

THE PUZZLE OF THE PRIESTLY EFFIGY IN IVINGHOE CHURCH

Early Rectors of Ivinghoe and the True Founder of Ravenstone Priory

R. P. HAGERTY

Dr Hagerty discusses the evidence for the date and identity of the effigy of a priest in Ivinghoe church and reviews the opinions expressed in the past. He concludes that, although there can be no certainty on the matter, the most likely candidate, as opinioned by a majority of previous commentators, is Peter Chaceporc, a Poitevin in the service of Henry III, rector of Ivinghoe and the true founder of Ravenstone Priory. In a necessarily speculative appendix he considers whether the recorded burial of Peter at Boulogne is a fatal objection to this identification.

In the chancel of the church at Ivinghoe is the effigy of a priest in mass vestments, carved from a single block of Totternhoe stone, recumbent in a recess under a four-centred cinquefoil arch with trefoil sub-cusping. The figure lies supine, head to the west, with hands over the chest in the attitude of prayer, palms together with fingers pointing toward the chin. The head, covered by a lined hood below which the hair is cut straight across the forehead, rests on two quite thin cushions, the upper placed diagonally to the lower. The effigy is over 6 ft long, almost certainly more than life-size, with a large head and well-nourished face; the bulging eyes and thick neck suggest a goitre. Rather than being a conventional representation, it almost appears to attempt a likeness. At the foot, the block ends in a plain, pedestal-like, semi-octagon. The figure has suffered some damage to the left side of the head, to the face around the nose and to projecting features – the nose, fingers and feet – while the surface is, in general, rather rough but little eroded. Just

below hip level, on the right side inside the fold of the chasuble, is a saucer-shaped depression at the bottom of which is a lead-lined hole; this looks like a small basin with drain and is, presumably, a mutilation. If it were not for the depression, one might imagine the hole to have been a socket holding some external feature, although it is difficult to imagine what.

The decorations one would expect to find on the chasuble, maniple, stole, and unusually wide amice, and on the apparel panels at wrist and foot of the alb, were obviously never carved. This suggests that the whole would originally have been painted or first coated with gesso, a mouldable mixture of gum and plaster of Paris, on which the decorations were then impressed and painted or simply painted.¹ The roughness of the surface could then have been deliberate to provide keying for the paint or gesso. However, Lipscomb wrote that the figure was much obscured by several coats of whitewash and the present state of the surface may be due to scrubbing to

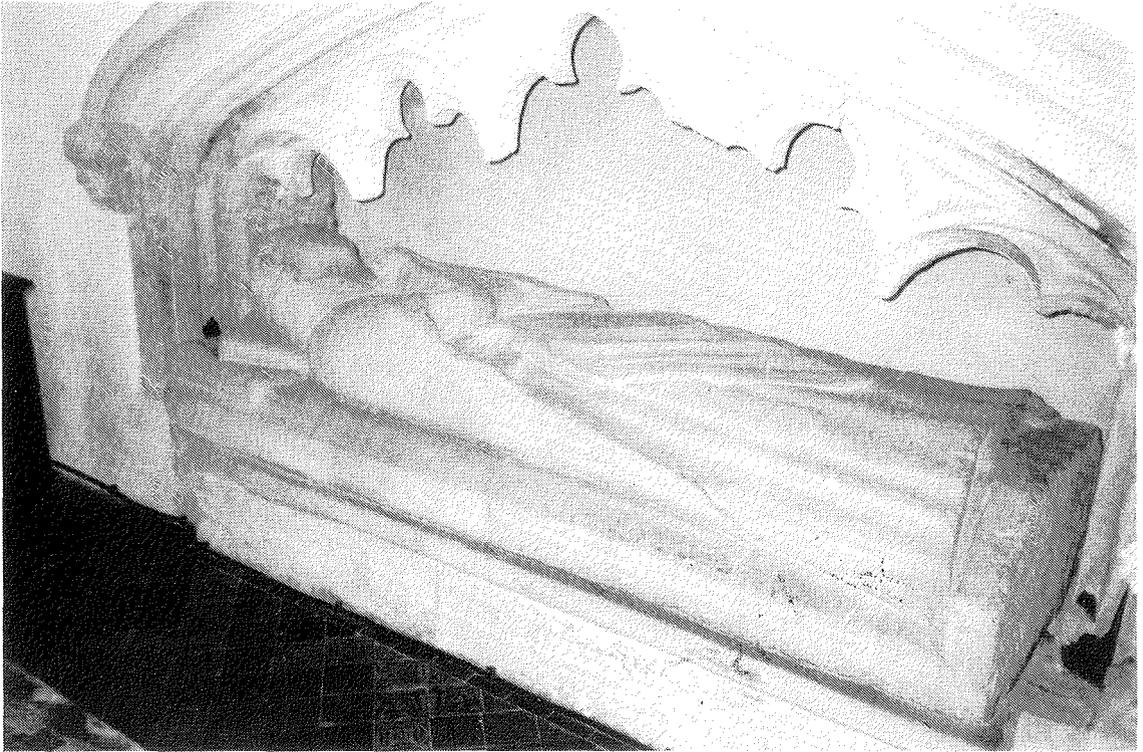
remove these coatings.² There is now no trace of paint or gesso, unless the very faint brownish tint of the stone is not natural. Finally, the surfaces accessible in the present position are blemished by numerous carved and scratched graffiti, while the less accessible surfaces at the back are relatively unmarked, indicating that the effigy has been in its present position at least since the time when vandals had become sufficiently literate to record their initials. Certainly it was where it is now at the time of the earliest extant descriptions, that by the Lysons, first published in 1806, and the contribution by J.S.B. in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1812, and it was not displaced during nineteenth-century "restorations" which destroyed three table tombs, the painted rood screen, the old font, and some features of the fabric of the church.³

