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**The Wall Inscriptions of Gloucester Cathedral Chapter House
and the De Chaworths of Kempford**

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The Wall Inscriptions of Gloucester Cathedral Chapter House and the de Chaworths of Kempford

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Some time before the middle of the sixteenth century a scheme was devised to commemorate celebrities buried at St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester (now the city cathedral), by recording their names on the walls of the Chapter House. The undertaking seems not to have been pursued with general or long-lasting fervour because only eight dignitaries were acknowledged in this way although the Chapter House walls offered many more blank alcoves for similar use. John Leland came upon the memorials when he visited Gloucester, and made a list.¹

Hic jacet Roger Lacey Comes [de] Hereford
Hic jacet Ricus Strongbowe filius Gilberti Comititis [de] Pembroke
Hic jacet Gualterus de Laceio
Hic jacet Phillipus de Foye miles
Hic jacet Berunardus de Novo Mercatu
Hic jacet Paganus de Cadurcis
Hic jacet Adam de Cadurcis
Hic jacet Robertus Curtus

Leland's transcription of the eight men honoured was not flawless, but it provides the earliest documentary evidence we have that the memorials existed by about 1540. The side walls of the Chapter House are composed of Norman-arched blind arcades separated by angle-roll pilasters. The names come in recesses close to the entrance, four to the left and four to the right, two names to an alcove, painted in neat black Lombardic script with a simple shield below each in black outline (Figs. 1 and 2).

While the inscribed arcades are all at the western end of the Chapter House, they are not directly opposite one another. Complete uniformity of style is subverted by several inconsistencies. Each inscription is preceded by a painted cross, some with points in the quadrants, others without. All these crosses are of a simple 'formy' type (with splayed, square-headed limbs) except that of Adam de Cadurcis which is a circular 'flory' cross (with limbs ending in fleur-de-lis shapes). Two of the shields have their supposed supports (cords or belts and wall hooks) painted above them in *trompe l'oeil* fashion. Perhaps the passage of time has eroded the visible means of support given to the other six.²

These 'things written in the wauls of the chapter-house and cloyster at Gloucestar', as Leland termed it,³ were covered up and hidden from view by a coat of limewash when the Chapter House was converted into a 'Publick Library' during the Civil War.⁴ The large wooden bookcases, which ranged around the eastern end of the room, were finally removed and the walls stripped of its 'calcareous crust'⁵ during Frederick Waller's renovation works of 1856-58. J.P. St. Aubyn of the Anastatic Drawing Society published sketches of the newly exposed inscriptions in 1859 (Fig. 3).⁶ The four inscriptions on the south wall, although they appeared

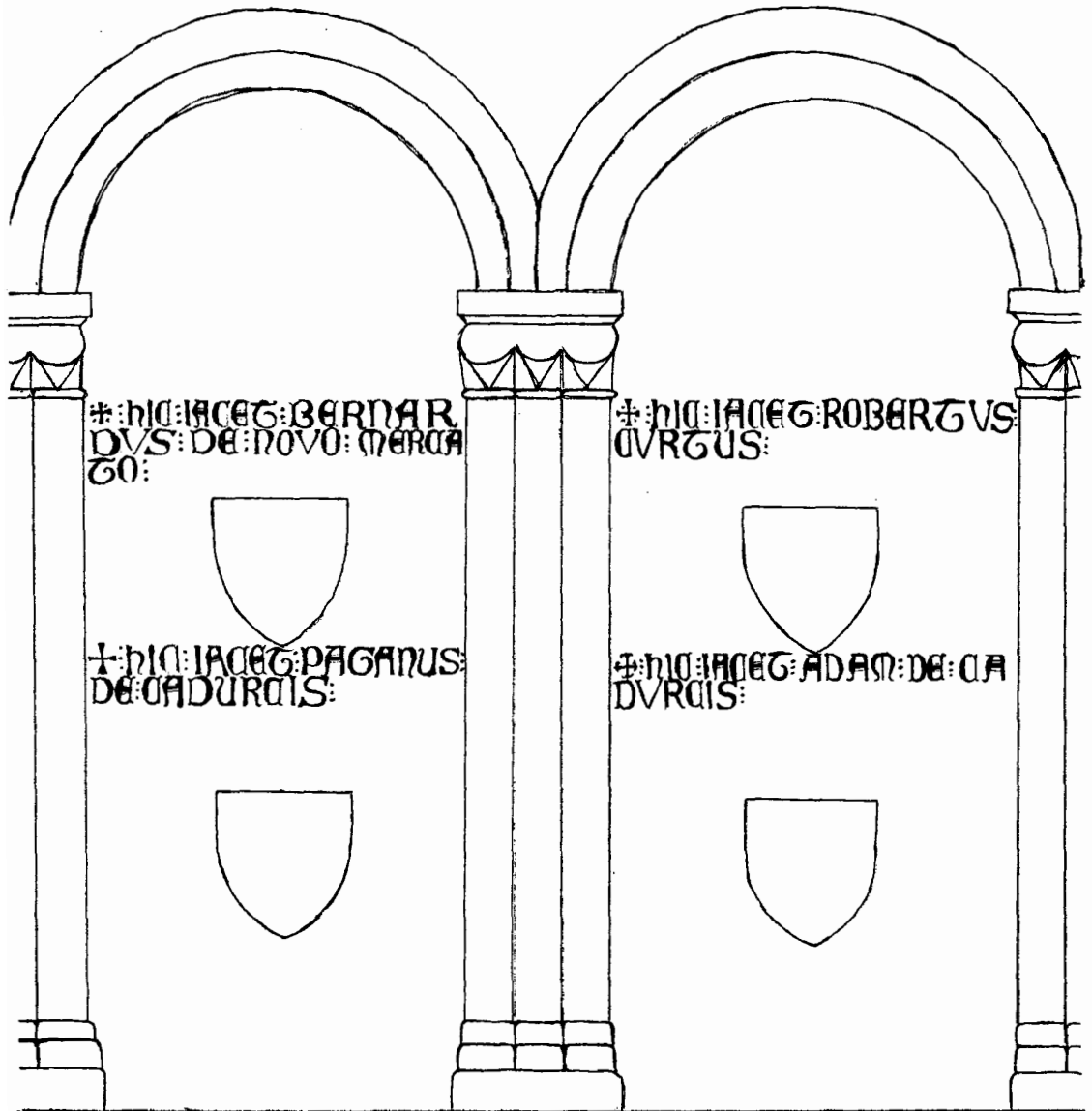


Fig. 1 The inscriptions on the south wall of the Chapter House, Gloucester Cathedral -

