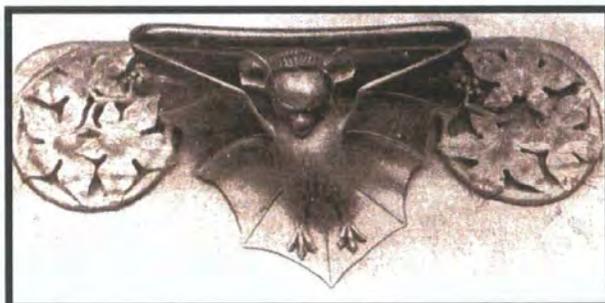
**Figure 7.15.**

'Wahlberg's Fruit Bat' Eating A Mango (Burnie 2001:109).



**Figure 7.16.**

Bat Misericord, Wells Cathedral, Somerset. C. 1330-40 (Bond 1910:107).



**Figure 7.17.**

Bat Misericord, Dunblane Cathedral, Perthshire, C.1429-47 (Laird 1986:121).



**Figure 7.18.**

Ordinary Bat Misericord, St. John's College, Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, 1510-25, (Laird's "Pipistrelle" 1986, fig 75).



**Figure 7.19.**

Head of Devil as represented from an early 14<sup>th</sup> Century Armenian rock overhang from Sir John Mandeville's Travels, Translation: Von Diemeringen, Johann Prüss, Strassburg, 1485, (Laird 1986, fig 74).



**Figure 7.20.**

Greater Horseshoe Bat Misericord, Christchurch Priory, Hampshire, C.1515, (Laird 1986, fig 73).



The fact that physical features have been carved that can reveal different types of bats, indicates an attention to detail to or that there may have been some degree of accurate information passed on to a number of the carvers. In addition to this, their abilities were also sophisticated enough to translate other peoples' descriptions or drawings, and, considering the difficulties of carving minute species details, the carvers of the time did a good job in carving these tiny creatures to families that we can recognise today.

Other knowledge that is communicated in the animal visual culture reveals that the contemporary literature of the day was not necessarily believed. White's translation of one 12th Century Bestiary, remarks of the peacock that its flesh/meat was "so hard that it is scarcely subject to putrefaction, and not easily cooked" (White 1984:149, see also Barber 1993:149). White (1984), further comments that St. Augustine was purported to have said that God "endowed the flesh of the dead peacock with the power of never decaying", and that "after a year's time the cooked meat was only somewhat shrivelled and dried" (see also McCulloch 1962:154).

Friedman links this to a trip to Carthage by St Augustine who adds that the flesh of the peacock did not smell even after a long while - further implication that the flesh did not rot (1989:187). The poet Martial commented "how anyone could be so hard-hearted as to give the bird to a cook (xiii.70)" (Barber 1992:170). However, archaeological and historical evidence of the peacock would suggest that the bestiary knowledge was ignored as peacocks were cooked and eaten at large dinners and feasts<sup>267</sup> (Cosman 1976). One source to support this was the expense account of Sir Roger Leyburn, dated 1 June 1267, who threw a banquet in Canterbury for 2 French Counts and 100 Knights where '6 Peacocks' were served which had been received as gifts, in addition to a fare of 1 ¼ carcasses of beef, bacon, mutton, geese, chickens, pigs, fish, porpoise and eggs (Carlin 1998:35).

Birds, wild songbirds, fowl and game, were an important and supplementary food resource when mammals and other foods were short or unavailable (Serjeantson 2001, Albarella & Thomas 2002); and could also be consumed as a means of demonstrating the high status or rank of the giver/host of the feast which were served at castles, manors and wealthy religious houses (Serjeantson 1997, 2001). However, there were no visual representations of peacocks being served as a cooked meat to support this in the data sample, though the bird can be found within manuscript illuminations in this manner. Thus, this must indicate that peacock was being represented for other reasons beyond it being a high class food.

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<sup>267</sup>The Peacock monumental brass of Robert Braunche (c. 1364) is an artifact executed on the continent that further supports this.

**Figure 7.21.**

Peacock on Excavated Maiolica Vase, London (Rackham 1939:288).



There were a number of images of the pig that exist within the three main types of medium researched. Although over 2/3 were of boars, these and remaining depictions varied in terms of: the form or shape of the creature; the representation of its characteristic features according to sex (i.e. male - boar or female - sow); form (i.e. domestic or wild); age (i.e. adult pig or piglet); or physical characteristics (i.e. snout, tusks, tail, trotters, hair and hide coloration, razor-back and bristles). The scenes carved revealed naturalistic scenes with more realistic images such as sows shown with their litters; boar, sow and piglets fighting or attacking other animals; boar hunts; pigs being driven into forests, foraging for food<sup>268</sup>; pigs being fed or eating acorns / nuts under trees (relating to medieval pannage<sup>269</sup>); pigs being held by the ear; pigs being roasted or stored as food by humans and even less realistic images such as pigs being saddled and ridden. Similarly there are depictions of flocks of sheep and lambs grazing in meadows, others being shorn, present as part of Nativity scenes. The importance of the role of the shepherd looking after the flock is a key part of many pre-industrialised societies, and it is therefore natural to find that the sheep / lamb features within Christian iconography. Sheep had associations with innocence, gentleness, and helplessness – they were animals requiring guarding and tending from other prey to whom they could easily fall victim (such as the wolf).

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<sup>268</sup> Pigs could also easily be kept at both rural and urban locations, and be happily fed on household and town refuse, and many were kept in close proximity to those of the household such as in the backyard areas of household plots in urban areas (Mundee 2005:7-8).

<sup>269</sup> Pigs were often kept and driven into woodland areas to be fed on forest products such as acorns and beech mast (refer to Eryvncck 1997).

Werness (2004:434-437), suggests the wolf had characteristics which included “curiosity, intelligence, playfulness, fierce protectiveness”. However, to others the wolf was regarded with less affection and greater seriousness. Gathercole (1995:99) suggests the wolf “became a symbol of evil, because of its fierceness, cunning and greed”. In some ways, the wolf was recognised in its ability to be crafty<sup>270</sup>. This could be on account of the fact of its pretence to be as tame as a dog<sup>271</sup> and the proverbial phrase - “wolf in sheep’s clothing” (Werness 2004:437)

The wolf can also be regarded as fierce and bloodthirsty and attacks or steals lambs, sheep or steals fowl, and there are many representations in manuscripts which may depict this activity (Gathercole, 1995:100). Anderson suggests that licking or biting its feet is an identifying characteristic of the wolf - since it was thought to lick its feet to make them tread more softly when sneaking up on its prey (1955:179). This might be one reason why others associate the wolf with covetousness (Camille, 1996:146). However, the contrast between a creature like the wolf and the lamb may have been a useful method of emphasising evil from good for a Christian audience.

Other creatures that may have been associated with evil were the crab. In the bestiary, the crab was regarded as a symbol of inconsistency, deceit, greed, cruelty and evil, and that it served a moral lesson so that people should be warned from being lured to sin, be concerned with their own wellbeing and not be the undoing of their neighbours (Werness, 2004:113). In comparison, other sea creatures had a much more positive image, such as that of the dolphin which was one of the more popular sea creatures to be depicted.

Werness suggests that the “innate gregariousness” of the dolphin, and their “interest in human affairs have endeared them to people in most cultures that live close to the sea” (2004:141). Tresidder suggests the human qualities of intelligence, love, playfulness, power, and speed may have been other symbolic qualities of the dolphin (1997:66). Anderson<sup>272</sup> suggests the dolphin is said “to follow music or the human voice”, but there were no representations that could be used to support these views. Dolphins are described in the catalogues as being depicted in various ways, including being either alone or with other dolphins and fish, with their young, or shown between or being ridden by mermaids.

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<sup>270</sup> The story of ‘Little Red Riding Hood’ is a good example of the wolf’s crafty character, and may have existed in the medieval era.

<sup>271</sup> Similarly the crafty fox pretends to be dead to lure its prey.

<sup>272</sup> Anderson in Remnant (1969:xxxvi).

The largest number of dolphins could be found represented in portable artefacts, from the NMAD – which revealed the largest number for any sea creature from this source. Whilst it may be appreciated why dolphins may have been a popular creature to depict, it is difficult to be certain as to why dolphins predominate over other sea creatures. It is possible that dolphins were the most common deep sea creature to be seen in real life, and they were a creature with historic popularity from the classical period. Dolphins often like to swim ahead of, along-side or in the wake of sea going craft. Stories of their playfulness and curiosity about humans and their voyages, may therefore fired the imagination of those creating images with a more maritime theme. It is also possible that a number of the images actually represent other large species of fish to which humans have had encounters such as small whales and indeed cod.

Cirlot (1962:21) comments that the head of the ass can be found in a variety of medieval “emblems, marks and signs, [where it] often stands for humility, patience and courage” (refer also to the musical ass with harp depicted in Mâle 1984:341). It is also frequently represented in more naturalistic scenes of the nativity, along with the ox, though this is in contrast with the symbolism linked to the donkey<sup>273</sup> is ambiguous and despite associations with a number of Classical deities “the donkey became a symbol of humility, recalcitrance, sexuality, and foolishness” (Werness 2004:21), particularly when found (or its head and ears) used in satire and to emphasise stubbornness, and even being the subject of a children’s game<sup>274</sup>.

The hare may have been used to represented the emotion of fear and negative virtue of cowardice being linked to, “the fearful person who seeks refuge in the Christian faith” (Telesko 2001:54), whilst “the image of a knight fleeing from a hare was a Medieval symbol of cowardice” (Werness 2004:340). Creatures could also be used as characters to express aspects of service in social and professional life. This may account for the use of particular creatures such as the monkey, in important and essential occupational roles such as undertakers or doctors of medicine holding *matulae*<sup>275</sup> (refer to McDermott 1938; Tressider 1997; and Werness 2004; although Janson 1952 offers the most extensive treatment of the ape, and its associated themes including that of the fallen man, the sinner, its laziness, sexuality, as well as parodies, fables and other representations found in marginalia).

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<sup>273</sup> For further discussion refer also to Mathews (1993:23-53).

<sup>274</sup> Pin the Tail on the Donkey.

<sup>275</sup> Uroscopy flasks.

Clark's paper on the 'Illustrated Medieval Aviary' (1982:62) cites the work of Hugh of Fouillois and says *De Avibus* was used as a teaching text for a monastic audience or lay brothers since it was illustrated with pictures to maintain attention. They used birds as the subjects of moral allegory and its popularity closely parallels the rise and fall of the brotherhood, which was over by the end of the 13th Century. Many images depicting both birds and animals can also be interpreted as a display of morality (or a lack of it). In this way, animals were used as instruction or exempla, often as a reminder of piety in an age where the temptation of sins of the flesh, were a social concern<sup>276</sup>. It is also possible that other animal themes were incorporated as a subversion of traditional power or patronage authority, as an attack against this authority from the laymen-craftsmen and wider community. One porcine proverbial example of the seven deadly sins, is anger riding the boar, which is illustrated on a misericord from Norwich Cathedral (refer to Sillar and Meyer 1961:16-17, figure 14.1).

Other scenes with animals were depicted to reflect and communicate the realities of rural life and farming such as serving as draught animals in ploughing scenes (Bath 1981, Birell 1982:112-126, 1992); to being eaten e.g. the rabbit (refer to Bailey 1988; Van Damme and Eryvynck 1988). Overall, there are a variety of creatures depicted in scenes illustrating grazing, eating or drinking e.g. Harley MS 4751 ff.41 (13th Century) depicts a swan swimming with a fish in its mouth<sup>277</sup> (Payne 1990:68) or a dog gnaws a bone on a misericord from Christchurch, Hampshire (Anderson 1955:191); flying, swimming, running, and sleeping; to being chased and caught as prey by a predator or pursuing prey as a predator. Many of the deer-like animals that are depicted take on the common role of beasts in the wood being pursued by domestic dogs and hounds (often to their death). This was a popular medieval activity.

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<sup>276</sup> For examples of exempla in manuscripts refer to Randall (1957); or for an emphasis on humour and merry making in human nature refer to Katzenellenbogen (1939); Brown (2000); Jones (1989, 1990, 1991, 2002); Grössinger (1997 and 2002).

<sup>277</sup> Despite the fact that swans are essentially herbivorous !