It was during the late thirteenth century that Purbeck marble, which was difficult to work, was being supplanted for tomb effigies by more readily worked freestone or wood, finished off with paint or gesso and paint. Later, effigies of alabaster, or sometimes of metal, graced the tombs of the rich and important, while others contented themselves with flat, engraved, brasses.

As to the dating of the Ivinghoe figure, J.S.B. considered it to be more ancient than the arch and likened the head covering to a sort of "Welsh wig". Lipscomb, no doubt confused by the whitewash coatings, erroneously described the figure as wearing the habit of a monk, with head uncovered; he did not mention a date. Kelke in 1854 and 1870 largely followed J.S.B., but referred to the usual tonsure, and dated the effigy contemporary with the church, that is thirteenth century, while Sheahan in 1862 thought it contemporary with the chancel and nave.⁴ Fowler, in 1892, and Wauton, the contemporary vicar, dated the effigy mid-thirteenth century.⁵ Gurney, in 1913, described it as rough, local work and, on the basis of the haircut and treatment of the vestments, as thirteenth century, probably of a rector; he agreed that the hood and haircut did look sufficiently like a Welsh wig, with skull-cap underneath, to justify the comment by J.S.B.⁶ The Royal

Commission on Historic Monuments in 1913, dated it as probably fifteenth century, the same as the arch, and characterized it as somewhat crudely carved, like Gurney perhaps overlooking that the stone would be only the base for the gesso and paint finish.⁷ Pevsner described the effigy as a thirteenth-century stone monument of a priest and, exaggeratedly, as very defaced.⁸ It is obvious that the recess, with its fifteenth century arch, was not designed to accommodate the effigy, which those quoted above, with the exception of the R.C.H.M., agreed to be the thirteenth century. The recess is in the usual position in the north wall of the chancel near the altar to house an Easter sepulchre and this was most probably its original purpose.

Would this clear majority dating of the figure to the thirteenth, even the mid-thirteenth, century be accepted by today's experts? In his study of secular effigies of the thirteenth century in England, Tummers pointed out that, apart from the effigies of Henry III and Queen Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I, on their tombs in Westminster Abbey, there was no secular effigy in England of that period for which there was documentary evidence: the existing dates for all other secular tomb effigies were "traditional".⁹ This must be said about this ecclesiastical figure. Concentrating on secular effigies, Tummers wrote that the attitude of the hands in prayer was common on the continent by 1250 and not usual in England until later, but also commented that ecclesiastical effigies were in general years ahead of secular ones.¹⁰ The supine position and the arrangement of two rather thin cushions, the upper placed diagonally to the lower, feature in works of what Gardner and Stone called the London, Westminster, or court school, of the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century.¹¹ Tummers thought "workshop" preferable to "school".¹² These features can be seen on the Westminster tombs of Henry III (died 1272) and Eleanor (died 1290), the metal figures for which were ordered in 1291.¹³ The dates for Henry indicate that there could be a lapse of years between death and ordering of an effigy, justifying the statement by Tummers that the custom of effigies