HIC IACET BERNARDUS DE NOVO MERCATO

HIC IACET PAGANUS DE CADURCIS

Here lies Bernard of Newmarch

Here lies Pain de Chaworth

HIC IACET ROBERTUS CURTUS

HIC IACET ADAM DE CADURCIS

Here lies Robert Curthose

Here lies Adam de Chaworth

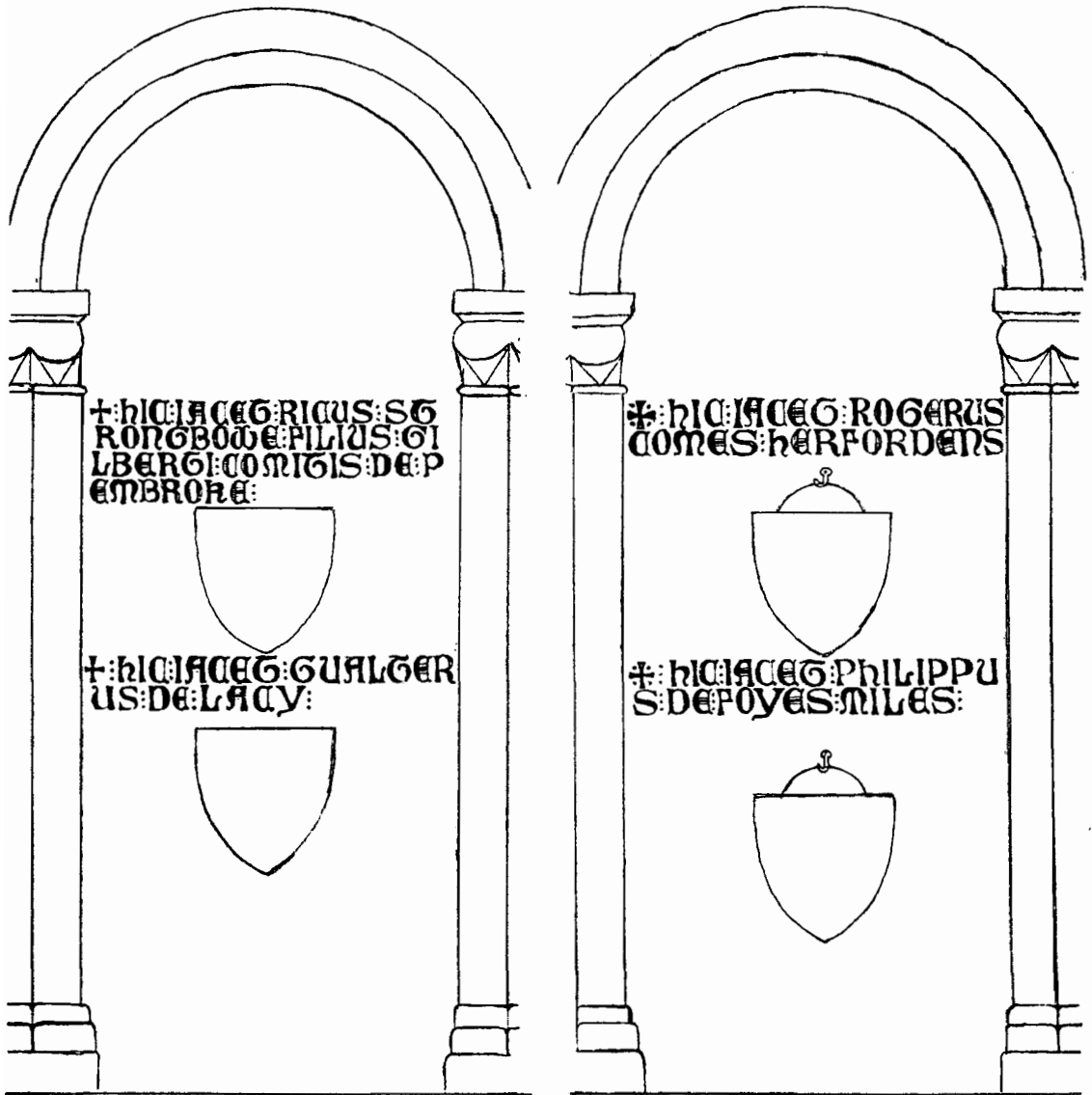


Fig. 2 The inscriptions on the north wall of the Chapter House, Gloucester Cathedral –

HIC IACET RICUS STRONGBOWE FILIUS
GILBERTI COMITIS DE PEMBROKE

HIC IACET GUALTERUS DE LACY

Here lies Richard Strongbow son
of Gilbert Earl of Pembroke
Here lies Walter de Lacy

HIC IACET ROGERUS COMES
HERFORDENS

HIC IACET PHILIPPUS DE FOYES MILES

Here lies Roger Earl of Hereford
Here lies Philip de Foyes, Knight

†: h̄iā: h̄aē: t̄: BARNAR
 DVS: DE: NOVO: MERA
 T̄O:

†: h̄iā: h̄aē: t̄: PAGANUS:
 DE: AFD: IRUIS:

$\frac{1}{5}$ full size.

INSCRIPTIONS · ON · THE · SOUTH · WALL · CHAPTER · H^USE

& · GLOUCESTER · CAT^H ·

†: h̄iā: h̄aē: t̄: ROBERT:
 AVR̄T̄US:

†: h̄iā: h̄aē: t̄: AWM: DE: A
 DVRAIS:

J. P. St. Aubyn. 1859.

Fig. 3 The inscriptions on the south wall of the Chapter House, Gloucester Cathedral, as recorded not long after their exposure by J.P. St. Aubyn of the Anastatic Drawing Society, 1859.

to St. Aubyn as an antique red rather than their present black, were in reasonably good state. Of those on the north wall St. Aubyn could make out only one, that of Roger, Earl of Hereford, but not clearly enough to attempt a satisfactory drawing. On this side at least there would seem to have been subsequently a good deal of Victorian touching-up.

The inscriptions look in remarkably good condition today. Allowing for the intervention of Victorian hands they give the impression of a piece of work originally planned within a single scheme and done at one time. There can be no absolute certainty, of course, that there were never other names in neighbouring alcoves which have now disappeared. There are currently eight, and Leland saw only eight in the mid-sixteenth century. It might seem curious that eight should manage to survive more or less intact to the present day if others vanished so completely from sight in the period before Leland.

When and why, it may reasonably be asked, were these inscriptions done, and at whose instigation?