**Figure 7.22.**

Monkey's in Stained and Painted Glass, York Minster, Zouch Chapel, York Minster,  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



We find depictions featuring the fox and the goose (or other poultry or fowl) in an ecclesiastic setting, with the fox taking the role of a priest in a pulpit, with clerical robe or rosary and the geese in the role as congregation being used as a generic symbol of the people<sup>278</sup>, and carved to parallel the faithful common people who are seduced, tricked, caught and eaten by the deceitful (Wood 1999:126). The fox can be found as a character in fables such as Aesop and most commonly in the Roman de Renart manuscripts (for further discussion refer to Varty 1962-3, 1963, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1999; Rouse and Varty 1976; Terry 1983:118-119 and Gathercole 1995:42). This character is therefore one reason why the fox was often represented, and some of the dog-like representation may be intended to be the fox.

Iconographically, the fox has been associated with the traits quite opposite to the domestic dog, and emphasis is put on its trickery and it is portrayed as a sly, cunning deceiver. It is known as a symbol of fraud when dressed in clerical dress and preaches to geese (Anderson 1955:191) and displays almost devil-like attributes meaning the use of the fox, could have served as a warning with a more moralistic as well as a satirical tone. The fox can therefore be found appearing in clerical dress preaching to congregations of other animals, on pilgrimage, being ridden on by other animals and being hung. The fox figure could have served as a negative symbol, one of deceit, untrustworthiness, especially when depicted with the goose, and perhaps even the devil. Various authors comments on the increasing enemy of the people during the Middle Ages - the 'Clergy'.

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<sup>278</sup> It is not easy to identify the precise species of fowl in the misericords, e.g. a cock and possibly a goose or duck are represented as members of the congregation from a Ripon Misericord (Grössinger 1997).

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**Figure 7.23.**

Misericord with Fox, Goose and Cockerel at Ripon Cathedral, C.1489-94,  
(Grössinger 1997:116, fig 162).



It has been suggested that the clergy were abandoning their obligation to tend to the spiritual needs of their people in favour of pursuing their own economic gain, thus if this were the case, they might have been perceived as corrupt, lazy and unfair landlords and so an easy target for the butt of numerous jokes (Wood 1999:125). Wood further cites the work of Day 1872 as a source for the story of a battle occurring during the 13th-14th Century, between Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) and Philip IV of France (1268-1314) over Philip's attempt to tax the clergy. She says:

“Philip was so enraged over the Pope's interference that he tried to chastise him publicly by staging the “Procession Renert”. In this production, a mummer, covered in the skin of a fox over which he wore a priest's robe, performed a mass, then immediately went out to devour poultry” (1999:125).

As a result, many people are thought to have turned instead to the mendicant Friars who offered prayers, absolutions and other services normally performed by the clergy, as well as preaching the new doctrine of emancipation (and thus inspiring jealousy and fear from the Church). The growing presence of wandering preachers or ‘Poor Priests’ also increased, prompting warning by the Church about ‘false prophets’. It is against this background that a number of associated themes frequently became depicted in the period. Jones and Tracy (1991:109) suggest that the scenes of the fox preaching to the birds or birds hanging the fox are very popular scenes in late medieval art in England, and the continent.

### 7.2.3 Images of Identity.

Certain creatures may have been used in indicating identity, establishing gender, sexuality and passion.

A large number of animals were depicted in more stylised forms as part of heraldic motifs in crests and coats of arms. A large number of animals were used in this way to represent personal and group identity including the cat<sup>279</sup>, dog, lion, leopard, eagle, martlet, parrot, swan, hart, unicorn and the griffin<sup>280</sup>. They were chosen for attributes they were perceived to have and to which a person wanted to be associated with e.g. the leopard was used since it represented courage and so was widely used. The leopard's head was even used to introduce the idea of a hallmark to secure the value of precious metals and was therefore first used as a hallmark around 1300 (refer to Heslop in Ford 1992:189). This symbol was derived from the royal arms in order to demonstrate the concern of the king and the wish to show he did not support dealings with debased metals.

The identity of a number of saints could be signified by the use of particular animals and birds such as the eagle and dove, the lion, horse, wolf, lamb, cat and rabbit. The Evangelist St. John has been associated with the eagle, and when used in this form its identity is clearly distinguishable from other birds of prey. The dove was linked to the Evangelists, St. Gregory, St. Basil, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Theresa of Avila. Some doves can also be found coming from the mouths of dying saints to symbolize their souls rising to heaven (Werness 2004:144).

The lion could be used as a representative of and associated with various personages such as particular saints. St. Jerome is associated with the lion since he removed a thorn from a lion's paw at Bethlehem endearing the saint to the lion. Other saints that were associated with lions include St. Paul, for whom two lions came to dig a grave. The lion also became depicted as one of the four archangels, and when depicted with wings, was associated as a companion of St. Mark (as well as a recognized symbol of the Evangelist). The horse could also serve as an emblem of a saint, and saints themselves often appear on horseback, or regularly have horses in background scenes with them e.g. St. George rides a horse while fighting the dragon in numerous depictions (refer to Gathercole 1995:58 for links to this scene in manuscripts). The wolf can be used to signify the identity of St. Patrick (as depicted with two wolves in BM Royal 20D vi, f.213v), in

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<sup>279</sup> Some cats can also be found used within the coats of arms of the Grants of Ballindalloch, the Macintosh clan of Caithness and the house of Sutherland, though they came second in popularity to dogs (Swan 2005:67).

<sup>280</sup> One origin of the griffin is believed to be heraldic in that two coats of arms in effect were joined together during dimidiation (the eagle and the lion of a husband and wife's family perhaps), though considering the antiquity of composite creatures across the world, this may not be likely

this case the wolves are thought to be used to characterise the Irish people (Gathercole 1995:101). When holding a crowned head the wolf is linked to the legend of St. Edmund (Anderson 1955:193). The creature was also one of the emblems of St. Francis of Assisi, since he was able to tame the aggressive wolf of Gubbio. The lamb was an emblem associated with the St. John, St. Agnes, St. Catherine, St. Clement, St. Genevieve, St. Joanna and St. Regina (refer to Armitage and Goodall 1977, Collins 1913:61, Gathercole 1995:89 and Werness 2004:250 for further discussion). The cat was linked with a number of European saints including: St. Martha, St. Agatha (also known as St. Gato), St. Gertrude of Nivelles, the patroness of cats (Werness 2004:75), St Yves, since cats were often depicted with this saint who was the patron of lawyers<sup>281</sup>, and St. Francis who even wrote about cats (Swan 2005:58-59). Rabbits (or hares) appear with St. Jerome “probably not because of the rabbit’s association with fecundity or its timidity, but because, as a timid, meek animal, it came to signify those who placed their faith and trust in Christ” (Werness 2004:340).

The gender of particular human characters may be depicted by association by using particular animals such as the cat associated with women, and witches (see also Cirlot 1962:39; Sillar and Meyer 1966; Werness 2004:73, 191, 381, 391; Swan 2005:90). It was thought cats were witches themselves that had transformed themselves in the form or shape of a cat. Swan (2005:90) records a sisterhood of witches in Aberdeen in 1596 who transformed themselves into cats and enjoyed orgies in the fish market (refer also to South 1981). Unfortunately, as a consequence of the negative press about cats, thousands of cats were cruelly destroyed in the medieval period by hanging, burning or torture causing hundreds of cats to be killed (Swan 2005:232). The use of the peacock was thought to have been associated the Roman Goddess Juno (Allen 1954:95) to whom it was sacred (similarly the Eagle was associated with Jupiter and Roman Emperors); and with the Roman Empresses (Evans 1896:310), who were deified at death and so came to represent immortality, everlasting life and resurrection (Anderson 1938:58 and 1955:192; Whittick 1960:234; Fontana 1993:87<sup>282</sup>), and it is suggested it symbolized the apotheosis of an empress by reason of a belief in the incorruptible soul (Benoist 1941); incorruptibility of its flesh - a belief both Collins and Evans suggest was mentioned by St. Augustine (Collins 1913:137, Evans 1896:311).

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<sup>281</sup> This was thought to symbolize the evil qualities of lawyers (Werness, 2004:75).

<sup>282</sup> The source cited is George, W Ferguson’s ‘Signs and Symbols in Christian Art’, New York, 1954.

The peacock could also have been chosen is because it is a beautiful bird with unusual tail feathers and crown that make it an excellent subject for representation in a variety of media, and particularly if painted as it would have been even more striking to the eye. In a number of contexts it is likely that the peacock has been used symbolically to represent aspects of human behaviour (Graham 1962) such as an example to remind people of the sins of vanity and pride. This is based on the observation about the bird's appearance and behavioral display (refer to Whittick 1960:5). Some people have been compared with a peacock when wearing clothing for self-elation and admiration "The peacock does not only strut with tail spread when the female is in attendance - it is exhilarating to feel a fine fellow" (Whittick 1960:340). Thus, the peacock's association with pride is related (Brown 2000:61), and whilst it could have its origins in the Roman use associated with the bird's appearance and display (Whittick 1960:5), it is as likely that the Bestiary peacock which could be associated with vanity, and may represent goodness, "when the peacock awakes, it cries out in fear because it dreams that it has lost its beauty: so the Christian must fear to lose the good qualities with which God has endowed his soul" (Collins 1913:138), but also similarly quoted in Anderson (1938:58 etc).

Brown (2000), emphasises the dangers of pride and lust in relation to appearance which was a sin ordinarily imputed to women (so as to avoid the incitement of lust). However men were also susceptible to this sin. This could be emphasised in terms of the hunter in tiger imagery (Brown 2000:61) and also the peacock. A wide range of animals were associated with fertility, sensuality, lust and uncontrolled passion such as the scallop - which may have had fertility or sexually inspired associations as a consequence of its Classical links with the Greek goddess Aphrodite (depicted with the shell as early as 400 BCE, Werness 2004:358); the swan - thought to be a symbol of "accomplished passion and the ebbing or loss of love" (Tresidder 1997:196), and this may be on account of another Classical Greek myth (that the king of the gods, Zeus, took the form of a swan in order to ravish Leda). Others include the cat, who had an association with sex, sexuality and promiscuity beginning in the late Medieval period "slang terms connecting the two are still prevalent today, such as "wildcat", "pussy," "cathouse," and "tomcat", (Werness 2004:75 quoting Saunders 1991:86); the leopard (Camille 1996:146); the rabbit (Abraham 1963; Gathercole 1995:49; Werness 2004:340); the stag (Thieboux 1974); the centaur (Collins 1913:150; Mode 1973:266) and the pig - as will be discussed in more detail below.

The sow has been associated with fertility throughout the ancient world on account of the large size of her litter, numerous mammary glands and demonstration of maternal care shown, and in this respect could be used as a positive symbol (refer to Fontana 1993)<sup>283</sup>. Anderson suggests the “sow and farrow” were a symbol of a “divinely appointed spot, for the site of a church” (1955:193), thus relates to a foundation legend. Nevertheless, it is possible that whilst the sow with her many piglets was an expression of reproduction, it could also be associated with sexual excess. There are visual images of the pig offering associations of a more sexual as opposed to reproductive significance such as: the pig and the prostitute which may have been placed into a related mental category by certain people within the medieval period on account of their common association with lust and lechery, and, further, in that they were creatures associated with the sins of the flesh (Gathercole 1995:79). As a result, pigs were perceived as animals who could threaten morality (refer to discussion of the swine used as a symbol in medieval culture in Kearney 1991, and within the literature of Chaucer, Rowland 1971:77ff).

Goldberg (1999:172-3) cites an ordinance from York, dating to 1301, which equates the treatment and punishment of pigs with that of prostitutes if caught within the city (refer also to Prestwich 1976; and Rackham 1994 for ordinances referring to pigs). Pigs were creatures that some people obviously thought needed to be constrained from wandering the city streets for the protection of others (just like prostitutes), and it was in order to achieve this, that laws were made for their control in England. The ordinance therefore suggests that a pig should have its trotters cut off if caught transgressing (preventing it wandering the streets ever again), whilst the prostitute would have the door and roof timbers of the building in which she was lodging removed (thus depriving her of a shelter or home and discouraging her accommodation and further trade within the city). It is possible that some of the later images we see depicting pigs and female humans echo and took inspiration from this lustful link. Other authors make an analogy between the prostitute and nun, and in France the word ‘abbess’ was used for the leaseholder of a public brothel (refer to Rossiaud, 1984:4-5). Hieronymus Bosch’s work, ‘Garden of Earthly Delights’ (c.1505-10) presents one painted example which depicts a pig dressed like a mother superior embracing a naked man. This imagery has been said to allude to the practice of wills being made under pressure in favour of monasteries (for further discussion see Benton 1992:104).