The effigy in the church at Ivinghoe.

for the just-deceased was not established in the thirteenth century.¹⁴

The stone effigies at Westminster of Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster (died 1296) and wife Aveline (died 1273), have the double-cushion feature with the addition of supportive, sitting, angels at the head. Gardner and Tummers respectively dated Aveline's effigy to c.1290 and c.1290 to 1300.¹⁵ Stone wrote that the London school was not entirely dominant but that there were many others, such as those of Abingdon, Hereford/Worcester, the south-western and the northern.¹⁶ Tummers agreed that other figures with double-cushion and angel features would date from after 1300. However, he considered that the figures of Henry and Eleanor represented the perfected form (without supporters), adding that it remained to be seen whether all effigies in England with the double-cushion feature should be dated after

these two; during 1280/90 double cushions were used in more than one place and more than one way, so that effigies should not, merely because of this one feature, be dated 1300 or even later; a late thirteenth-century date was still quite possible.¹⁷ The Westminster designers were said to have adopted both the double-cushion and supporting angel features from France. The possibility that they were not the first in England to use the double-cushion feature would seem to be confirmed by Gardner's dating to c.1270 of the stone effigy of a knight at Leighton-under-Wrekin, Stone's dating to c.1280–1290 of the wooden effigy of a knight at Woodford, and the datings by Tummers of the stone effigy of Bishop Branscombe at Exeter (made shortly after his death in 1280) and of stone knightly figures (1270–80) in the Mayor's Chapel at Bristol and the church at Curry Rivel.¹⁸

Tummers wrote that effigies in the

thirteenth century were earlier idealistic with a gradual increase in realistic aspects but, as mentioned above, he also commented that ecclesiastical effigies were years ahead of secular ones.¹⁹ Gardner omitted to give a precise date for the figure of a priest at Ledbury, although his context suggests he thought it thirteenth century; Pevsner dated it late in that century.²⁰ As Gardner remarked, this figure makes few concessions to the recumbent attitude and, indeed, it now stands upright on its semi-octagonal plain base. It has hands in prayer, while the face appears to be a likeness; the bare head is backed by a single diagonally-placed cushion beneath a trefoil-cusped canopy with side shafts, a placing which fits more artistically beneath the trefoil-cusping than would a straight cushion. The general impression, even without the gesso and paint with which the figure would, no doubt, have been originally finished, is attractively realistic.

The Ivinghoe figure also looks as if it should be standing up on its semi-octagonal plain end, suggesting a date earlier than 1300. It wears a "Gothic" rather than a "fiddle-back" chasuble, without any indication of orphreys, as also does the Ledbury figure, again suggesting a date no later than the thirteenth century, but has apparel panels on the cuffs and at the foot of the alb which the latter figure lacks. As compared to the Ledbury figure, the stiffer treatment of the vestments of the Ivinghoe effigy and the generally less realistic impression suggest a somewhat earlier thirteenth-century date. It is difficult to discern whether the hood was intended as part of the amice or as an almuce; wearing a hood with mass vestments became unusual during the thirteenth century, but individual considerations of comfort militated against uniformity; in any case, a hood could be worn in procession, so that relying on it to define a precise date is unsafe. Could a likeness have been attempted, as appears at first glance, or were the face and neck just poorly executed? Tummers noted that poor work could be put down to the non-availability of a good sculptor, rather than considerations of cost, which latter rather decided the size of the figure; as noted previously, the Ivinghoe effigy seems over life-

size.²¹ Curiously, the figure of Queen Eleanor, which is considered to have an idealized face, has a thick neck somewhat similar to that of the Ivinghoe figure. Incidentally, that the latter is in local stone gives no clue as to the home base of the mason who made it, since it was cheaper in those days to send the mason to the stone rather than the stone over a distance to the mason and then to the final destination.

In sum, it seems that the R.C.H.M. dating can be discarded, but that a precise date in the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries, likely to be agreed by currently-practicing experts, cannot be stated; meanwhile, a date as much as some decades earlier than 1300 cannot be ruled out. Since it must be agreed that the effigy is that of a priest, probably a rector of Ivinghoe, it is interesting to survey what is known of the rectors during the period within which the figure most probably belongs. However, unless and until documentary identification turns up, it will remain impossible to name the subject positively, whatever the date and whether a rector or not.