The presence of the outline shields suggests a heraldic intent. The growth of heraldry in record and ornament, evolving from the twelfth century, became especially conspicuous from about the mid-thirteenth century. Heraldry made its appearance in manuscript illumination, architecture, furniture and furnishings, jewellery, and commonly in tomb and memorial decoration. The only realistic purpose for the eight shields painted beneath the commemorative names on the walls of St. Peter's was the display of the real or attributed arms of the dead. There are no traces now of any colour on the shields. It seems possible that the intended emblazonment was never completed. Certainly Leland did not mention the shields at all, which suggests that even then there were no heraldic tinctures to catch his interest. But there can hardly be a doubt that when the Chapter House memorial scheme was devised it was envisaged that the walls would exhibit a kind of roll of arms of the dignitaries buried in the abbey, a roll rather analogous to the commemoration about 1350 of a number of warriors who fought with Edward III by glazed coats of arms along the bottom of the great East window of the abbey.⁷

Surviving rolls of arms even in manuscript form are not common for the thirteenth century. The first have generally been attributed to Matthew Paris 'whose collection of painted shields (c. 1244) is the earliest English heraldic monument'.⁸ If there were other series of shields that predated Matthew Paris it was probably not by very much, so it seems safe to take a date of about 1230-40 as a reasonable earliest possible date for the Gloucester inscriptions. The use of coats of arms in architectural decoration was occasional but growing through the second half of the thirteenth century. Among the most notable and earliest examples are those associated with Henry III: the royal arms he had painted on window shutters in the Tower of London in 1240; carved shields in the spandrels in the nave of Westminster Abbey, done between 1259 and 1264; and heraldry painted on the walls of the Painted Chamber at Westminster in 1263. At Hailes Abbey, about 15 miles from Gloucester, rebuilding work carried out between 1270 and 1277 included the installation of heraldic floor tiles bearing the arms of Richard of Cornwall and his wives; and in the parish church beside the ruins of Hailes Abbey there is still to be seen heraldic wall painting which may also date from the 1270s.⁹

The style of the shields in Gloucester Chapter House is the simple 'heater' design that has been used for all kinds of heraldic display more or less consistently since the early thirteenth century. The Lombardic script, even if 'improved' by its Victorian restorers, is in a style commonly used for inscriptions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but which in the course of the fourteenth was gradually being eased out by 'black letter' Gothic.¹⁰ For most of this period 'Roman' capitals might stand beside and between Lombardic proper in painted and carved inscriptions, on seals, and as the uncials of illuminated manuscripts. A good example is the commemoration brass to mark the dedication of the church of St. Oswald in Ashbourne,

Derbyshire, which carries the date 1241. Standard Roman capitals – D, M, N, T, V, W – consort there with their direct Lombardic equivalents within an inscribed text of some three dozen words. In general one encounters styles that are more fully Lombardic than Roman in character towards the end of the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth, but there was no systematic trend to insist on it. In the Gloucester inscriptions the lettering is Lombardic proper throughout (orthodox but rather ornate), except for the retention of the Roman V.¹¹ This might hint, perhaps, at a later rather than earlier date, but all that can be inferred from a consideration of the epigraphy of the inscriptions is that a date anywhere between 1200 and 1350 would be possible, and even those boundaries could not be absolute.¹²

The identity and careers of the eight men recorded in the inscriptions may be expected to provide fuller hints as to dating. Although it has not been unknown for men to lay claim to immortality by creating their memorials while living, we may probably assume that the Gloucester inscriptions followed the death of the last survivor of the eight. The most distinguished name in the party is undoubtedly that of Robert Curthose (c. 1053–1134), eldest son of William the Conqueror, over whom second son William Rufus was preferred as King of England. As Duke of Normandy Robert participated with gallantry in the First Crusade, but, taken captive by another brother, Henry I, in 1106, he ended his days a prisoner in Cardiff Castle. On his death, according to the contemporary chronicle of John, continuing the chronicle of Florence of Worcester, he was ‘carried to Gloucester and buried *magno cum honore* in the pavement of the church that is before the altar’.¹³

We know of two Walter de Lacys buried in the chapter house at Gloucester, either of whom might merit a mention in the Abbey’s ‘roll of honour’. The first baron Lacy fought at Hastings with William I and died in 1085. His third son Walter was Abbot of St. Peter’s between 1131 and 1139 and thus supervised the interment of Duke Robert only a few years before his own death *aevo maturus* (‘in ripe old age’).¹⁴

Bernard of Newmarch (died c. 1125), a formidable Norman warrior, also came to England with the Conqueror. One of the rebels beaten by William Rufus in 1088, he turned his attentions westwards. He colonized along the River Usk and established himself at Brecon. The local claim has been that he was buried at the priory he founded there rather than at Gloucester.¹⁵

That there is inaccuracy in the list is clearer from the case of ‘Ricus Strongbowe filius Gilberti Comititis de Pembroke’. Richard de Clare, or ‘Strongbow’, second earl of Pembroke (died 1176), is not buried at St. Peter’s, Gloucester, but almost certainly at Holy Trinity, Dublin.¹⁶ Strongbow is known primarily for his military exploits in Ireland. By marrying an Irish princess he held for a time the throne of Leinster and even after submitting to the claims of his king, Henry II, he had at the time of his death in 1176 huge possessions in Ireland to add to holdings in England and Wales. The Richard buried at St. Peter’s was Richard FitzGilbert, Strongbow’s uncle, who was killed in ambush by the Welsh insurgents of Morgan son of Owain in a Gwent forest in about 1136.¹⁷ The mistake no doubt arose from a misreading of the chronicles and also a desire on the part of the Gloucester inscribers that the ‘Ricus filius Gilberti’ whom they put on their walls should be the most eminent one available.

There is no reason to think that ‘Rogerus Comes Herfordens’ was the earl of Hereford who, for rebelling with others against William I in 1075, forfeited his lands and titles and spent the last twelve years of his life in prison; the burial-place of this earl is not known. A much better candidate is Roger, the son of Miles of Gloucester, Constable of England, and grandson of Bernard of Newmarch. After enjoying baronial aggrandisement in the civil wars and the undisciplined reign of Stephen, Roger was persuaded by Gilbert Foliot, one-time abbot of St. Peter’s and then Bishop of Hereford, to surrender his castles at Hereford and Gloucester in submission to the will of the new king Henry II. His self-effacement was completed by the

espousal of a monastic life at St. Peter's. He died a humble monk in 1155. There is a strong tradition that he was buried alongside his father, at Gloucester certainly, but in the chapter house of Llanthony Secunda Priory, his father's foundation on the south side of the town, not at St. Peter's.¹⁸