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<sup>283</sup> The wild boar in comparison has been regarded as a sacred animal, positively associated with health, magical powers, and the gods (Gathercole 1995:79).

However, it seems that dressing pigs up as humans might not have been that unusual. As late as the 18<sup>th</sup> century, pigs were still being considered in human terms by being dressed in human clothing, arrested and tried in courts of law as criminals<sup>284</sup>, then executed like humans by hanging following charges of murder (Caras 2001:115). Hanging was a punishment for crimes such as killing and partially eating children from the 13<sup>th</sup> to as late as the 17<sup>th</sup> Century both in France and England (Kadri 2005:156). One example of such a murder was that of a six month old baby, Agnes Perone, from Oxford in 1392, “Witnesses said that a sow ate off the head of the said Agnes, even to the nose, and so she died, and the sow was arrested” (Rowland 1971:75).

#### **7.2.4 Images of Faith.**

People had a belief or faith in the existence of certain creatures that they never saw, and that we know were imaginary, such as the unicorn. This, perhaps, is more easily appreciated in a world where seeing was not required for believing. In the Middle Ages people generally had faith, and were required to have faith, since the opportunity for personal experience, knowledge and growth was restricted and limited.

We have records of unicorn horns being kept at St. Mark’s (Venice), St. Denis (France), Milan Cathedral (Italy), St. Paul’s Cathedral & Westminster Abbey (London). One was “included in the inventory of the treasure of Charles I; and another, or perhaps the same, that was seen at Windsor Castle by travellers to the court of Queen Elizabeth and valued at £100,000” (Lum 1952:69). Other unicorn horns could be found listed in the inventories of various Dukes e.g. those of Mantua, Berry, Burgundy and the Medicis (refer to Gotfredsen 1999; Hahn 2003).

The reason why the horn may have been acquired was that some believed the horn itself had magical properties, which included the ability to purify poison, and also as an antidote to poisoning and that the horn was “so potent that even the water in which it had been steeped would cure the sick”. In high status households (e.g. baronial), unicorn horns were used to touch food or water prior to serving it to check for purity (refer to Gotfredsen 1999:39, 154-8, 165). As a result, drinking from a unicorn’s horn or out of a cup made from the horn was a widespread practice and such horns were regarded as a prized and valuable possession (Anderson 1938:74; Lum 1952:68). The value of the unicorn’s horn as an antidote to poison was obviously an attractive and powerful lure, which might explain one reason why the horn became a valuable medieval commodity, and a trade in it emerged (refer to Lum 1952:71 and Hahn 2003). If people didn’t have part of a unicorn, the next best thing was to represent images of them.

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<sup>284</sup> Other animals that were tried in court included weevils, green beetles, ants, lampreys, the rooster, mules, donkeys, dogs, bulls, cows and horses (refer to Kadri 2005:154-156).

The unicorn was thought to be the symbol of Christ; if this was a true association it could be one reason why the creature was used so popular, and explains the relative frequency of this creature. The unicorn was also thought to have been used as a symbol of female chastity, having been associated with virgins since the 6<sup>th</sup> Century (Gotfredsen 1999:45); “It is appropriate especially to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to S. Justina, the pure virgin martyr of Antioch” (Collins 1913:216). Collins (1913:215) and Gotfredsen (1999:34), both comment how the unicorn’s horn was equated to be the horn of faith, and the horn of salvation; whilst others associate it as a very dangerous weapon and therefore an emblem of the sword of god (Cirlot 1962:357).

It has also been associated as a signifier of “the oneness of the Father and the Son, and the small size of the animal the extreme condescension and humility of Our Lord” (Collins 1913:216)<sup>285</sup>. In the case of the unicorn, its popularity was long-lasting and its inclusion in religious texts gave it credence as a real creature. Similarly, Griffins were considered to exist, but to be rare creatures, and their claws were said to be valuable commodities that should be made into drinking cups as poison was thought to change colour when held within them (Lum 1952:47).

One of the reasons animals were depicted was because they could be used as iconographical and symbolic tools either alone, in association with others, in association with other objects or in particular contexts and depicted in an adapted or stylised form with wings or haloes in association to clarify their symbolic meaning (refer to Collin’s 1913:53, 157-161; Bath 1992; Payne 1990:54). A number of different types of creatures were used because they were associated with medieval religious preoccupations with Pilgrimage, Christianity, Christ, The Devil and Hell.

The scallop is thought to have served as a symbol of pilgrimage in Christian symbolism, and is an attribute of a variety of saints and in particular pilgrimage to Santiago in Spain, as well as of rebirth and resurrection (Tresidder 1997:177) and as such the greatest numbers of scallops were found on portable objects from the thesis data sample. Fish have been used symbolically to represent Christianity (a symbol originating from a Greek word), and the Holy Trinity - when depicted in the form of three fish in a triangle. The fish has positive associations with fish include biblical stories of faith such as the miracle of the loaves and draught of fishes (Collins 1913:106). Cirlot associates the dolphin with an allegory of the sacrificial Christ and salvation (1962:85). However, the jaws of the whale were also considered to close imprisoning fish like people by the gates of hell (i.e. links with the representation of hell mouth) and so the whale was regarded as a rather negative symbol in the *Physiologus*.

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<sup>285</sup> Refer also to Godbey (1939:256-296) for discussion of the unicorn in the old Testament.

**Figure 7.24.**

Bestiary Unicorn in M.S. Bodley 764, 13th Century (Barber 1992:36).



**Figure 7.25.**

Unicorn Misericord, Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Block 2003b:170).



**Figure 7.26.**

Griffin Misericord, Durham Castle, 15<sup>th</sup> Century (Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



Doves were linked with the Virgin Mary, and they appear in scenes of Christ's nativity and baptism (Werness 2004:144); as a signifier of the third person of the Trinity / the Holy Ghost (Cirlot 1962:85) and of Holy Spirit, since "He came down on Jesus at His baptism in this form" (Collins 1913:125). Other representations of the dove (such as drinking from a vase) are interpreted as "the Holy Eucharist" or Holy Communion (refer to Collins citing Eden, 1913:129-130 and Anderson 1955:191). Collins (1913: 122-130) comments that the dove has varying significance, ranging from representing "the soul of the departed Christian"; to being connected with Noah and the Ark when represented with an olive branch in its beak, and Collins explains this significance, "Just as the dove could find no rest for the sole of her foot save in the ark, so the Christian soul can find no safety or peace outside the Church" (1913:122). In other types of medieval literature reference is made to the creatures symbolic qualities, which include peace, divine love, regeneration, immortality, light and the human soul (Werness 2004:143). In this respect there are a variety of positive reasons for the representation of this bird.

Eagles were associated with Christ, and were an emblem of prayer and of ascension. Cirlot (1967:91f.) suggests that the eagle's flight can be compared with the prayer rising to the Lord, and grace descending upon mortal man, therefore a good motif to have in a church in stained and painted glass or misericords; and it could have been used in emphasising the sacrament of 'Holy Baptism' or spiritual renewal through God. Collins (1913, 133) highlights parallels between the eagle and Christ. He refers to the bestiary sea-eagle which was also known to dive for fish from the sky like a thunderbolt, and capture fish in its claws. This was compared to Christ who came down on earth to capture the souls of men out of the sea of the world. White (1984, 105 f.) lists the eagle in his translation of a 12th Century bestiary. It was thought the eagle was so powerful it hatched its eggs by staring at them. Another bestiary story which was often illustrated, e.g., Royal MS 12F xiii, f. 49 (13th Century), was of the eagle who carries eaglets in its claws up to the sun to test their worthiness to God. Those eaglets that couldn't look up at the brightness of the sun without blinking were rejected, and if in a nest, were knocked out. This relates to the eagle that was thought able to look up at the sun without blinking its eyes, and so could gaze upon God's dazzling glory. Those birds that were unblinking were therefore saved and reared. This parallel was made with Christ who bears souls of human that are fit for the vision of God, only the worthy souls being carried to God. However, despite the popularity of this story about the eagle in the Bestiary, it is not a popular story to be depicted (at least in the misericords researched).

**Figure 7.27.**

Eagle Misericord, Montgomery Church, 1400-1540 (Tracy 1990:137a).



**Figure 7.28.**

Eagle Misericord, Halsall Church, 1400-1540 (Tracy 1990:152c).



The eagle was the most frequently represented bird in stained and painted glass (over 90 depictions collectively from window glass, roundels and glass vessels); in individual misericords (over 50 depictions including double-headed eagles and demi-eagles); and was a very popular bird found represented from the portable material (over 50 depictions collectively from the EACCD, NMAD, EFD and RARD). It is possible that a number of these eagles were painted (as were other creatures) to emphasise their impact<sup>286</sup>. The eagle has many naturalistic and heraldic forms of depiction in the misericords, including being shown with scrolls, rosary, and even double-headed (refer to Mode for further discussion of the theme of the double-headed bird (1973:170)). Cirlot indicates the double-headed eagle was related to the double-faced symbol of Janus (1962:92). Historically, the eagle was also powerful and regal emblem around the world throughout antiquity (Toynbee 1996). The eagle was therefore a high status bird, and a bird associated with Christ and Christianity. This must have been another factor involved in its predominant representation over other avian species within the animal visual culture investigated.

<sup>286</sup> For paint traces on other woodwork refer to Jones & Tracy (1991:107).

The lion was also one of the most frequently represented creatures in all types of material examined for this thesis. As a motif, the lion was portrayed in both secular and religious contexts being used as both a primary character within a narrative, and also amongst other animals as a decorative and imaginative backdrop to the scene being communicated. The lion can be found depicted within other religious tales in the Bible, such as the story of Daniel<sup>287</sup> in the lion's den; and that of Samson<sup>288</sup> whose extraordinary strength enables him to tear apart a lion with his bare hands. In the hierarchy of jungle animals, the lion is commonly regarded as the 'king' of the beasts. Some authors suggest that the lion was represented as a direct manifestation of Christ, since the animal appears complete with a halo above its head. Gathercole (1995), notes that the lion is used and portrayed in this manner within various manuscripts. Collins recounts the fable that the lioness:

“brought forth her cubs dead. After three days the male lion would come and howl over the cubs, and quicken them by his breath. So the Almighty Father on the third day recalled to life His only begotten Son, and one day will quicken us together with Him. The lion has been therefore regarded as a symbol of Resurrection of Jesus Christ” (Collins 1913:73)<sup>289</sup>.

Other sources present the lion as an animal to be fought or tamed in order to demonstrate the knightly qualities and/or regal attributes of those depicted. In this respect it became a symbol of royalty<sup>290</sup>, particularly amongst the Jews (refer to Gathercole, 1995:66, 69, 70) including use as an emblem e.g. by the tribe of Judah, and appears on the throne of Solomon (refer to Werness 2004:258, Telesco 2001:72 and Collins 1913:70). As an animal with majesty, strength and power, watchfulness, vigilance and justice, the lion has therefore been used as a means of emphasising the respected qualities of those portrayed e.g. the lion can be found depicted at the feet of effigies of medieval knights to emphasise the strength of their generosity, and in association with emblems of the British monarchy (Gathercole 1995:69, 70)<sup>291</sup>.

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<sup>287</sup> Refer to book of Daniel.

<sup>288</sup> Refer to book of Judges.

<sup>289</sup> The lion has also been regarded as a symbol of pride (Camille 1996:146).

<sup>290</sup>The tiger also had associations with royalty, cruelty, fierceness, strength and power and was therefore a natural creature to show in conflict with other creatures. Gathercole (1995:63), suggests that the tiger was a symbolic creature both as “creator and destroyer”.

<sup>291</sup> In comparison, the lioness was used in a negative manner (as were other female counterparts), to represent infidelity, and as it has been suggested was associated with the “erring soul” (Gathercole 1995:66-67).

Both good and evil associations can be identified with the lion (Collins 1913:69). Gathercole also suggests that the lion could at times be used as a negative symbol of Sin, Satan, the Devil (described as a roaring lion in the book of Peter (1 v8) or of Death. Collins associates the lion with evil when being subdued by a hero - those depicted include David or Samson depending upon other artefacts depicted<sup>292</sup> (1913:74).