Buckinghamshire historians have arrived at a majority decision as to the identification, a finding which Tummers would certainly describe as "fanciful".²² Browne Willis in the mid-eighteenth century first thought that the effigy represented Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, who died in 1171, but later named Peter Chaceporc, rector from 1241 to 1254. The manor of Ivinghoe and the advowson of the church belonged to the bishops of Winchester from before Domesday; however, the lack of a bishop's pastoral staff, not to mention the dating, rules out Bishop Henry.²³

J.S.B. suggested either the founder of the church, or Peter Chaceporc, or a Bonhomme from Ashridge College. However, the hood cannot be seen as a cowl nor is the dress that of a Bonhomme, so that the figure is not one of a Bonhomme brought from Ashridge after the Dissolution. Such a carved tomb slab was expensive and unlikely to be that of an ordinary brother, remembering that he renounced his earthly possessions on entering the order. Lack of any token of office argues

against the effigy being that of the only rector of the college of possibly appropriate date, the first rector, Richard de Watford, who was appointed in 1283 and resigned in 1297 (the second, Ralph de Aston, resigned in 1336).²⁴ Particularly after the peasant revolts of 1381, the college was not in a healthy state financially and the advowson of Ivinghoe was granted to it in 1413 by Cardinal Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, precisely to help relieve its finances. Papal authority was received in a bull of Pope Martin dated 1420 and, from that time, the incumbent of Ivinghoe has been vicar instead of rector.²⁵

The Lysons, Kelke, Sheahan, Fowler, and Wauton all ascribed the effigy to Peter Chaceporc, the last four dating the chancel and nave of the church to his time and the last two referring to him as traditional founder. Lipscomb did not venture an ascription. Gurney dismissed any tradition ascribing the effigy to Peter and postulated the true tradition as ascribing it to a character called Gramfer or Grampy Greyvy. This was translated in Victorian times as Grandfather Greybeard, despite that the figure has no beard. Moreover, Cocks pointed out that Greyve in Middle English meant reeve or magistrate, from Anglo-Saxon *gerefa*.²⁶ Powell in the V.C.H. named Peter Chaceporc as the most probable for date and person.²⁷ Finally, Esdaile in the late 1940s mentioned the ascriptions to Grandfather Greybeard and a thirteenth-century rector.²⁸

Fowler quoted Wauton as his informant of the local tradition regarding Peter Chaceporc as founder of Ivinghoe church. Gurney, again with contemporary scepticism, decried the possibility of any such tradition existing, categorising it as an antiquary's theory; he dated the foundation to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, in the time of Bishop Peter des Roches of Winchester (1205–38) and the first recorded rector, Master Humphrey de Medliers. The latter was instituted to Ivinghoe in 1211, after resigning from Witney, and was followed by sub-deacon Peter Chaceporc, appointed in April 1241.²⁹ Gurney related the nave arcades to those of neighbouring churches, two of which, at Studham and Chalgrave, he wrote were consecrated c.1220. He

pointed out that the Ivinghoe arcades were usually dated to c.1250 but, on the relation above, he himself dated them earlier than the rectorship of Peter Chaceporc (1241–54). The decorations on the nave arcade capitals at Studham, Chalgrave (north arcade only) and Ivinghoe do, indeed, feature a variety of stiff-leaf motifs so similar as to indicate that they all emanated from the same workshop and all are in Totternhoe stone. The consecrations, Studham in April 1220 and Chalgrave in September, are on record.³⁰ When and by whom a church was originally founded at Ivinghoe is unknown. Gurney suggested that a possibly wooden church, perhaps on a different site from the existing one, may have been put to the torch by Siward and his outlaws in 1234, at the same time as they burnt down the bishop's manor house. Richard Siward did lead a band of political opponents of Bishop Peter des Roches in ravaging many of the bishop's manors in 1233/34; the bishop's town of Ivinghoe was burnt down on 11 May 1234.³¹ The R.C.H.M. flatly dated the building of the church on a cruciform plan to c.1230. Powell ascribed the earlier parts of the building to the first half of the thirteenth century, but drew attention to the west wall of the nave being thicker than the other walls, suggesting that this wall might represent a remnant of an earlier, stone, church. Finally, the vicar during the Society visit in 1935 followed the R.C.H.M. in dating the foundation of the church to c.1230 and did not even mention the effigy.³²