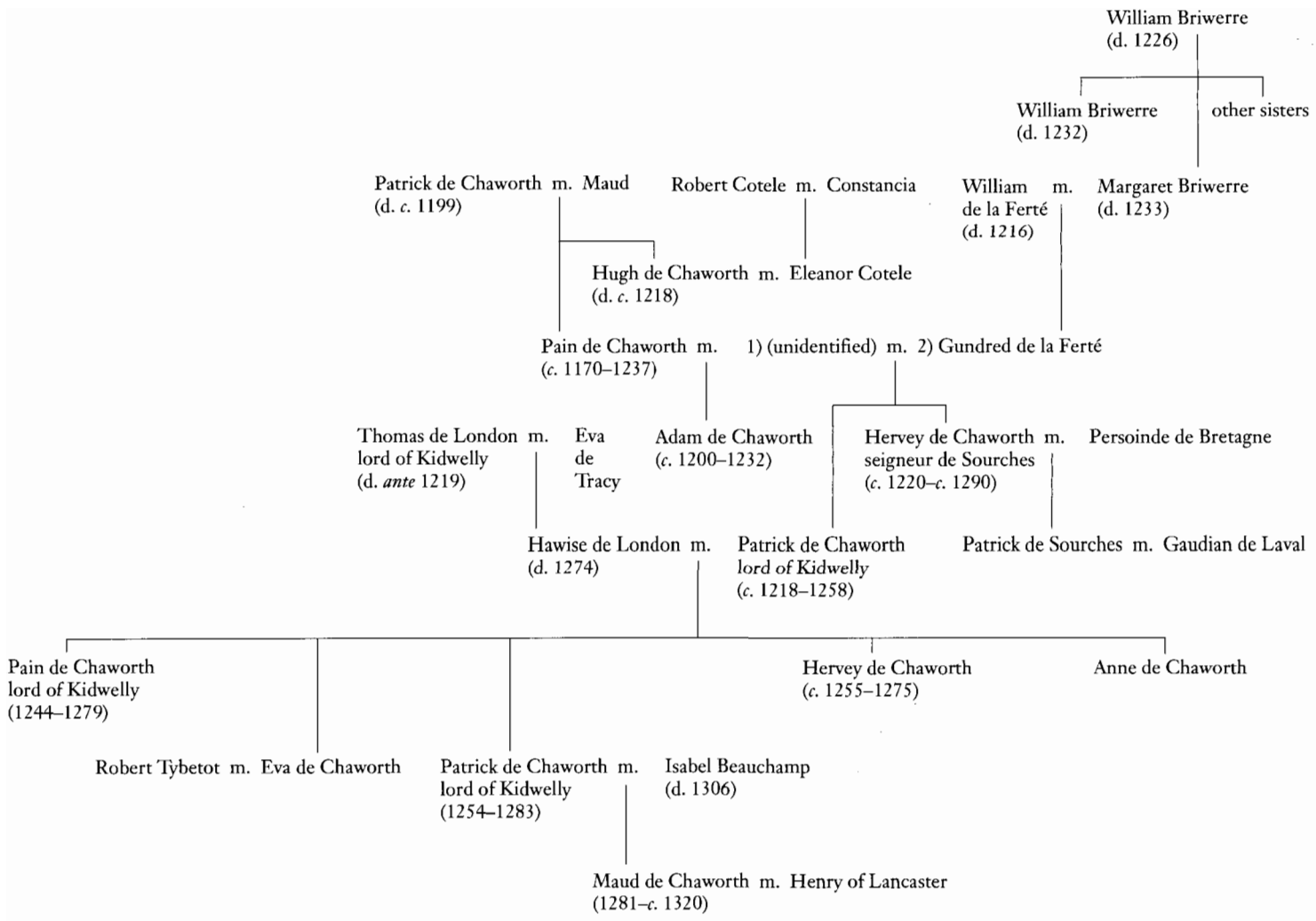
'Philippus de Foyes' seems untraceable. We have the statement that he was a 'miles' or knight, and the presumption of some connection with the small village of Foy in Herefordshire, where the abbey of St. Peter's had the presentation of the benefice. But all else is blank.

It is only with 'Paganus de Cadurcis' (c. 1170–1237) and 'Adam de Cadurcis' (c. 1200–1232) that we arrive definitely at the thirteenth century. The de Cadurcis, or, in its Anglicized form, de Chaworth, family was not of Norman origin but came from and retained an interest in Chaources, now Sourches, near Le Mans in Maine. Since the early twelfth century the family had held the manor of Kempford, near Lechlade, in Gloucestershire, which placed it among the lesser baronage of England.¹⁹ Neither Pain de Chaworth nor Adam de Chaworth, both buried at St. Peter's Abbey and with names painted on the Chapter House wall, appears to have achieved any national importance.

At the turn of the twelfth century, when Pain de Chaworth inherited the Kempford manor from his father, the locality of the family estates in continental Maine was becoming an area of some uncertainty. Richard I had maintained the authority of the Angevin kings of England over the whole of western France, including the territories of Maine, Anjou, Poitou and Normandy, although he had been forced into long wars with Philip Augustus, King of France, and with rebellious barons throughout the fiefs in order to do so. Within five years of accession King John had succeeded in losing the pick of these lands. After declaring initially for Arthur of Brittany at the death of Richard, and then with some reluctance accepting John as their overlord, most of the barons in Maine seized the opportunity of further encroachment by Philip Augustus to defect from John's banner. The provincial stronghold at Le Mans fell to France in 1203, and by mid-1204 Philip Augustus had won the prize of Normandy itself.

Pain de Chaworth in England stayed loyal to King John. He reaped due reward when the English lands of Norman lords were sequestered; in the redistribution, he picked up sizable new holdings, including the manors of Lilley and Willian in Hertfordshire and land at Sall in Norfolk.²⁰ Other proprietary gains were a consequence of his taking as his second wife Gundred de la Ferte, whose father William came from the same Maine background as the de Chaworths and who had married into the wealthy Briwere family. As dowry, and later at William's death in 1216, Gundred brought new estates to Pain, including the manor of Alington in Devon,²¹ and in 1232 a quarter of the huge landholding of the Briweres passed to Gundred through her mother Margaret.²² What Pain had he held with some diligence. Litigation by Pain is, for example, recorded against his brother Hugh's widow in defence of land at Berwick St. James in Wiltshire, and against the earl of Salisbury in defence of Kempford itself.²³ In 1217 Pain was allowed to travel to Maine to recover his property there.²⁴ The manors of Lilley and Willian were lost for a time after 1227 because of some bellicose misdemeanour, but were then restored to him in 1232.²⁵ Pain must have been near fifty when Henry III's indecisive French adventure of 1230 took him on military service into Poitou and Aquitaine.²⁶ His figure as a knight is handsomely depicted on an important broken seal-die that was found at Kempford as recently as 1977 (Fig. 4). Not only is it the earliest bronze matrix bearing a mounted knight that survives for England, it also can be matched to an impressed seal attached to a charter of 1236 confirming a £7 rent by Pain from Kempford to the Abbey of Tironneau near Le Mans. Such a match between matrix and impression is now exceedingly rare.²⁷

When Pain died in 1237²⁸ he was buried at St. Peter's alongside his eldest son Adam, who had himself died in the spring of 1232²⁹ when still a young man. Little is known about Adam.



Descent of the de Chaworths of Kempsford in the 13th century.

Chaworth and Philip de Foyes are overshadowed by such names as Robert Curthose and Richard Strongbow. If we assume Phillip to have been a thirteenth century figure, a contemporary perhaps of Adam and Pain, then those of most modest standing are chronologically the last.