The lamb was often used as a symbol associated with Christ and the Son of God, especially as a symbol of Christ's sacrificial death as the 'Lamb of God' or '*Agnus s Dei*' which was an accepted sacrifice to take away the sins of the world (Peter, I, 19). Werness indicates the roots of this symbol relate to the sacrifice of a ram in place of Abrahams son Isaac in the Old Testament (2004:250). There were therefore various depictions of either the ram, sheep, lamb, and especially the Agnus Dei in medieval visual culture, and specifically that could be found catalogued in stained and painted glass, in misericords, the EACCD, the NMAD and EFD. The sheep/lamb could also be depicted in an adapted or stylised form with wings or haloes in association with other attributes to clarify its symbolic meaning e.g. in scenes of Crucifixion, it was represented with a cross; in scenes of sacrifice and charity, blood is shown flowing from the creature into a chalice; in scenes of resurrection, it is shown in association with a triumphant banner; and in depictions of the Apocalypse it appears with the book sealed with the seven seals (refer to Gathercole 1995:83-84; see also Anderson who cites the representation of rams "used as a rebus on the chantry of Abbot Ramynge in St. Albans Cathedral" 1955:193).

Werness indicates that "the stag and other horned animals became symbols of the devil and demons" (2004:391). Other land creatures could also be used to represent the Devil such as the leopard (Werness 2004:254 and Gathercole 1995:63); and sea creatures such as the whale, which could be associated with the Devil, having a deceptive appearance (like an island when surfacing), luring humans (sailors) to destruction by them thinking the whale is an island, disembarking with them then drowning them as it submerges just like the devil going down to hell (Collins 1913:102) in a period where swimming ability was not a common skill amongst humans; and in this respect is associated with St. Brendan – a tale which is also found in the *Navigatio Brendani* (refer also to the 'Biblia Pauperum' Wood-block of Jonah and the Whale and Ripon Cathedral Misericord in Grössinger, 1997:67; and further discussion in Werness 2004:431).

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<sup>292</sup> Collins suggests that David might be shown with a harp, crook or lamb.

The depiction of various mind creatures were also used as representations of the Devil such as the cockatrice (Collins 1913:146-149); the griffin who was a signifier of “the devil who is ready to carry away our souls to the deserts of hell” Collins (1913:186) and representative of both the “Saviour and Antichrist”(Cirlot 1962:133). A number of classical authors also associate centaurs with hell (e.g. Virgil in his Aeneid and Dante). Anderson suggests a duality of symbolism in that its human half represents Christ, and its horse half represents Christ’s vengeance on those who betrayed him (1955:193). The representation of particular creatures may require additional knowledge beyond the image alone in order to appreciate its significance<sup>293</sup>. However, the understanding of iconographical and symbolic tools is not necessary constant in time, and can be dependent upon the group using the symbol. The wolf is a useful creature to emphasise this point, since within the context of use of the Dominican monks indicates a symbol of ‘heresy’, but from point of view of the Franciscans represented ‘the possibilities of salvation’ (Werness 2004:436). The link between the cock and St. Peter can be understood from a passage in the ‘Bible’. In the New Testament - John 13, 38; Jesus warns Peter that his faith will be tested by his honesty and courage, in the face of fear of what others say. The passage refers to Peter who denied Christ thrice before the cock crew twice in the morning, which many believe to demonstrate the important theme of ‘Vigilance’, or the concept of the ‘Sinner’ who had ‘Repented’ (Rev. Patrick Phillips, 2003: Pers. Comm.). Rowland (1981:340-341) attributes the cock with the power of dispelling evil, suggesting that this faculty draws upon the Bible where the cock is described as a ‘fighter’ (Proverbs, 30:31), and also a bird of wisdom (Job, 38:36).

### **7.2.5 Images of Fantasy.**

There a number of composite creatures that share both human and animal features such as a head the head, eyes, ears, or tusks of one, contrasted with the upper or lower body, legs, feet and skin of another such as the centaur (Sagittarius), the wodehouse (wild-man/wild-woman), or merpeople (mermaid/merman)<sup>294</sup>. The representation of such strange creatures in one visual material may have assisted their appearance in others. Mâle, in his discussion of 12<sup>th</sup> Century religious art in France, states “I am convinced that the miniatures of the Bestiaries contributed to the circulation of images of the centaur and the siren” (1978:335).

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<sup>293</sup> Jones and Tracy (1991) identified around 14 misericords out of the 3000 catalogued by Remnant that had an inscription which could assist, five were donors names, three were religious abbreviations, and one was just a date, the remainder were moral injunctions or proverbs (1991:112).

<sup>294</sup> Refer to Lum (1952:137), Anderson (1955:182) and Mode (1973:280).

**Figure 7.29.**

Composite Creature Misericord, Winchester College, UK, 14th Century (Harding 1998:41).



It is possible that some depictions were representations of real creatures, became distorted using second-hand and possibly inaccurate descriptions. A number of representations catalogued as dragons or wyverns may actually be depictions of various types of lizard, crocodile or alligators which otherwise are rather under-represented in the catalogued data. This may be the case, since there were nearly 300 representations of dragons catalogued in the thesis data. They range from creatures with worm - snake - or serpent-shaped bodies, to reptilian, lizard - or crocodile-like bodies with scales, wings, horns, multiple heads, crowns and claws.

The vast differences in representation make criteria for the identification of a medieval dragon rather difficult to establish. Cirlot highlights numerous Biblical references and descriptions of dragons in the books of Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Micah, and Revelation; and from the Classical authors Pliny, Galen, and Rabanus Maurus (1962:86). The skull of a dragon allegedly slain by St. George, and scales of a dragon killed by St. Sylvester were recorded in relic inventories from the 16<sup>th</sup> Century in Europe (the skull in this instance was later identified to be that of a crocodile<sup>295</sup>).

Nevertheless, as a fabulous animal, the dragon represents a variety of attributes associated with numerous creatures including, good eyesight, strength, speed, vigilance, and power “as well as being turned into an allegory of prophecy and wisdom” (1962:87). Anderson links the dragon as a symbol of evil (1955:193) and depending on how far such beliefs travelled through traders, it can be appreciated that such a large and impressive (fabled) creature was chosen to be depicted. Other more common creatures were depicted in contexts far removed from what would have been seen in daily life.

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<sup>295</sup> Medbeast-L, Aleks Pluskowski 2003.

The 'Topsy Turvy World' or the 'World Turned Upside Down' (Jones 2002:160) is regarded as a place where role reversals in human/animal relationships can be found (Benton 2004:69). This is a land where, "the bull milks the woman, the hares roast the huntsman, the ox slaughters the butcher ... the mice hang the cat, the geese hang the fox; ...the priest ploughs while the peasant celebrates mass" (Jones 2002:147).

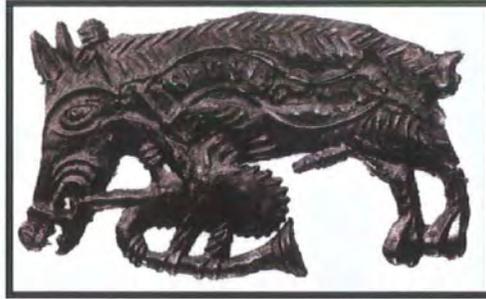
Similarly, the 'Land of Cockaigne' is the joyous literary utopia equivalent to the European Topsy Turvy World in medieval England (Pleij 2001). It represented a paradise for vice, lechery, sin, or a world characterising life's realities. In Cockaigne, "pigs, for example, trot up ready-roasted, the carving knife already lodged in their sides, spitted geese fly about advertising themselves, and ready-roasted larks fly into the mouth!" (Jones 2002:144).

Some believe these representations to have a moralistic purpose (such as Jones 2002:269) and indicate that the bagpipe played by the pig could have been regarded as a phallic symbol; whilst Caras (2001:112) suggests that the image of a bag-piping pig in German sculpture represented 'lust', others suggest a satirical reason. We do have contemporary literary references to the harping sow in 'English nonsense verse' from the late 15th Century. Jones (2002:158-159) cites a late 15<sup>th</sup> Century manuscript discussed by Wright and Halliwell (1841), which allots animals an instrument that alliterates with their names, for example, the fox fiddled, the lark plays the lute and the turbot plays the trumpet (the alliteration working for each animal except for the sow-harpist).

Various types of unusual images, unlikely to have been observed from real life but representing animals used as human characters (perhaps as a joke in order to mock), can be widely found relating to the pig such as, the images of pig musicians such as the bag-piping or harping pig, the fiddle-playing pig, and the whistle-blowing or singing pig in a variety of media as illustrated below in figures 7.30 to 7.32 (refer to Benton 2004:79-83; Kearney 1991:261; Sillar and Meyer 1961:25-27).

**Figure 7.30.**

Boar Playing Bagpipes Badge, c.1375-1435, H.J.E Van Beuningen Collection,  
(Mellinkoff 2004:133).



**Figure 7.31.**

Image of a Boar Musician from Painted Glass Roundel. C. 1375-1425; England. Copyright: EM 13/76, from Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire, The Rothschild Collection (The National Trust). Photographer: *Eost & Macdonald* 1976.



**Figure 7.32.**

Detail of a Pig Musician from Durham Castle Misericord, 15<sup>th</sup> Century,  
(Photograph: Sarah Phillips).



This is further supported by Jones who suggests that ‘Animal Musicians’ were common characters in medieval *drôleries* (2002:155). Mâle suggests of 12<sup>th</sup> Century religious art in France, that the fable of Phaedrus of the donkey and the lyre may have been the inspiration for other animals with harps (1978:340), and served as an image to remind people that they should apply themselves. The porcine musician theme is therefore frequently depicted in a number of ecclesiastical contexts, including on roof bosses, gargoyles, on lead badges, in stained or painted glass, on misericords, in binding stamps, books of hours and in manuscripts.

The theme is also common in contemporary continental stallwork in France, Spain, Switzerland and Germany (Jones 2002). ‘Animal Instruments’ or instruments made with pigs can also be found as images e.g. the bagpipe, or rather animal-bagpipe, being a pig, dog or cat and being played by another animal such as an ape or human. This is unlikely to have been a reality, though bones of pigs have been utilised to make musical instruments. Lawson (1995) cites the finding of perforated pig metapodial bones from bone-working waste and general refuse from Saxon, medieval and post-medieval contexts.

These have been interpreted as a type of sound-making device (as opposed to previous interpretations as toggles or bobbins), and so possibly were made as a musical toy. This is further supported by ethnographic parallels and excavated finds with sound making associations from sites in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. Others can be found in France, Germany, Netherlands, Spain and in Switzerland (Lawson 1995). Nevertheless, we have no real evidence to clarify why the image of the pig musician was used, other than modern common speculation of the parallels made with the sound made by the animal and compared with the sound or tone of the bagpipe instrument being played (refer to Druce 1934:6).

Many stories associated various creatures with human like qualities and this was one reason why they were adaptable as subject matter. Creatures could have been depicted as a means of representing scenes of local festival culture such as the use of the hobby horse. This ranged from provision of a decorated horse skull whose jaws were activated by a performer, to a stick horse, and most elaborately to a mock-tournament horse. They were used in village festival processions along with other animals such as “dragons, camels, and pole-borne man-and-wife giants” (Ford 1992:142). Axton suggests that many parish churches kept a form of hobby horse as a fund-raising tool to buy church candles especially at Christmas and Easter. A limited number of hobby horses can be found in the animal visual culture, both in stained and painted glass windows e.g. one is painted along with a number of Morris dancers in a manor house window in Bettley in Staffordshire dating to 1509-36 from the House of George Tollet (Axton in Ford 1992:143); as well as in misericords such as at Westminster Abbey in London.

Although the pelican is a non-native species to Britain, yet it was frequently identified as being represented on medieval visual material. The pelican<sup>296</sup> was selected to be included in this section on images of fantasy, because although there are large numbers of catalogued representations of the pelican, very few of the depictions generally offer any anatomical or behavioural accuracy for this species in the animal visual culture. This is a significant point to make. It is possible that pelican has been identified and catalogued according to the activity in which it is engaged (with a disregard for any identifiable physical characteristics that may distinguish it from another species). This would mean that the depiction could be regarded as a true motif - to be more precise, the iconographical symbol of the pelican in her piety. In order to support this position, it is important to appreciate what was believed about the pelican to be able to understand how this could be translated into recognised motif. One starting point, is to examine the bestiary knowledge of the creature which may have been the inspiration behind a number of the motif's purported to be in circulation e.g. the 12th Century C. U. L. II. 4. 26 (White 1984:132-133) and the 13th Century MS Bodley 764 (Barber 1992:146). The Bestiary story tells how devoted the pelican was to her children, but following them flapping their wings in her face, killed her babies in a rage. The pelican then brought them back to life by piercing her side and shedding her own blood to revive them. The accompanying miniatures to the Bestiary text depict the pelican piercing and pecking its own breast to feed blood to its young. There are slight variations in the story as to how or why the bird is doing this and whether it is a female or male pelican doing the pecking i.e. the mother (12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> English versions of the bestiary) or the father as in Pierre de Beauvais version of the early 13th Century (Mermier 1992:313), or both. Indeed, Anderson comments of the pelican that it is, "Always shown feeding its fledglings with blood from its own breast. Never represented naturalistically" (in Remnant 1969:xxxvii).