During the thirteenth century, population and arable exploitation in England reached their zeniths towards the end of a climatic optimum. The century saw much building and rebuilding of churches, great and small. In any church, the chancel was the responsibility of the rector but nothing forbade him from contributing to work on other parts. The oldest recognizable features of the existing building at Ivinghoe are the blocked lancet windows in the chancel side walls and the nave arcades, all earlier than the rectorship of Peter Chaceporc since Gurney and the R.C.H.M. must be given credence. Probably damage was done and building work brought to a standstill by the disaster of 1234 and, with the political

eclipse of Bishop Peter des Roches from then to his death in 1238, funds were not available for a resumption in the time of his appointed rector, Humphrey de Medliers. Major work was certainly going on in Peter Chaceporc's time, as is shown by the transept windows, while the now-blocked round windows in the nave walls above the arcades, as well as the west doorway, may also date from his rectorship. Indeed, it may have been Peter, who was both influential and rich, who first completed the church on the ample transeptal plan which, with later buildings and rebuildings, remains today. Such a contribution by Peter could explain the alleged local tradition that he was the founder. Perhaps this tradition derived from his inclusion (as founder?) in a parochial bede-roll of benefactors read on Sundays and Holy Days to the assembled worshippers asking for remembrance in their prayers, a practice possibly continued until the reign of Edward VI or Elizabeth I.³³

Whether Humphrey de Medliers quit Ivinghoe by death or resignation is not known, nor is the date, although it appears that Peter Chaceporc was the next rector, appointed in April 1241. After the death of King John, his widow, Isabella d'Angoulême, mother of Henry III, married Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche in Poitou. Peter, who was a Poitevin, had an honourable and rewarding career in the service of Henry, to whom he was distantly connected by the marriage of his eldest brother, Sir Hugh Chaceporc, who was recorded in 1247 as having had as wife Guidona, Lusignan kinswoman to the king.³⁴ In extant documents, Peter was first recorded in a papal indult or indulgence of April 1236, allowing him to hold another benefice in addition to the rectory of Borley, worth under 100s, that he held in the diocese of London.³⁵ He was next recorded in the Close Rolls in February 1240, where he was listed among some twenty foreign royal clerks.³⁶ In the Liberate Rolls for the same month, a contrabreve was addressed from Westminster to the keepers of the exchange of London to pay him and John Mansel 20 marks for their use on going on king's messages.³⁷ Peter became a favourite royal clerk, intimately involved in the king's political, dip-

lomatic, financial and personal business both in England and oversea, being sent on missions at various times, for example to the court of Aragon, to the court at Paris, and to the papal curia. He was promoted to be keeper of the wardrobe, in effect treasurer to the royal household, in October 1241. In 1251, along with John de Lexington, he was temporarily keeper of the Seal and later was named one of the executors of Henry's will.³⁸

Examples of Peter's duties and travels on royal business may be quoted from the Liberate Rolls. Entries in June 1246, at Windsor and Winchester, authorized payment to Guy de Rochefort and Peter Chaceporc of 50 marks each, for their expenses in going to the parts of Aragon where the king was sending them as his messengers, and a contrabreve was sent to the sheriff of Kent to pay, out of the issues of his county, the passage of Guy de Rupe Forti and Peter Chaceporc, messengers to the king of Aragon. In October 1249, a contrabreve was sent to the bailiffs of the port of Dover to cause Peter Chaceporc, archdeacon of Wells, to have a ship to cross the sea as king's messenger. An entry, in February 1250 at Reading, authorized allocation to Peter Chaceporc, king's clerk, going as king's messenger to Lyon, of 100 marks for his expenses, and allocated to the same Peter, keeper of the castle of St Briavels and the Forest of Dean, in the farm thereof, 100 marks for his expenses as the king's messenger to the court of the pope. In relation to his local duties in the royal household, an entry of August 1251, at Westminster, allocated Peter Chaceporc, keeper of the bishopric of Winchester, from the issues thereof while void and in the king's hand, £22.3s.11d for purchase of hogs, swine, geese, fowls, chickens, partridges, pheasants, bucks, roes, rabbits, pike, perch, swans and cheese, and carriage to Westminster against the feast of St Edward last year, also £44.3s.11d spent in purveyance for the king against last Christmas.³⁹