As subjects for the inscribers and sponsors of the Chapter House memorials the names Robert Curthose, Walter de Lacy, Bernard of Newmarch and Richard FitzGilbert, all of whom died within the short period 1125 to 1139, could have been culled from the pages of such a work as John's 'continuation' of the chronicle of Florence of Worcester, a misinterpretation of the chronicle transforming Fitzgilbert into Strongbow. The fame of an earl of Hereford who had renounced the world to die a monk at St. Peter's in 1155 might be expected to survive as an abbey legend, chronicled or not, for the several generations to the mid-thirteenth century when the abbey burials of Adam and Pain de Chaworth took place. Into which period the death of Philip de Foyes fell we can only guess.

The impression given is of an exercise deliberately designed to associate the moderate with the great, the recent dead of a lesser family with royal blood (Duke Robert) and with great names (Lacy, Clare). It is the product of a proud and ambitious family either manoeuvring to achieve social advancement or proclaiming and celebrating social ground already won. It recalls once again an early roll of arms, which typically was drawn up for private patrons to commemorate their achievements and connections and above all to vaunt the standing of the patron's family. In manuscript form the early rolls tended to exhibit no very obvious sequential order reflecting seniority, chronology or the like, except that those whose precedence was beyond question (royalty, earls) might be given pride of place, and the patron himself might expect to appear close behind them. Often such a roll was retrospective in character, with, alongside the arms of living knights, the shields of noble ancestors long dead, prized associations from earlier generations, even fabulous heroes. Real heraldry might be supplemented with attributed arms where necessary.³⁵

Parallels between such rolls and the Gloucester inscriptions are almost inescapable. If the comparison is allowed, we should take the most illustrious name, Robert Curthose, and close to him we are likely to find the name behind the whole undertaking. Inscribed immediately below Duke Robert is Adam de Chaworth; it is Adam de Chaworth who is likely to derive the greatest incidental glory from lying closely in the shadow of the Conqueror's son.³⁶ It was arguably, then, a member of the de Chaworth family who arranged the Chapter House inscriptions some time after the death of Pain in 1237.

When Pain de Chaworth died the inheritance passed to Adam's young half-brother Patrick. Patrick, it seems, was a fighter and, like his father, ambitious. In 1242 he was with the abortive expedition that King Henry took to Poitou with the object of stirring insurrection against King Louis IX of France.³⁷ Patrick's conduct must have caught the eye of the King, in need at that time of strong men to prosecute his interests in the south western extremities of Wales. Kidwelly, for example, was in the hands of the Welshman, Maredudd ap Rhys, who had ousted its incumbent and left as the English claimant Hawise de London, a twice-bereaved widow. Henry authorized the marriage in April 1243 between Hawise and Patrick de Chaworth. For Patrick it was signal success, because the marriage brought also the barony of Kidwelly where English suzerainty was again firmly imposed.³⁸ It made Patrick instantly one of the important Marcher lords. Necessarily involved thereafter in the affairs of southern Wales and the maintenance of Henry's authority over the unruly Welsh, he was by 1257 heavily engaged in the plans by young Prince Edward, William de Valence and other Marcher barons to puncture the growing pretensions of Llywelyn, Lord of Snowdonia.³⁹

There is intriguing evidence to suggest that his relationship with de Valence became

particularly close. It appears that about this time Patrick added to the de Chaworth arms an *orle* (or border) of *martlets sable*. His father's equestrian seal showed a shield *barry*. The first two versions of Glover's Roll of Arms (Cooke's and Harvy's) both drawn up about 1255 attributed to Patrick *barry argent and gules*. Glover's third version (St. George's) of about 1258 included for Patrick the border of martlets.⁴⁰ All versions of Glover's Roll gave to William de Valence the blazon *barruly agent and azure, an orle of martlets gules*, but a decade or so earlier Matthew Paris had described it as *buruly* (that is, *barruly*) *azure and argent a label gules, each point charged with three lions passant gardant or*.⁴¹ That both Patrick de Chaworth and William de Valence inherited arms that were basically 'barry' or 'barruly' (or crossed with bars of alternate colours) was coincidence, but the introduction by both men at apparently about the same time of a border of martlets, though of different tinctures, may well have been by agreement. It was not unknown for friends and colleagues who were close comrades-in-arms to adopt some heraldic device in common to denote a special relationship. William de Valence was half-brother to Henry III. He had come to England in 1247 and, in a move which paralleled Patrick's acquisition of Kidwelly, was put at once by Henry into Pembroke with Joan de Muntchenesy, niece of the last earl of Pembroke, as his wife. Thus de Valence and Patrick became through their wives neighbour Marcher barons on the south Welsh coast.

In June 1258 King Henry conceded a truce to Llywelyn. Acting as the King's seneschal at a meeting at Carmarthen in September 1258 with a group of Welsh leaders bringing pressure to bear against Maredudd ap Rhys for wavering in allegiance to Llywelyn, Patrick attempted to make arrests. The gathering dissolved into violence and Patrick, along with many other English knights, was killed.⁴² His body was taken for burial to Whitland Abbey, an important Cistercian foundation not far from Carmarthen and the traditional last resting place for the lords of Kidwelly and their families.

At his death Patrick left three sons: Pain, aged 14, Patrick, aged 4, and Hervey, a little younger. His widow, Hawise, took charge of the estates herself until Pain came of age.⁴³ Pain inherited his father's loyalties and his belligerence. In 1264 he and Robert Tybetot, his sister Eva's husband, were among the Marcher royalists who gathered in Prince Edward's cause at Bristol and rode to Wallingford in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue the young Prince from the baronial faction of Simon de Montfort.⁴⁴ Possibly they had fought under Edward at the Battle of Lewes; certainly Pain fought for him in the victory at Evesham in 1265.⁴⁵ Much of an age with the Prince, Pain and Robert became, it is clear, not only dependable supporters, but also Prince Edward's personal friends. It is not impossible that they had been early members of the royal household established for him in Bristol after 1254. When Edward went crusading between August 1270 and August 1274, Robert Tybetot, Pain de Chaworth and also Pain's teenage brother, Patrick, and his uncle, Hervey, went with him.⁴⁶ '[Edward's] companions on crusade,' wrote Sir Maurice Powicke, 'became the core of his strength in the later conquest of Wales.'⁴⁷ Edward succeeded to the throne while he was out of the kingdom. It was not long after his return that he was thinking of the need to re-establish royal dominion over the territories of Wales into which Llywelyn of Snowdonia had extended his power. One victim of the unrest was Pain's youngest brother Hervey who was killed by Welsh malcontents in 1275.⁴⁸ Pain was made commander of the King's garrison in west Wales with clear policy guidelines: friendly Welsh forces were to be courted and recruited; defences and fortifications were to be generally strengthened. It was at this time that Pain substantially enlarged his own great castle at Kidwelly.