**Figure 7.33.**

The Bestiary Pelican, M. S. Bodley 764, 13<sup>th</sup> Century (Barber 1992:146).



<sup>296</sup> Some of this material has been published in Phillips (2005a and 2005b).

Other reasons why the pelican might have been regarded as a bird with such uncharacteristic behaviour include literary confusion with other terms and birds names such as the woodpecker (Mermier 1992:34); a fable associated with the vulture who was thought to feed blood to its young when food was short (McCulloch 1962:156, 235); the flamingo who ejects blood (Whittick 1960:236); as well as misunderstandings over the red spot on the pelican's bill (Anderson 1935:59) or the pink coloured bill (Wood & Curry 1999:155). Yapp suggests that the hawk-like representation of a pelican, with a hooked bill is a feature of later medieval art "perhaps because this is the most likely form for a bird that lacerates its own breast, but few bestiary drawings show the birds with anything but a straight beak, and when it is hooked this looks accidental" (Yapp 1987:195). A comment found by Whittick from the biologist A. D. Bartlett, in the 1869 Proceedings of the Zoological Society (p146), suggests that the notion of blood being fed to the pelican's young "probably originated with the secretion of blood that the flamingo ejects from its mouth, that bird being anciently confused with the pelican" (1960:236-237), although it is possible that the phenomenon refers to regurgitation of food from the mouth (as birds commonly do) and not from the breast. The young could also beak their parent to signal they want to feed, which could allude to the young pecking their parents in the face.

Obviously the pelican displays no such behaviour as blood-letting in real life, though nesting birds can pick their breast in preparing a down layer for the nest and if in distress (particularly if hatchlings do not appear), can as a result of this create a bleeding wound which can scab, which would cause the bird to continuously lick or pick at any wound that forms in the manner depicted<sup>297</sup>. Real pelicans and those feeding their young look like those in figures 7.35 to 7.37 and depict the reality compared with those depicted in the animal visual culture. Perhaps, this again stresses that it is not important to represent the pelican accurately since the activity depicted may have been enough for medieval people to be able to understand that what was depicted was the pelican either as feeding young with (her/his) blood, or restoring them to life with (her/his) blood. In an ecclesiastical context this motif has been interpreted as Christ, "Christ is the Pelican whom mankind struck by serving what has been created rather than creator. Christ then ascended the cross, where from his pierced side flowed the blood and water of man's salvation and eternal life" (McCulloch 1962:156); Christ's passion (Collins 1913:141; Wood 1999:155), a scene of redemption (Wood, 1999:155), sacrifice (Whittick, 1960:236) and of resurrection (Whittick 1960:5; Collins 1913:141). Graham cites one version of the pelican legend in a medieval rule-book for nuns or anchoresses (1962:241) where "the writer cites the solitary female pelican as an example of bad temper when it strikes and kills its young", and so it was a highly popular theme to be depicted by medieval patrons.

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<sup>297</sup> This was personally observed with one of the authors own birds (not a pelican, but a female parrot whose nest had to be removed for her own well-being).

However, it is possible that the depiction of a large number of avian representations have been incorrectly attributed to the pelican, which would mean that the images that do not depict the pelican - are not depictions of the pelican, nor were they intended to be. Whilst this may not be true in every case, it is possible that the importance of the pelican has been over-emphasised as a consequence. As our visual evidence for other creatures has indicated, there is no reason why medieval artisans could not have depicted a realistic looking pelican recognisable by its most basic diagnostic characteristics of a bill (as opposed to a hooked beak), and webbed feet (as opposed to clawed toes), as is evident in other material culture (figure 7.34).

**Figure 7.34.**

A Real Medieval Pelican? (or the blue-footed booby or simply a northern gannet ?) Cocharelli: Tractatus de vitiis septem. Italian, (B.L. M.S. Add. 27695, f.4r; detail), Late 14th Century, (Yapp 1981:160-161).



Archaeologically, we have limited faunal evidence to confirm that the pelican ever existed in real life in Britain during the medieval period. Historically, however, we do have references referring to individual birds coming into the country as high status gifts to aristocrats e.g. at least one pelican was recorded as being present in the late 14th Century (c.1392) in the Tower of London Menagerie, which was given as a gift to the Queen from the People of London, during the time of the Peasants Revolt (Hahn 2003:48, 136 and 208) which may have given medieval people the opportunity to see what a real pelican actually looked like.

**Figure 7.35.**

A Real Dalmatian Pelican (Burnie 2001:361).



**Figure 7.36.**

A Real Brown Pelican Feeding Young (Burnie 2001: 272-273).



**Figure 7.37.**

A Real Brown Pelicans Feeding Young (Burnie 2001: 272-273).



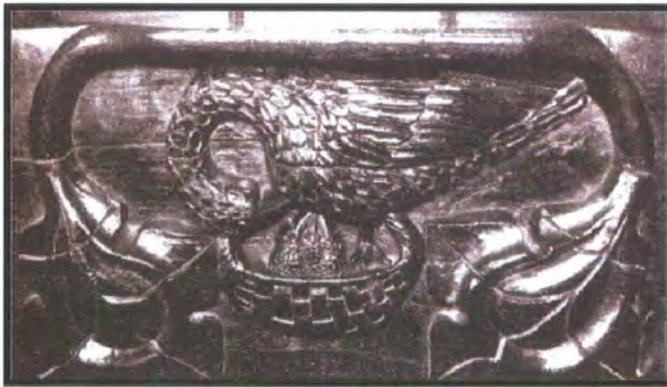
**Figure 7.38.**

Pelican Misericord, Gloucester Cathedral, C. Mid 14th Century (Laird 1986, fig 71).



**Figure 7.39.**

Pelican Misericord, St. Peter and St. Paul, Wantage, C. 15th Century (Remnant 1969, Plate 12 d).



**Figure 7.40.**

Pelican Misericord, Lincoln Minster, C. Late 15th Century (Grössinger 1997:135, fig 197).



### 7.3 Conclusion.

The reasons why certain creatures were chosen to be represented and predominate over others is varied and complex and often unique to the attributes of individual creatures, their patrons preferences, and the context in which the creatures would be displayed. Animals were frequently depicted serving in their natural function as modes of transport in peacetime, display or war. They were adaptable as subject matter since they were associated with human like qualities and were depicted as characters to express aspects of social and professional life. Animals have been represented in particular contexts and at various locations in order that humans could communicate, express and record information held about creature characteristics, habitat and behaviour. They were represented in different colours and contexts to represent human concepts, conduct and emotions, to emphasise the contrasts of good and evil, positive and negative, light and dark, life and death. Certain creatures may have been used in exploring ideas about identity, gender, sexuality and passion. Animals were also widely depicted because they could be used as subtle iconographical and symbolic tools.

However, the identification and representation some creature types are often very difficult to define such as the mind creatures, due to the diversity of hybrid or composite forms that can be found. This may have led some cataloguers to identify particular creatures as one species and not others, and this may have caused certain species to predominate over others in the data patterns revealed e.g. creatures catalogued as the amphisbaena, basilisk and cockatrice were only found in misericords but not in any other of the data sources researched. Indeed some cataloguers may regard particular composites as synonymous (when they are not necessarily regarded so by others) such as the basilisk and cockatrice<sup>298</sup>. Nevertheless, in view of the wide range of reasons why animals were chosen, it can be appreciated that some degree of manipulation was in progress by the producers and consumers of animal visual culture, in terms of the choice of species, medium chosen to represent a species and thus the final extent of the circulation of the animal image or motif. What survives to the modern period, demonstrates that animals had an important visual function in the medieval world as the various themes discussed in this chapter highlight.

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<sup>298</sup> Refer to Collins (1913:145); Lum (1952:38); Anderson (1955:193) and Cirlot (1962:23).

## CHAPTER VIII

### 8.0 Introduction.

The thesis is concerned with ‘Animal Visual Culture’ as defined in chapter 1, section 1.1, page 1. The scope of this thesis was confined to an investigation of creature images to reveal a selection of material culture patterns from a limited range of visual material circulating in Britain in the Middle Ages. Overall, almost 5000<sup>299</sup> animal representations were graphically analysed from the data collated for the thesis research, a sufficiently large sample size from which to investigate aspects of animal visual culture within the time and resource limitations of the research thesis.

The data investigated comprised three main types of material culture with over, 1000 depictions being found in the smallest sample, and over 2000 in the largest data sample. Any one of the data samples would have been sufficient to have focused the thesis research on alone due to the large numbers of representations analysed. Nevertheless, the data sample should not be considered to be a full or complete picture of the state of animal visual culture, but a contribution toward achieving that, once further syntheses are compared, contrasted and combined with the thesis data.

In its current form, the thesis research is intended to serve as a stepping stone towards introducing and documenting examples of animal visual material culture. It does not, and should not, be expected to leap beyond its aims. These are summarised below. In section **8.1**, the thesis aims, objectives and main findings are presented. In section **8.2**, the general benefits of the thesis research are outline along with the major original contributions to knowledge that the thesis makes. In section **8.3**, the limitations of the thesis research are further discussed in terms of the data sources and methodological approach. Finally, in section **8.4**, a detailed summary of the future work for postdoctoral development of the thesis is presented.

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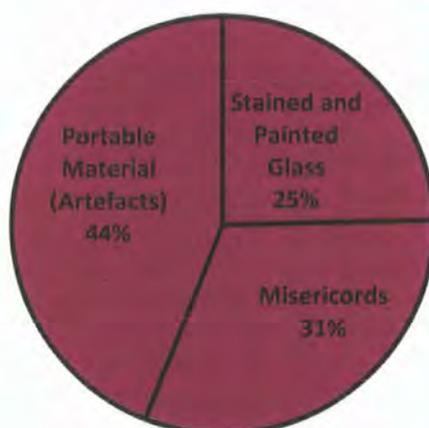
<sup>299</sup> A total of 4947 representations were included within the chronological parameters of the thesis data presented, though more representations can be found within the thesis database.

## 8.1 Summary.

There is a vast range of material available for the study of animal visual culture in Britain in the Middle Ages. A diverse range of medieval representations were investigated throughout this thesis (section 1.2, aim 1.2.2a, refer to chapters 2 to 7). A defined range of interdisciplinary media was chosen (section 1.2, objective 1.2.3a), in the form of stained and painted glass (refer to chapter 3 p48ff), misericords (refer to chapter 4 p117ff), and portable artefacts (refer to chapter 5 p170ff). The material from these sources was then located and collated (section 1.2, objective 1.2.3 b), and the findings recorded in an electronic database (section 1.2, objective 1.2.3c, refer to the data sample on CD ROM in the Appendix). The proportional composition of this data is summarised in the pie chart below in figure 8.1.