Among administrative appointments, other than those already noted, he was recorded as keeper of St Giles fair on the hill at Winchester (1250) and warden of the Hospital of St Cross there (1250). With Thomas de Newark,

he was keeper of the bishopric of Durham and the castles of Durham and Norham after Henry's seizure of the possessions of the bishopric on the resignation of Nicholas de Farnham in April 1249 and his retention of them even after the consecration of Walter de Kirkham in December of that year. Before October 1250, the two keepers had delivered the substantial sum of £2,020 from the issues of the see to Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, in payment of the king's debts to him. By way of contrast, in November 1250, at Marwell, a contrabreve was sent to Peter Chaceporc, keeper of the bishopric of Winchester, to cause William de Gardinis to have 100s to maintain himself and his children.⁴⁰

Peter was rewarded by Henry with many ecclesiastical appointments. Here it is pertinent to remark that archiepiscopal and episcopal successions in medieval times were by no means as smoothly continuous as indicated in Crockford's. After election by the chapter, often a disputed and lengthy process, the archbishop or bishop elect had to receive the approval of his ecclesiastical superiors, up to the pope certainly for an archbishop, a long process involving a visit to the pope for investiture; he had then to swear fealty to the king before receiving the temporalities of his office. Hence the frequent archiepiscopal and episcopal voidances of which contemporary kings of England took advantage to appoint royal clerks to worthwhile benefices, thus reducing demands on the royal purse. There were also often delays in filling rectorial vacancies. When a rector was an absentee, as a royal clerk was during his active career, the cure of souls was exercised by vicars or chaplains, whose stipends, at that time, were normally the responsibility of the rector. Roger, chaplain of Ivinghoe in the time of Humphrey de Medliers, was well enough off to give a wood in Hudnall to Dunstable Priory in 1226.⁴¹

In February 1241, the royal consent was given to the election of Nicholas de Farnham, rector of Aldenham, to the see of Durham. That same month, Peter was collated by the abbot of Westminster, at the instance of the king at Woodstock, to the vacant rectory of

Aldenham (in 1291 taxable at £12.13s.4d after deduction of a pension of 13s.4d payable to the sacristan of the abbey).⁴² Peter bought a house and some small parcels of land in Aldenham in 1245.⁴³ Incidentally, although he died in December 1254, not until April 1263 was it recorded that sub-deacon Dominus John de Wingham was appointed to Aldenham on the death of Dominus Peter Chaceporc, with a note that John was presented to and admitted by Bishop Henry de Lexington of Lincoln who died in 1258; an indult of August 1259 authorized John de Wingham, rector of Aldenham, to hold two benefices additional to the two he held of value 60 marks.⁴⁴

In March 1241, the king agreed to allocate to wardrobe clerk, Peter, 50 marks yearly for his maintenance in the king's service until the king should provide him with a benefice worth that or more and, on 11 April, the appropriate authority to the exchequer was issued at Westminster. Two days later, also at Westminster, the king, during voidance of the bishopric of Winchester, directed Peter's admission to Ivinghoe, one of the richest rectories in Buckinghamshire (in 1291 taxable at £36.13s.4d or 55 marks) and Peter was duly instituted.⁴⁵ In 1249, Dominus Peter was presented to the rectory of Tring, equal in value to that of Ivinghoe, by the bishop of Carlisle acting as proctor in England in the name of the prior and convent of Romilly-sur-Seine.⁴⁶

Earlier, in January 1243, a cryptic entry in the Close Rolls recorded Henry writing from Bordeaux to the monks of Bath Priory changing his mind about his licence to them to elect Peter as bishop of Bath and Wells, but giving no reason for the change other than studious deliberations of certain matters.⁴⁷ Jocelin de Wells, bishop of Bath and Wells, had died in November 1242 and the see remained vacant until consecration of Roger de Salisbury in 1244. However, over the years, Peter was rewarded by the king, usually during episcopal voidances, with the deanery of Tettenhall (succeeded after his death by Henry de Wingham, king's clerk), and three prebends – at St Paul's (October 1242), Chichester (April 1244), and Exeter (January