In the planned three-pronged offensive against Llywelyn, William Beauchamp of Warwick had charge of the northern sector, Roger Mortimer the central, while Pain would command in west Wales until Edmund, earl of Lancaster, the King's brother, could take over. When Edmund

arrived in April 1277 the job in west Wales had been all but done. Pain's forces had recovered virtually all the southern area taken by Llywelyn. He had subjugated the Tywi valley, decisively defeated Rhys ap Iaredudd, lord of Dryslwyn, and was in a position with Lancaster to strike northwards. Pain was now appointed by the King to head a judicial commission for the settling of suits, disputes and trespasses to which the disorders in the area had given rise;⁴⁹ but he died in 1278 while the commission's work was still in its early stages.

His brother Patrick, ten years his junior but a long-time campaigner with him in Wales, succeeded him as Lord of Kidwelly. His five-year lordship was marked politically by the commotion and bitterness of the Welsh uprising of David and Llywelyn in 1282, and domestically by the final consolidation of his family's high estate. He himself married Isabelle Beauchamp, the daughter of the earl of Warwick, close friend to King Edward; and he saw his infant daughter Maud promised in marriage to the King's nephew, Henry of Lancaster. Such royal and noble connections, wealth, position and power lifted the de Chaworths of Kempford to an enviable but short-lived pinnacle of rank. In 1283 Patrick de Chaworth died without male heir,⁵⁰ probably killed in some skirmish with the Welsh. The inheritance passed with his daughter Maud into the hands of the Lancasters.

Taking it as a distinct possibility that one of the Kempford de Chaworths was behind the Gloucester inscriptions we must look to the period from 1237, the death of Pain, to the years immediately following the failure of the male line in 1283. If either of the last brothers, Pain or Patrick, was responsible, it was presumably part of a larger family memorial undertaking. Adam can have meant nothing to them personally; he was an undistinguished uncle who died years before they were born. Although Pain was their grandfather, he did not live to see and know them. It seems likely that both brothers, as successive lords of Kidwelly, were themselves buried at Whitland Abbey alongside their father.⁵¹ Perhaps Pain and Adam were the only two de Chaworths buried at St. Peter's. We do not know what memorials to any of the other de Chaworths were installed at Whitland to match the inscriptions at Gloucester because the abbey there was thoroughly destroyed at the time of the Reformation. To give some support, however, to the notion that the de Chaworth family was honouring its dead in some style at this time, there is a late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century effigy in the church of Neuville-en-Charnie, near Souches in France, which is reputed to represent a de Chaworth (Fig. 5).⁵²

The memory of Pain and Adam was much more likely to stir the emotions of Patrick de Chaworth, Pain's son and Adam's half-brother, especially while his mother Gundred lived to mourn her bereavement. Patrick was still a youth of perhaps 13 or 14 at the death of Adam, whom he might be expected to have regarded through the respectful eyes of a much younger sibling. Adam might even have assumed the image of a father-figure, for he was fully adult when Patrick was born while Pain was well into middle age. Patrick was an unmarried young man of 19 or 20 when his father died. Within six years of that, after serving with the king in France, he was himself the husband of Hawise de London and officiating as the lord of Kidwelly. It would not have been unnatural for a rising, affluent man with proper affection for and considerable pride in his family and lineage to mark social promotion and perhaps even a growing familiarity with royalty by parading the family's prestige in a few church memorials. It could hardly have been absent from Patrick's mind that he owed a large debt to a father who had accumulated considerable estates for him, and to an older brother who had relinquished his share of the inheritance by dying prematurely in an unmarried state. It might also have been gratifying to him to honour Richard Strongbow, predecessor as earl of Pembroke to his great friend William de Valence and great grandfather of de Valence's wife. Although the precise burial places of many of the eight men commemorated in the chapter house might not be known, Patrick at least would be very clear about the tombs of his father and half-brother and could arrange their



Fig. 5. Effigy, reputed to represent a de Chaworth, late 13th or early 14th century, in the church of Neuville-en-Charnie, near Souches (Chaurces), Maine (from Hucher, *Histoire et monuments de la Sarthe*, 1856).

memorials close by. The Rev. William Bazeley could state in 1883: 'When the floor was levelled a few years ago, [three dust-filled stone] coffins were found lying beneath, and the lid of one, inscribed with the words "De Cadurcis", is preserved in the Crypt of the Cathedral.'⁵³ If it was Patrick, with or without the help of his mother Gundred, who lay behind the inscriptions, they must have been done between 1237 and 1258. Patrick's own death in 1258 could not be recorded in St. Peter's because, as lord of Kidwelly, his interment must be at Whitland Abbey in Wales.

One other figure must be considered. Adam's second half-brother was Hervey, Pain's third son and a year or two younger than Patrick. While Patrick stepped into the family's main inheritance in Britain, its remaining lands in Maine, including the chateau at Sourches, were, it seems, earmarked for Hervey. Henry III might still lay formal claim to a vast sweep of northern France, but his claim was hardly realistic. Normandy, Anjou, Poitou and Maine became politically detached from England, and in 1259 the Treaty of Paris between Henry and Louis IX marked the final surrender of Henry's pretensions. Henceforth the barons of Maine must look to the Court of France; Hervey as seigneur of Sourches must become a French lord. Not content merely to entrench in France, Hervey extended his substance and his holdings; he married well, saw service with the king's brother Charles of Anjou in Sicily when the 1270 crusade took him there, and died about 1290.⁵⁴ Hervey might be expected to have shared in equal measure Patrick's interest in commemorating in Gloucester his father Pain and his half-brother Adam. This interest need not be curtailed by Patrick's death in 1258 or the divisive effects of the Treaty of Paris. Hervey's presence alongside his nephews Pain and Patrick in the contingent that Prince Edward took to the Mediterranean to join King Louis's Crusade suggests the maintenance of a strong family loyalty.⁵⁵ If the man represented by the Neuville tomb were Hervey, as he well might be, or some prominent relation, the inclination and the wherewithal among the Sourches branch for flamboyant family memorials in churches would be confirmed.

We know nothing particular in the lives and careers of the de Chaworths that is itself likely to have prompted the inscription of the names at Gloucester beyond Patrick's highly satisfactory marriage to Hawise in 1243 which will of course have been an occasion of lavish family celebration and pride – an occasion perhaps to make a show of status and of grand alliances. Nor is anything particular known in the history of St. Peter's to suggest a moment. There were ceremonials to accompany the rededication of the abbey church in 1239 after a long period of rebuilding, but commemorative inscriptions seem extraneous to such an occasion. The abbey was continually in debt from the 1240s;⁵⁶ a substantial donation from the patron of the inscriptions to, for example, the gentle, hospitable John de Felda, abbot between 1243 and 1263, would no doubt have been very welcome. One other feature that was introduced into the church about then may possibly have been linked. Robert Curthose is commemorated twice in Gloucester: once on the Chapter House wall, and again in the form of a magnificent wooden effigy that lies on a fifteenth century chest in the cathedral choir (Fig. 6). There have been numerous attempts at dating this effigy, but a consensus seems to favour a span of *c.* 1240 to *c.* 1290⁵⁷ – closely akin to the range of dates proposed here for the wall inscriptions. Among those who incline toward an early date, Pamela Tudor Craig has pointed out that the crusading Robert of Normandy might have been a suitable candidate for royalist remembrance in the 1250s because of Henry III's last-ditch tussle for Normandy, which he finally lost in 1259, and the vow he made in 1250 to go crusading himself.⁵⁸ Another suggestion has been local rivalry with Worcester in whose cathedral an effigy of King John was installed in the 1230s or 1240s.⁵⁹ There is no real evidence to suggest that, even if the de Chaworths were responsible for the wall inscriptions, they had anything to do with the wooden effigy. But it is a curious coincidence of