**Figure 8.1.**

**The Sources of Animal Visual Culture.**  
n=4947



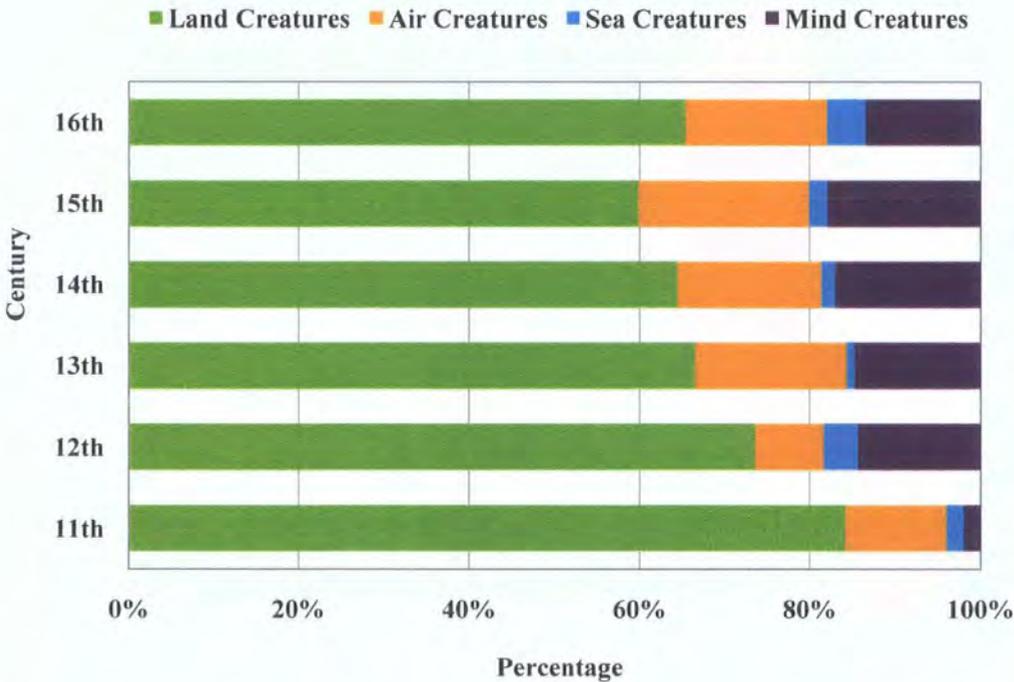
A selection of material culture patterns were then identified (section 1.2, aim 1.2.2b (i), (ii), (iii)) following quantitative examination of the data (section 1.2, objective 1.2.3d). This was achieved by generating numerical counts of the range of species (section 1.2, aim 1.2.2b (i)), chronology of species representation (aim 1.2.2b (ii)) and either location or artefact types (section 1.2, aim 1.2.2b (iii)). These patterns were graphically represented (section 1.2, objective 1.2.3d) as highlighted in chapter 3, section 3.3 p91ff; in chapter 4, section 4.3 p154ff; and in chapter 5, section 5.3 p215ff. A synthesis of these findings is clarified below in terms of the species represented in sections 8.1.1, the chronology of representation in section 8.1.2, and the location and artefact types used for representation in section 8.1.3.

### 8.1.1 Species Patterns.

A large number of native and non-native and exotic species were represented in varying proportions throughout the data sources. This collectively, represented nearly 150 different species being depicted in the material between all four creature types (refer to the sample CD ROM in the Appendix). The proportions of each creature type are synthesised by percentage in the bar graph shown below in figure 8.2. This demonstrates a relatively consistent pattern between the prominence and relative proportions of creatures types depicted over the five hundred year period investigated for the research. The land creatures (shown as green bars on the graph) were the most common creatures to be depicted throughout each century investigated. The data reveals a subtle decrease in popularity of land creatures from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> Century (and possibly later<sup>300</sup>), at the expense of the other creature types: air creatures (yellow), mind creatures (purple) and sea creatures (blue) - although the sea creatures were the least common creatures to be depicted throughout each century.

Figure 8.2.

Chronological Representation of Creature Type.  
n=4159 (depictions with a specific date)



<sup>300</sup> Due to the confines of the thesis data parameters the continuity of this trend is unknown. The data shown for the 16<sup>th</sup> Century only represents a 40 year period (from 1500 to 1540), and in that respect may be too narrow to add value to or characterise the century as a whole. However, it would be interesting to know what happened in the remainder of that century - i.e. would the data demonstrate a continuing decline of land creatures and increase in air creatures for instance.

The represented of individual species found within each of the data sources were also investigated in more detail - refer to chapter 3, section 3.3.1 (p92-94 and 98-106); chapter 4, section 4.3.1 (p154-155 and 158-162); and chapter 5, section 5.3.1 (p220-222 and 224-235).

The exact type of creature depicted would have been influenced by various factors including the intention to depict a creature according to its purported associations, status in society and symbolic values and the ease of repeating a socially acceptable motif to decorate a space. A huge range of beliefs, preferences and agenda's may have been involved in the decision making process leading to animal visual culture being created in a wide range of contexts of display (refer to the discussion in chapter 7 p 360ff).

The percentage proportions of the creatures investigated revealed similar results with regard to the most commonly represented species. The most frequently represented creatures in nearly all of the data sources were: the **lion** (the lion, winged lion and lion masks), the **eagle** (the eagle, demi-eagle and double-headed eagle), the **dolphin** and the **dragon**. However, although these creatures were represented and even predominated in different material culture at various points in time, a wide range of other creatures also revealed varying degrees of popularity and these on occasion were represented in greater proportions than those of the lion, eagle, dolphin and dragon such as: the **horse**, the **dog**, the **fox**, the **monkey**, and the **pig**; the **bat**, the **pelican**, the **peacock**, the **owl**, the **cock** and the **goose**; the **whale**, the **cockle** and **scallop**; and the **griffin** and the **wyvern** (refer to chapter 7 p 370ff)<sup>301</sup>.

The reasons why these individual creatures were chosen to be represented, and why some predominate over others are extensive and complex. It is possible that an analysis of each context of display could present a unique interpretation. This is as significant as the type and proportions of species counted. If the range of species was more limited, then it may have been possible to offer a more 'packaged' explanation to account for the distributions over the 500 year period researched. However, the research revealed many doubts over the accuracy of catalogued identifications made by previous scholars, perhaps operating with a more subjective set of criteria for the identification and recording of creatures than would today's archaeologist. It seems that if one were to draw upon historical sources, a number of images of animals would be accepted and interpreted as particular creatures simply because they were expected to be seen in the specific contexts being researched (such as the pelican or the eagle in a church or cathedral on account of their associations with Christ and Christianity), but this does not account for all creatures depicted.

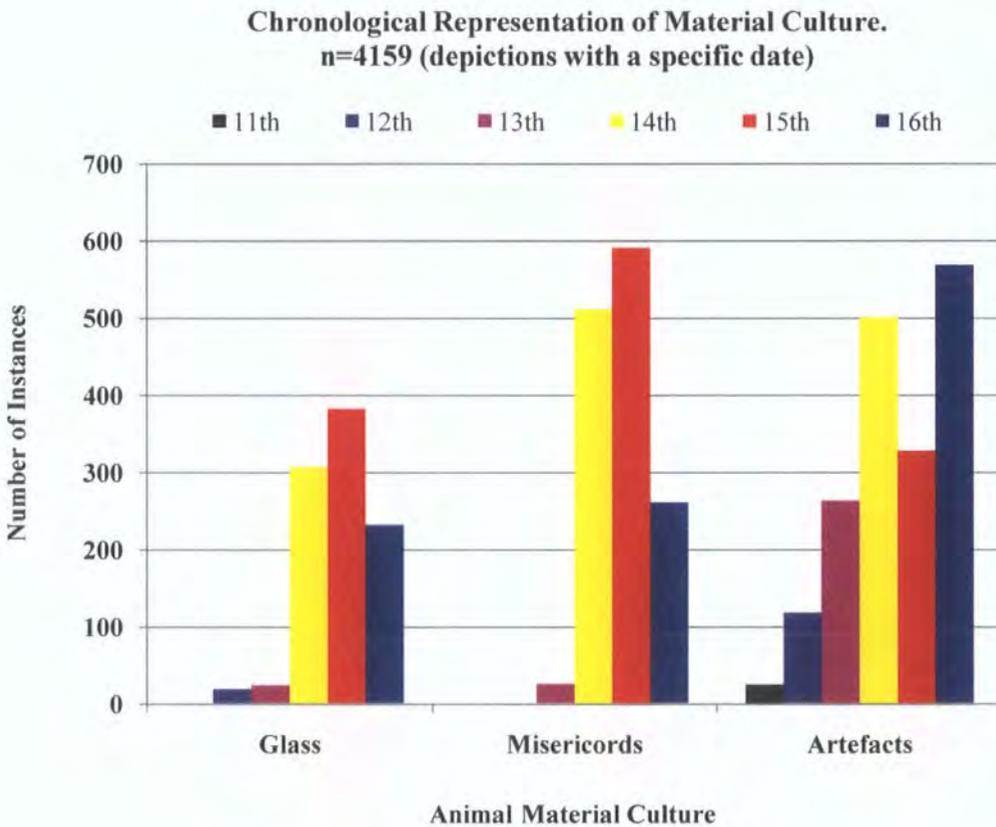
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<sup>301</sup> A limited selection of these creatures were discussed within the thematic case studies in chapter 7 to explore the reasons why they may have been represented.

**8.1.2 Chronological Patterns.**

The chronological periods of representation were also investigated in each type of material (aim 1.2.2a (ii), objective 1.2.3d (ii)) - refer to chapter 3, section 3.3.2 (p94-95 and 107-112); chapter 4, section 4.3.2 (p156 and 163-164), and chapter 5, section 5.3.2 (p222, 236-243). The relative proportions of each data source (stained and painted glass, misericords and portable material) collectively investigated are illustrated in the column graph shown above in figure 8.3. This shows the chronological character of the different data sources appearing over the five hundred period of the research. A similar and consistent chronological pattern was revealed between the data from ecclesiastical contexts (the stained and painted glass and misericords) where animals were found to appear most commonly in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries (shown as yellow red columns); whilst the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries were the most popular periods to represent creatures in the portable material. In view of the large number of artefact representations attributed to the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, it seems fitting for an upward trend of animal representation to continue from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century (rather than show a fall in the number of artefacts in circulation during the 15<sup>th</sup> Century).

**Figure 8.3.**



The chronological pattern of the portable material culture seems slightly out of step. The pattern may be accounted for by sample bias, particularly regarding inclusion of data from the NMAD which included a larger proportion of representations dating to the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, and as a consequence of being a much larger data source compared with others may have distorted the results. The pattern could also be indicative of a difference in the way dates are attributed to material by scholars between disciplines. This could result in some of the material being attributed to a century earlier or later depending on the dating criteria used and the number of different individuals being involved in dating the material.

It seemed that those catalogues that provided material more traditionally art historic in character (e.g. the EACCD and the NMAD), tended to display a greater level of confidence in attributing a specific date than did the more traditional archaeological sources of data (e.g. the EFD and the RARD) which revealed a larger proportion of undated material. This may be reflective of the higher level of investment associated with researching and publishing the material within the EACCD, and indeed that may be available to the analysts cataloguing the material represented by the NMAD. This could account for a clearer and more consistent pattern from that data compared with the EFD and the RARD, which was comparatively raw, would have been compiled using a more restricted level of resource, and intended for use by a rather different audience (practitioner v public).

Nevertheless, the portable material can also be very difficult to date accurately, especially without the advantage of documentary records, if it is presented out of context, or if the excavated sample from which it came was indeed contaminated. This means that the dating and provenance of portable material can be more difficult to establish compared with representations in situ. The stained and painted glass and the misericord data clearly complements each other chronologically, and further accounts for a collective 56% of the total data sample. This data also represents a significant proportion of the total data available from these types of sources, and in that respect is regarded as likely to be representative of that data source. The portable material accounts for 44% of the total data sample, and represents an unknown and (possibly) smaller proportion of the total quantity of portable material available to be researched.

### 8.1.3 Location and Artefact Patterns.

The location and artefact types used for representation were also investigated in each type of material (aim 1.2.2b (iii), objective 1.2.3d (iii)) - refer to chapter 3, section 3.3.3 (p96-97 and 113-116); chapter 4, section 4.3.3 (p156-157 and 165-169), and chapter 5, section 5.3.3 (p223 and 224-259).

The artefact types used for representation of animal visual culture were variable, according to the context they were recovered from and type of data source investigated<sup>302</sup>. Amongst the various artefact types represented, there were a large quantity of badges, brooches, jewellery, spurs, metalwork, leatherwork, manuscripts and seals, stonework, pottery, tile and ceramic. The reasons why these particular artefact types were used are numerous (refer to the discussion in chapter 5 p174ff). One of the most frequently excavated medieval artefact types from the EFD was the **badge**. On this artefact type, representations of the horse were more numerous than the lion. It is possible that the popularity of the horse was on account of its links with the social elite (Salisbury 1994, Figg 2002), and the use of the horse on a badge went hand in hand in demonstrating the status and influence of the badge giver, thus a means of social marketing (for discussion and interpretation of the function, and use of badges refer back to chapter 5 p182).

The locations used for representation of animal visual culture were also variable. Overall, the published literature available for research on medieval Britain was heavily biased towards analysis of material culture in England. This meant that little research has been afforded on medieval Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The data drawn upon had been catalogued either by depictions found at a particular structure e.g. a cathedral, church, abbey and priory, castles and towers, barns, parks, villas; or type of site e.g. from the foreshore either in a particular city or within a traditional county boundary (which even in modern times have changed). Amongst the locations where large numbers of creatures were revealed from the stained and painted glass were the counties of **Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Yorkshire**; and this is comparable with the misericord data revealing high numbers of instances of animals from the counties of **Lincolnshire, Berkshire and Yorkshire**. However, much of the catalogued data does not offer a complete geographic coverage by county,<sup>303</sup>.

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<sup>302</sup> This revealed a need to examine all themes represented on artefacts, to see what the proportion of these have creatures, compared with others e.g. is it 10% or 60% ?.

<sup>303</sup> It may be more appropriate to attempt an analysis of location at a future date when the sources of data are more complete, or in the interim start to build up an analysis of the location of representations in terms of the character of animal visual culture within a major medieval cathedral city such as Durham, York or Lincoln (as demonstrated by chapter 6) and extend this further within its area of influence such as several miles around that focal point.

## 8.2 The Original Contributions of the Thesis Research.

This thesis explored the concept of animal visual culture in the Middle Ages. It demonstrated an archaeological approach in researching animals in medieval Britain. The thesis specifically offers a focused study on the visual representation of animals over a long period of time and over an extensive geographical area. It develops ideas relevant to the understanding, debate and scope of the field of medieval animals and the study of animal visual culture and provides a platform from which further research can be based. Its main contributions can be summarised in the following areas:

- ❖ The thesis offers a new approach to understanding material previously studied, since the material researched is examined using an archaeological perspective and principles of archaeological categorisation and recording (as opposed to exclusively zoo-archaeological, historic or art-historic/architectural approaches as defined in section 1.1, chapter 1), but incorporates multi-disciplinary sources when making its interpretations. The thesis therefore demonstrates a more holistic approach in generating its data.
- ❖ The categorisation and analysis of existing published material is presented in this thesis in a new and original combination i.e. stained and painted glass, misericords, and portable material culture are considered as sources of animal visual culture individually within chapters 3, 4 and 5 and collectively combined in chapter 6. The data thereby represents a mix of material culture more commonly studied by scholars of art and architectural history with that more associated with the archaeologist.
- ❖ The thesis data is also offered in a different format from that found in many previously published works. It creates and draws upon quantitative data that has been systematically collated, cross-checked<sup>304</sup> and tabulated, and the results are presented graphically. The data presented by previous scholars is often represented through qualitative discussion and pictorial representation, and whilst generalisations or assumptions are made - no quantitative (numeric) data is used as supporting evidence.

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<sup>304</sup> Mr Richard Hartis and Dr Anwen Caffell (University of Durham) provided a second pair of eyes for checking for errors during the data quantification and graphical analysis.

- ❖ The breadth of visual cultural material presented in the thesis data represents a wider diversity of creatures than is commonly offered by scholars. Many former works on animals in the Middle Ages (though not all i.e. Salisbury 1994) offer individual and in-depth studies of a single creature e.g. the fox by Varty (1967, 1999); the rhinoceros by Clarke (1973, 1974, 1976, 1986); the unicorn by Gotfredsen (1999); and more recently the wolf by Pluskowski (2003, 2006). This thesis presents takes a different approach in exploring the bigger picture.
  
- ❖ The thesis research has made contributions to scholarly debate within the field of medieval animals by expanding the existing corpus of academic literature relevant to the field since parts of the thesis<sup>305</sup> have been published within academic peer-reviewed volumes and edited books in Austria (2005a), Germany (2005b), and the UK (2007a and 2007b). Other work is currently in press, and further invitations to contribute to academic debate<sup>306</sup> and to conceptual works presenting animal themes have also been made, demonstrating the continued scope offered by the thesis data as a research resource<sup>307</sup>.

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<sup>305</sup> Chapters 4 and 7.

<sup>306</sup>This has been demonstrated by presentations given at various international conferences worldwide such as the IMC - International Medieval Congress; the ICAZ - International Council for Archaeozoology; and to specialist working groups such as MAD - Medieval Animal Database (see also discussion of this project in section 8.3).

### **8.3 The Limitations of the Thesis Research.**

In order to research the thesis, the ideal data source would be a centralised and electronically searchable database of medieval animal representations. Such a database obviously did not exist at the time at which this thesis was commenced. The concept of such a database is not that far-fetched an idea. The construction of such an animal database has only recently been considered by scholars, and its development relies heavily upon like-minded colleagues sharing a passion for medieval animals.

A 'MAD' (Medieval Animal Database) is now currently under the development of a team of Austrian scholars in Vienna and its use as a research tool was launched in July 2005 at the IMC (International Medieval Congress) in Leeds. This is not focused on any particular aspect of medieval animals (unlike the current thesis which is focused on visual material), but has been designed to develop into an extensive on-line resource for all aspects of animal studies.

In order to research the thesis, the author relied upon locating relevant published literature and searching it for references to material containing animal material culture. This literature was discovered in the form of reports from excavations, in the form of museum archives and exhibition catalogues, as well as specific articles on particular finds in journals, and chapters in books. This information might have been easier to find if there had been any archaeological syntheses available at all on medieval animals, or had the 'MAD' database had been started at this time.

There is still no synthesis of medieval animals available to archaeologists or zoo-archaeologists, (which would perhaps have provided sources for further references) simply because the resource is so extensive. The information extracted from the published literature was rather diverse in content. The published data were not directly amenable in a format that could be used to generate answers to the information sought by the thesis aims and objectives. This meant that, the information collated had to be collected and re-formatted into an entirely new database that recorded the instances of medieval animal visual material culture. Not all the sources consulted easily provided the information sought. Many of the published works did not provide specific details on the date or location of the material from the sites discussed to assess the distribution of species, chronology or geography/artefacts.

Due to the time constraints that were imposed on the research, it was considered more efficient to consult published sources, rather than make personal visits and generate raw data at source. It was not practical to visit every archive or collection, and for this reason three case study sites were chosen to visit. As there are over 30,000 ecclesiastical centres where stained and painted glass and misericords may have potentially survived, this would not been realistic. In the case of the portable objects that were excavated, it has not been possible to visit the site of the original excavation from which the objects were recovered either. This, however, would have added no further information, since many excavation sites will have been reburied and all material archived.

Therefore, the portable material included has also been researched from published sources and electronic archives to extract relevant data. Whilst there are many biases in the data selected for research for this thesis, the material that has been selected has been carefully analysed and considered in order to draw the conclusions that have been made. All works have the power to influence, distort, shape and support human thinking. The records on animal representations were sorted into a variety of categories or fields such as species represented, date, and location, type of medium or artefact<sup>308</sup>. One of the methods of categorization developed for the thesis was the subdivision of species into land, air, sea and mind creatures. This was a simple way of organizing the thesis data to highlight the relative proportions of particular types of creature at a glance.

The textual archives were then cross checked where possible with illustrations such as sketches, drawings and photographs. This visual data was used to support the recorded or written descriptions and vice versa, and by comparing records for the same image from alternative sources, greater clarity and detail of the animal represented was collected. It was not always possible to record the representation of every species accurately. There were a large number of animals that were not specifically identified in the catalogues. Sometimes these animals were simply recorded generically as an 'animal', 'bird', 'fish' or 'monster'. In these cases, the instances were still recorded in the thesis, but the animal was recorded as 'Unidentified'.

In a number of cases, no further information was provided in the text to clarify an image, neither were all catalogued descriptions accompanied by illustrations to give a clearer indication as to type of creature described. There were many occasions where an animal could be clearly seen within an image, but this was not recorded in the figure caption, or within the textual discussion. On these occasions the creature was also recorded as 'Unidentified' so not as to confuse the catalogued identification with the author's quantitative assessment.

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<sup>308</sup> See sample database on CD-ROM.

A limited quantity of unpublished material was nevertheless investigated. The material consulted was much more difficult to locate than the published material, and its finding was largely dependent upon the support and kindness of individuals taking an interest in the author's research and subsequently providing help in accessing archives or unpublished data in response to written enquiries by letter, e-mail or telephone. Access to unpublished material necessitated physical visits to the location of archives where electronic data was not available - or where searching was not permitted. For example, an advert placed in the 'Finds Research Group Newsletter', resulted in only one individual from English Heritage contacting the current author for help in tracing unpublished material, and as a result nearly 140 additional finds with animal representations were discovered in a remote storage facility. Various enquiry letters were posted to societies and museums, although very few replies were received (and all contained Sae's for a reply, if e-mail or telephone were not an option), yet, those that did, kindly supplied further references to published sources or suggested individuals to be consulted.

The thesis research has relied predominantly upon data sources published by other researchers, since it would have been impractical to collect data from sufficient collections of stained glass fragments, excavated artefacts and visit each original misericord or artefact in situ in the quantity required to meet the aims of this study within the timescale. Therefore it was only possible to achieve the objectives utilising the data collected by others. However, this approach has numerous restrictions as are discussed below (refer also to section 1.2.4 on the thesis research methods and approach).

First of all, using published data is no guarantee that it is accurate, and as the case studies on misericordia in particular have revealed the published data source had a large number of errors. Secondly, since the material collated has been examined by different individuals, their degrees of training and experience will not be consistent, especially where diagnostic criteria for animal identifications, and dating of artefacts are concerned. This means that the identification of creatures and dating of artefacts in the catalogues consulted could contain errors, and so over-inflate and/or under-represented particular creatures and dating of material, depending upon the awareness and familiarity of advancements in dating technologies, and in the way particular creatures vary when visually represented. None of the catalogues used stated how identifications of the creatures listed were determined to be one creature as opposed to another, and in this respect identifications seem based on subjective criteria rather than zoological indicators. This represents the fundamental criticism common of the published catalogues<sup>309</sup>.

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<sup>309</sup> The methodological approach used by the author was to record animals under the species names chosen by the original cataloguer.

Some degree of error in the correct attribution of depictions to specific creatures by previous scholars was anticipated (for a variety of reasons), and in that respect unavoidable imperfections in some of the results generated had to be accepted since it was not possible to analyse every image in person, at first hand, or beyond a description. On occasions a totally wrong creature type had been recorded in a published catalogue possibly due to a transcription mistake e.g. a crab being catalogued as a peacock; however it was found that a number of creatures with distinctive body parts were also ignored when some interpretations were made e.g. a two legged eagle being catalogued instead of a four legged griffin with a tail, or indeed a flat-billed-web-footed bird being recorded when an obviously hook-billed-claw-toed bird was depicted.

It is difficult to accept that medieval people were unable to depict the creature they intended in view of the skill in executing features of particular species in the same materials. This presents an issue in as far as if species are recorded inaccurately; this may affect the interpretation and scholarly understanding of a number of depictions such as an avian nesting scene, being catalogued as a piety motif. Therefore the data compiled by the current author is likely to carry an in-built degree of error from those researchers who originally compiled the data consulted. The current author introduced a degree of standardisation of the varying qualities of the data compiled by using a common format of database.

However, for the reasons highlighted, the figures generated in the tables and graphs must not be taken too literally, and caution must be exercised when attempting to compare this data derived from different sources with inbuilt and inconsistent errors. No doubt incomplete, generalised and subjective data has found its way into published archives. The extent to which data has been accurately collated and analysed by previous scholars varied. The data ranged from descriptive comments and references (misericords), to tabulated data (excavated material), and academic and analytical appraisals (stained and painted glass).

Not all sources of the data investigated presented the material culture studied in a similar format. The published information varied in terms of how that material was identified, recorded, indexed and presented between individual scholars, causing difficulties in collecting and compiling comparable data for the thesis research. Error and inaccuracy in data can lead to poor conclusions, and a misleading picture of the situation. This was more of an issue than anticipated in the case of the misericord data, thus questioning the quality of the data published and being re-assessed. Numerous discrepancies were discovered between authors reporting on the same data. These discrepancies were difficult to resolve because it was not clear which author was most likely to be more accurate.