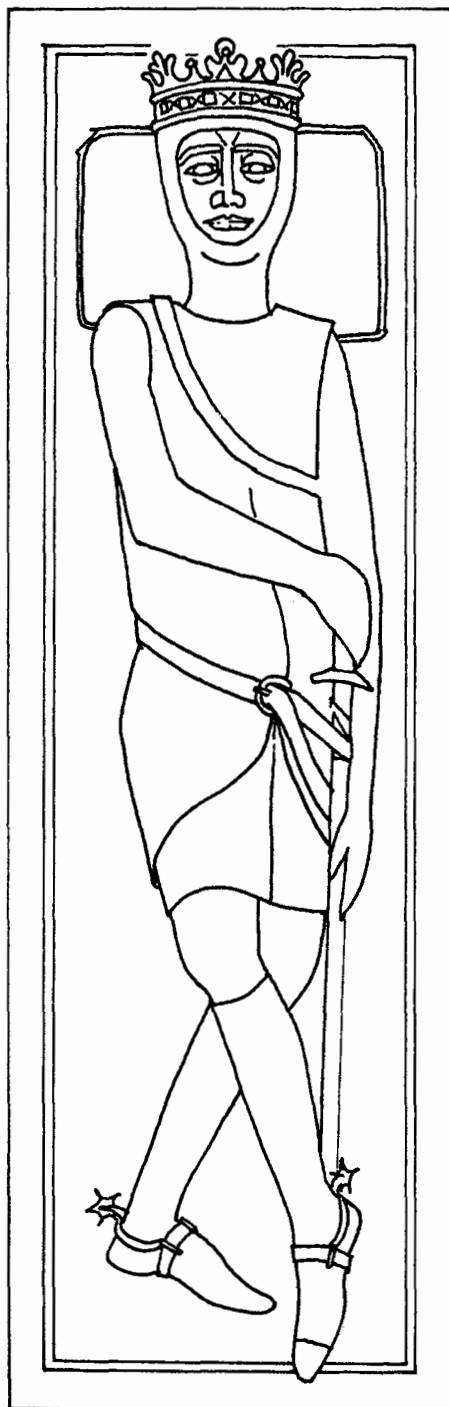


Fig. 6 Outline drawing of the effigy in Gloucester Cathedral, reputed to be that of Robert Curthose, eldest son of the Conqueror, late 13th century.

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date, and the two memorials may have been connected if only in a cause–effect relationship. Perhaps the execution of the one gave rise to the inspiration for the other.

A family's name was important to thirteenth-century society, as to most others. Rank, honour, power attached to it. By the 1280s, the de Chaworths had prospered enough for their name to stand proudly beside the great families they might have envied a hundred years before. The glory was ephemeral. The last Patrick died without a son and the name of the de Chaworths of Kempsford ceased to exist.⁶⁰ The Chapter House inscriptions now stand in part as epitaphs to what Byron described as 'the glory and the Nothing of a Name'.

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Notes & References

1. *Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales 1535–1543*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (London, 1908), V, 61.
2. Among various other examples of such painted 'guiges' that survive are the four by which coloured shields are 'hanging' on the inside lid of the Richard of Bury chest, c. 1340 (Burrell Collection 14/352), reproduced in *Age of Chivalry*, ed. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London, 1987), 427.
3. *Leland's Itinerary*, *ibid.*
4. David Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, 1991), 364–67. An engraving by Thomas Bonnor of the library at the end of the eighteenth century is reproduced on p. 365.
5. *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, October 1858.
6. *Anastatic Drawing Society* (Ashby-de-la-Zouch, 1859), 10, plate LI. The Anastatic Drawing Society was founded in 1854 by the Rev. John Gresley, Rector of Overseal, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, on the Derbyshire–Leicestershire border, for the purpose of publishing annually a volume of drawings printed by the anastatic zinc-plate facsimile process lately introduced from Germany. Subscribing members were invited 'to delineate remains of Antiquity'. The resultant works by enthusiastic amateur artists appeared in illustrated editions from 1855 to 1863, and 1876 to 1886. James Piers St. Aubyn, a London architect trained in Gloucester, was a founder member. He was soon joined in the Society by his old friend and colleague, Frederick Waller.
7. Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1993), 87.
8. N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry 1254 to 1310* (Oxford, 1965), 5; but see Ann Payne, 'Medieval Heraldry', Alexander and Binski, *op.cit.*, 56, where it is pointed out that shields painted in the margins of a psalter now dated by Nigel Morgan to the 1230s may predate the Matthew Paris shields.
9. J. Cherry, 'Heraldry as Decoration', *England in the 13th Century*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Stamford, 1991), 130; P. Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London, 1986), 41, 136–7, n. 56. The dating of the Hailes heraldic wall-painting is given as c. 1320–30 by David Park in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge, 1986), 200f.
10. Muriel Clayton, *Catalogue of rubbings of brasses and incised slabs* (HMSO London, 1968), 11; Alexander and Binski, *op.cit.*, 498, no. 679.
11. Our Lombardic W is rather unusual in having truncated 'wings' curling in on a taller bifurcated central shaft. Medieval inscribers were not above an occasional unconventional design, but bearing in mind that the 'Strongbowe' legend was among the most faded when the inscriptions were uncovered in 1856–58, it is possible that the shape of the sole letter W owes quite a lot to Victorian imagination.
12. In his survey 'The Epigraphy of Medieval English Seals', *Archaeologia* 79, (1929), 164, H.S. Kingsford

concluded that for inscriptions on seals at least, from the Normans to the Tudors, 'the styles of lettering cannot be so differentiated as to form a safe basis as to date'.