In the case of the misericord data, statements were made by one author as to the percentage frequency in which particular themes were represented, but no supporting data or tables were provided nor any information given as to how the figures were calculated, therefore making the method of reaching the figures obscure and ambiguous. Quite often it was found that whilst one catalogue offered data in an easily accessible form, others were not quite so concise, and data was found spread throughout a catalogue rather than being presented as a complete entry in a single location. This made the collation of the data from some of the catalogues extremely time-consuming and comparability difficult. As with other branches of research there were no commonly agreed standards as to the recording of misericords, and consequently there was a lack of consistency from author to author. Nevertheless it is hoped that some patterns have been identified in terms of animal visual representation, and these can be investigated further. Unfortunately, in defence of the important contribution that previous scholars have made, not every researcher has the luxury of having the time or funding to allow them to visit every piece or collection considered, or to record the material in full detail face to face themselves, nor the resources to present this data in as complete and as accurate a manner as possible.

The research conducted for this thesis represents what was possible within the limitations of a funded project, incorporating archival and documentary research. It was not possible to research every piece of published literature or consult every archive within this timescale. The thesis has collated a substantial sample of data that can be used to examine animal visual culture in the Middle Ages. The medieval period chosen is rich in archaeological information, historical sources, and social and economic research on the animals of the period. However the vast nature of the resource for this period has also limited the analysis that could be made at this first stage of the research. This was because not everything relevant to the period can be considered within the time constraints and thus certain and potentially relevant ideas may not have been appreciated from the selected sources consulted. For example, an even spread of site types could not be investigated in terms of site status or site function e.g. monastic, church, manor, farm.

It was also not possible to examine a complete coverage of contrasting site types in terms of location e.g. inland versus coastal sites. Again, it was not been possible to visit every church, cathedral abbey or priory despite the fact that the process of systematically visiting ecclesiastic buildings of this kind would mean that all the surviving representations of creatures would be able to be viewed (if accessible). Therefore there will be a certain proportion of relevant data that has not been included in this research. Nevertheless, the author considers that the most important sources have been consulted, and this enables any additional sources to be included as a continuation and enhancement of the depth and detail of this work as a future postdoctoral project. These areas are further defined below in section 8.4.

#### **8.4 Further and Future Work.**

This section will outline the recommendations for further and future development of the research topic. The thesis database offers a very large quantity of data on animal visual culture. At present, the doctoral thesis only presents discussion of up to 10% of all species for which the database held information. This means an additional 90% of the thesis database remains to be utilised for immediate further work. The preparation of a systematic A to Z of creatures from the air, land, sea and mind would also be a useful project in this respect. The thesis data could be reformatted to form a set of volumes to be published either on-line or as a CD ROM/DVD and so would be a fast and cost-effective way of distributing the data for use by other scholars of medieval animals.

A more analytical project would be to expand and upgrade chapters 3, 4, and 5 of the thesis into a series of material culture focused publications focused on the representation of animals in those sources e.g. *Animals in Stained and Painted Glass*, *Animals in Misericords*, *Animals in Medieval Artefacts*. To complete these publications, consultation of relevant and significant works currently awaiting press would be required e.g. Block's *Corpus of Medieval Misericords*, the additional CVMA surveys on stained and painted glass that are scheduled, and use of these would enable a fully comprehensive and up to date survey of each type of material culture to be written.

A series of shorter publications (such as those already in print) could be prepared and targeted at a variety of journals, differing in terms of academic depth, detail and topical content, including the preparation of a richly illustrated publication to engage and captivate the wider audience. The thesis data is easily adaptable to preparing animal syntheses at various locations and such material could contribute to preparing fact finding guide books teaching packs for younger audiences visiting specific sites and structures where animal visual culture is represented.

The existing thesis data could also be enhanced by further research of comparative (foreign) material e.g. from Europe and beyond. There is also considerable mileage to be had from collaborative work with those studying medieval animals in other fields and in other countries, and particularly in utilising data from the MAD (as discussed in section 8.3). It would be an interesting extension of the thesis research to correlate the material for parallels with similar media in alternative contexts e.g. ecclesiastical stained and painted glass with vernacular contexts; misericords and bench ends with domestic carved woodwork; artefacts from urban areas contrasted with those from rural ones; and further to investigate animal visual culture in additional contexts not focused upon in this thesis such as wall paintings, embroidery and textiles.

Nevertheless drawing upon the existing data, a future development of the thesis data would be to focus upon identifying additional patterns beyond species, chronology and geography/artefacts to research the themes or symbols employed to create the contexts of display of various animals in terms of: any colours used (section 8.4.1), the range of activities (section 8.4.2), their accessories (section 8.4.3), details of animal age, health or physiology (section 8.4.4); or humans that are depicted with animals (section 8.4.5), as further outlined below.

#### **8.4.1 The Colour of Animals.**

The thesis database records the use of different colours that have been applied to animal representations and may have been used to emphasise and clarify the identity and indicate purpose of the creatures represented. Unfortunately, applied colours do not always survive over time and subtlety of pigments, shades and tones of colour (if not lost) can be difficult to distinguish. The use and symbolism of colour is also an extremely complex area<sup>310</sup>. As part of a postdoctoral development of the thesis, I would like to examine the range of colours that animals are represented in more detail, identify whether there was any relationship/symbolism between the colour used and a particular species, between colour and context, colour and material, colour and chronology, colour and geography, along with an assessment of their limitations.

#### **8.4.2 The Activities of Animals.**

The thesis database contains a variety of descriptions about what animals are doing and these could be examined more closely to clarify what range of both natural and more unusual activities animals are represented in (e.g. playing instruments, assisting in a professional medical or religious capacity)<sup>311</sup>; and to compare this with the regional faunal/zoo-archaeological evidence for activities e.g. agricultural, culinary, domestic, military, religious, and social. I would like to examine, how easily identifiable or subjective are the interpretation of activities on particular types of material, the range of activities that were represented by various species - at a particular time; in particular places, and in what way was the representation of activity limited and could be misinterpreted.

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<sup>310</sup> For general theories on the use of colour refer to Gage (1999) and Parkhurst (1990); for the use of symbolic colour refer to Cirlot (1962) and papers by Allen (1936), Blanch (1972), Barry (1996) and DuQuesne (1996); for the use of colour and light refer to Doak (1974), and for colour imagery see Dronke (1972).

<sup>311</sup> Refer to Butts (1973) for the use of bagpipes in medieval music.

#### **8.4.3 Animals and Accessories.**

The thesis database has scope to analyse the range of settings, backgrounds, objects, costume/dress or other articles that were recorded within the individual animal descriptions e.g. forest scenes, foliage backgrounds, medical objects, religious dress or other equipment and symbols associated with different animals. I would like to find out how easily identifiable and consistent are settings/backgrounds/objects/dress/symbols on the different types of material; at a particular time; in particular places; and in what ways was the representation and investigation of these factors are limited and can get confused.

#### **8.4.4 Animal Age, Health & Physiology.**

It would further be of great interest to research to what extent indications of animal age (e.g. what proportion of images represent juvenile compared with adult animals - young and old animals); animal sex (male or female); and animal physiology (e.g. indications of animal health, ill-health, disease, trauma and injury) can be represented from images compared with the faunal evidence on a particular material; at a particular time; in particular places, and finally in what way was the representation of animal age, sex and physiology limited.

#### **8.4.5 Animals and People.**

It would be an interesting piece of research to examine, what range of people are animals represented with e.g. agricultural, religious, rulers, patrons, artists etc. To examine how the range of emotional and physical relationships, attitudes, morals and proverbs are communicated by the use of animals, thus investigating the individual species most amenable for this; at a particular time; in a particular medium; in particular places, and in what way was these cultural aspects were limited.

## 8.5 Final Conclusion.

In the medieval period creatures were a favoured theme to which all social classes could relate. A human's personal exposure to, and experience of, particular creatures may be influenced by their position in their own social class. Indeed, creatures themselves can be attributed with a social rank in the same way as humans, and use of these creatures as a visual motif on specific materials (especially prestigious materials) may have been used to assert and elevate one's standing (by association) in the Middle Ages.

A sense of order, social unity and community may have been achieved by observing the animal world and incorporating animals into society in various (visual) ways. Animal representations can indicate human concepts, perceptions, opinions, morals, mythology, fables and legends relating to the people, and physical or spiritual worlds that produced them. Unfortunately, it is not certain how a particular image was intended to be received, and was received by a medieval audience.

The use and meaning attributed to animal representations is not necessarily consistent through time, nor within the same cultural group. The representation of animals can serve as a manifestation of medieval mentality demonstrating medieval faith both in the existence of rather unusual creatures - ones which people did not have the opportunity to see or have experience of in the flesh, and often ones that we know are not native species and did not in fact exist in the real physical world.

There were greater limits and restrictions on the opportunities to increase life experience in the Middle Ages, so a greater reliance and trust was bestowed in other more learned authorities to impart accurate knowledge. Some of the descriptions and images of real creatures that reached medieval audiences would have been just as shocking, outrageous and unbelievable as the non-real composite and mythological creatures that we are familiar with today.

The data examined in this thesis is not necessarily an accurate snapshot of the period, only representative of part of the evidence that has survived. Responsible scholars are only equipped to guess and detail the complex ways in which images may have been understood, and the functions they served through time and space. Unfortunately, a large quantity of it has long since been detached from its context of use without trace.

Animal representations in particular contexts can only be interpreted in so far as they offer a challenge to our modern day understanding of the medieval issues influencing their creation and intended function. Animal visual culture is a more complex construct than can be explained by factors such as ease of depiction, species popularity, the aesthetics of physical appearance, animal associations at a local and regional level, and their use in social, political and religious practise.

Nevertheless, the images on the surviving material can still be valued, and as more animal visual culture is systematically analysed, the medieval scholar will get closer to being in a position to reveal true patterns and changes between animal depictions and the visual functions they served, and attempt objective period interpretations about animal visual culture from the medieval period up to the present day. This thesis therefore contributes by making a first step towards this greater aim.

**APPENDIX.**

**A (i).**

Number of Land Animal Bones Excavated From Durham City (after Rackham 1980).

<b>LAND CREATURES</b>	<b>14<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>15<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>16<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>17<sup>th</sup> Century</b>
Cat	1	1	1	0
<b>Cattle</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>65</b>
Dog/Fox	0	1	1	1
Goat	3	0	0	0
Sheep	1	3	7	2
<b>Sheep/Goat</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>442</b>	<b>152</b>
Horse	0	1	3	1
<b>Pig</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>10</b>
Red Deer	2	0	1	1
Roe Deer	0	1	0	0
Fallow Deer	0	1	5	0
<i>Unidentified Small ungulate</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>Unidentified Large ungulate</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Unidentified Medium animal</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>Unidentified Large animal</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>29</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>879</b>	<b>330</b>

**A (ii).**

Number of Air Animal Bones Excavated From Durham City (after Rackham 1980).

<b>AIR CREATURES</b>	<b>14<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>15<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>16<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>17<sup>th</sup> Century</b>
Duck	0	1	0	0
<b>Fowl</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>
Goose	1	3	2	4
<i>Unidentified Bird</i>	0	2	6	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>6</b>

**A (iii).**

Number of Sea Animal Bones Excavated From Durham City (after Rackham 1980).

<b>SEA CREATURES</b>	<b>14<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>15<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>16<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>17<sup>th</sup> Century</b>
Cockle	0	1	2	11
Limpet	0	0	1	1
<b>Oyster</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>
Whelk	0	2	0	0
<i>Unidentified Fish</i>	3	1	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>18</b>

A (iv).

Number of Land Animal Bones Excavated From Durham City (after Hambledon 1996).

<b>LAND CREATURES</b>	<b>All areas</b>
Cat	31
<b>Cattle</b>	<b>1091</b>
Dog	8
<b>Pig</b>	<b>153</b>
Fallow Deer	6
<b>Sheep</b>	<b>724</b>
Hare	3
Horse	5
Rabbit	1
Rat	2
<i>Unidentified Small mammal</i>	3
<i>Unidentified Cow sized</i>	906
<i>Unidentified Sheep sized</i>	480
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3413</b>

**A (v).**

Number of Air Animal Bones Excavated From One Site in Durham City (after Hambledon 1996).

<b>AIR CREATURES</b>	<b>All areas</b>
Duck	5
<b>Fowl</b>	<b>107</b>
Rook	1
Woodcock	3
Blackcock	2
Grouse	2
<b>Goose</b>	<b>44</b>
<i>Unidentified Bird</i>	55
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>219</b>

**A (vi).**

Number of Sea Animal Bones Excavated From One Site in Durham City (after Hambledon 1996).

<b>SEA CREATURES</b>	<b>All areas</b>
Cockle	?
Limpet	?
Mussel	?
Oyster	?
Whelk	?
Winkle	?
<i>Unidentified Fish</i>	32
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>32</b>

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