13. *Florentii Wigorniensis Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1849), **II**, 95.
14. *Historia et Cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W.H. Hart (London, 1863), **I**, 16-17 (translation, W. Barber).
15. 'The inhabitants of Brecknock used to show his monument in the Priory Church of that town', Theophilus Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknockshire* (Brecknock, 1909), **I**, 63.
16. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), 167; Cartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, *Annals of Ireland* (Rolls Series, 1884), **II**, 274.
17. *Florentii Wigorniensis Chronicon ex Chronicis*, **II**, 97; *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (London, 1860), 157; *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K.R. Potter (Oxford, 1976), 17.
18. *Complete Peerage*, **VI**, 453(j). Llanthony Secunda Priory was founded in 1136 by Miles of Gloucester as a less remote and less exposed sister-house to Llanthony Priory in the Black Mountains.
It is just possible, though perhaps unlikely at such an early date, that portions only of these disputed individuals were interred at St. Peter's, bearing in mind the practice, most common in the 13th century, of burying the heart, and sometimes the viscera, separately from the rest of the body, largely for the purpose of broadening the source of prayers for the deceased. The remains of Edward I's queen, Eleanor of Castile, who died in 1290, were, for example, distributed between Lincoln (the entrails), Blackfriars (the heart) and Westminster (the rest).
19. *VCH Gloucestershire VII*, 96.
20. *Pipe Rolls 1212*, 143, **1218**, 76; *The Book of Fees I*, 14, 124, 133, 478, 486, 571, 616.
21. *Close Rolls 1228*, 24; *The Book of Fees I*, 264. Pain married Gundred after 1203. In that year she was free to reject the suit of her grandfather's steward Ralph de Bray (later Sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Cambridgeshire): *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, **1201**, 178, **1202**, 182; *Pipe Rolls 1202*, 77, **1203**, 144.
22. *VCH Devon I*, 567.
23. *Curia Regis Rolls 3-4 Hen.III*, 153, 257; *4-5 Hen.III*, 90, 315; *5-6 Hen.III*, 192, 272.
24. *Patent Rolls 1217*, 24.
25. *Placitorum Abbreviatio* (Record Commission, 1811), 114; *Close Rolls 1231-34*, 173, 190-1; *Cal. of Charter Rolls 1226-57*, 57, 85, 140; *VCH Hertfordshire, III*, 37, 177-8.
26. *Patent Rolls 1230*, 359.
27. The seal-die which bears the words SIGILL PAGANI DE CHAORCIIS is in the British Museum (M&LA.1978. 7-2, 1); the charter is in the British Library (BL Lord Frederick Campbell's Charters VII.2). John Cherry, *Two Equestrian Seal Dies*, (British Museum Occasional Paper, no. 10, 1980), where both matrix and impression are reproduced.
28. *Cal. of Patent Rolls 1237*, 181.
29. *Close Rolls 1232*, 79.
30. *Patent Rolls 1224*, 423.
31. *Close Rolls 1232*, 18.
32. Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1950), 417, 715.
33. Andrew Martingdale, 'Patrons and Minders: the intrusion of the secular into sacred spaces in the late Middle Ages' in *The Church and the Arts*, ed. Diana Wood, (Studies in Church History, Oxford, 1992), **XXVIII**, 168-9.
34. *Historia et Cartularium monasterii Gloucestriae*, **I**, 122, 223, **II**, 300.
35. N. Denholm-Young, op.cit., 1-16.
36. This was not the first de Cadurcis encounter with Duke Robert. In the summer of 1088 Adam's ancestor, Pain de Cadurcis de Montdoubleau, held out defiantly against the Duke at Ballon, 12 miles north east of Le Mans, when Robert was establishing Norman authority over Maine. Pain went on to fight with Robert against William Rufus before yielding Ballon to Rufus in 1098: E.A. Freeman, *The Reign of William Rufus* (Oxford, 1882) **I**, 209, **II**, 235.
37. *Cal. of Patent Rolls 1242*, 295.
38. *Annales de Theokesberia in Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard (London, 1864) **I**, 133; J.E. Lloyd, *History*

- of *Carmarthen* (Cardiff, 1935), I, 182 ff. Hawise had previously married Walter de Braose and Henry de Turbeville, only to be soon widowed on each occasion.
39. *Cal. of Patent Rolls* 1257, 538, 1258, 623.
 40. Tremlett, London & Wagner, *Rolls of Arms, Henry III* (Aspilogia III, Society of Antiquaries, London 1967), 125–26.
 41. *Ibid.*, 31, 118.
 42. *Annales de Theokesberia*, 166; *Brut y Tywysogion*, 347; *Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. W.A. Wright (London, 1887) II, 732.
 43. *Cal. of Patent Rolls* 1259, 6, 32.
 44. Sir Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1953), 196; *Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, II, 751.
 45. *Rotuli Selecti*, ed. J. Hunter (London, 1834), 141. Pain's reward after Evesham was receipts from land at Boxsted and Wormingford in Essex.
 46. *Cal. of Patent Rolls* 1270, 440; Sir Maurice Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), II, 597 ff; *Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, 775–6.
 47. Sir Maurice Powicke, *op.cit.*, 153.
 48. *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel, (Rolls Series, 1860), 75.
 49. *Welsh Assize Roll, 1277–1284*, ed. J. Conway Davies (Cardiff, 1940), *passim*.
 50. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 1283, 288.
 51. Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II, 918b no. 50, records a donation of land from Pain to the monks at Whitland (or Blanchland) Abbey in return for prayers for the souls of his father Patrick, his grandmother Gundred, his grandfather Thomas de London, and other members of the family buried at Whitland. There is no direct evidence however to prove that the last Pain and Patrick were buried there.
 52. E.F.F. Hucher, *Études sur l'histoire et les monuments de département de la Sarthe* (Paris & Le Mans, 1856), 195–201 (from which the illustration is taken). Neuville-en-Charnie is 5 miles to the west of the château of Sourches. The arms appearing many times on the wall behind the tomb and on the painted male figure importuning the Virgin are barruly as appropriate to those de Chaworths, who did not adopt Patrick's martlets.
 53. *Records of Gloucester Cathedral* (Gloucester, 1882–1884), II, 12; *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1858, p. 511.
 54. F.J. de Perusse and A. Ledru, *Le Château de Sourches au Maine et ses seigneurs* (Paris, 1887), 44–9; St. Clair Baddeley 'Note on the Chaworth (de Cadurcis) tombs in the Chapter House of Gloucester Cathedral', *Records of Gloucester Cathedral* III part I (1885–97), 143.
 55. *Cal. of Patent Rolls* 1270, 440.
 56. David Welander, *op.cit.*, 124.
 57. *Ibid.*, 113–17; Philip Lankester 'A Military Effigy in Dorchester Abbey, Oxon.', *Oxoniensia* LII (1987), 159–65.
 58. Pamela Tudor-Craig, *Age of Chivalry*, ed. Jonathan Alexander & Paul Binski (London, 1987), 197, no. 2.
 59. David Welander, *op.cit.*, 113.
 60. There was another branch of the de Chaworth family in Nottinghamshire (E. Chaworth Musters 'Some Account of the Family called in Latin Cadurcis, in French Chaources, in English Chaworth', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* (Nottingham, 1904), VII, 125ff). In Maine the male line of Hervey's family survived until the mid-14th century when his great-granddaughter took the estate to her husband Jean de Vayer (Perusse & Ledru, *op.cit.*, 52).