1245) – and the churches of Croydon (November 1241), Stokes (December 1252), and Ramsey (September 1253).⁴⁸ In addition, he was referred to in papal letters as canon of Poitiers (November 1243), papal chaplain (February 1251), and archdeacon of Wells (letters of February and December 1251, and May 1254).⁴⁹ In November 1253, at St Macaire, the king named Peter to the prebend of Banbury, the bishopric of Lincoln being void. However, the next month, at Bazas, it was learnt that Banbury was not available and Peter was put on hold until something should come up. Finally, in March 1254, at Marlborough, he was made treasurer and prebendary of Lincoln, by the king's gift in the continuing voidance of the bishopric.⁵⁰ Light is thrown on Peter's character by an indult of May 1254 "for removing of all doubt from his conscience that he may hold all the parsonages, dignities and benefices which he has".⁵¹

The Close Rolls recorded an unusual quantity and quality of royal grants to Peter, almost certainly some to him personally and some to him in one or other of his official posts. In view of the royal economics of the time, these grants were most often in kind rather than in money, of which Henry was perpetually short. For example, Peter was granted, in 1245 and in 1252, a dolium of the very best wine from the royal cellars, in 1246 forty bream from the royal fish-farm, in 1250 two deer from the forest of Dean and two from Selwood Forest, in 1251 three deer from the forest of Blackmore and three from the forest of St Briavel's, while, in 1252, Peter was excused payment for pannage in Chute Forest and Doyley Wood. However, the most valuable royal grants were those of oaks and other woodland products from the royal forests. These included, in 1244, ten trees from Bernwood Forest for building a small house, in 1245 five oaks from Salcey Forest and five from *Pokesl'* Wood to build a house at Ravenstone, in 1247 ten oaks from Salcey and six from *Pokesl'*, in 1252 two oaks from Chute Forest and Doyley Wood. Other grants were for remarkable numbers of oaks – for example, in 1251 fifty from Selwood, in 1252 forty from Chute, twenty from Doyley, and twenty from Finkley.⁵² These large grants argue

that Peter, whether personally or officially, was involved in a number of big building projects. In all, royal patronage made Peter very comfortably rich since, in his time, a yearly income above £20 was considered appropriate for undertaking the obligations of a knight.

Peter died on Christmas Eve 1254, when with the king in Boulogne-sur-Mer, and there Henry buried his beloved clerk with all honour in the church of St Mary.⁵³ Aubrey de Fécamp and Peter de Wintonia temporarily took over keepership of the wardrobe.⁵⁴ In a most unusual entry in the Patent Rolls, demonstrating Henry's particular regard for and trust in Peter, it was recorded that the King and his whole Council, meeting in Boulogne on Christmas Day, mandated the barons of the Exchequer to cause to be done and enrolled "pardon and quitclaim to Peter Chaceporc, sometime keeper of the wardrobe, his heirs and executors, from all debts he may owe to the king and from all accounts and reckonings from the time that he was keeper until Monday, Christmas Eve, on which day he died, and grant that his executors have the administration of his will".⁵⁵ Matthew Paris wrote that Peter ended a fine life well and made a noble will; he praised his example in leaving money to found a priory and opined that he would have become a bishop if he had lived longer. It is evident from the records that Henry regarded Peter, who was probably in his forties and much of an age as the king, as a personal friend. Henry's affectionate nature is on record and it should not be forgotten that he was "French" by blood and also in language. That Peter escaped the strictures of the English on other Poitevin royal favourites and that only praise of his life was recorded after his death hint strongly at a fine character and attractive personality, as well as administrative ability.

Peter's will, made two days before his obviously untimely death, left 600 marks for buying land and founding a priory at Ravenstone for Augustinian canons from the priory at Merton. In 1245, Peter had acquired half of the manor of Ravenstone, and the advowson of the church (in 1291 taxable at £10), against payment of £360 and a yearly

rent of a pair of gilt spurs and doing foreign service.⁵⁶ The grant of ten oaks in 1245 had been for construction of a house in Ravenstone. In May 1255, Peter's heir, Sir Hugh Chaceporc, released to the king the half knight's fee and the advowson of the church of Ravenstone.⁵⁷ Henry fulfilled Peter's intention by founding the Augustinian priory of St Mary there. The first canons, the number not specified, came from Merton and, in June 1255, the king directed Bishop Henry Lexington of Lincoln to admit William de Devizes as first prior. In September, the king notified the bishop of the appointment of John de Chishull as royal proctor in all that concerned the priory and his presentation thereto of William de Devizes.⁵⁸ John, who had been personal clerk to Peter in the wardrobe, became an important royal servant, finishing his career as bishop of London and dying in 1280.⁵⁹ Henry continued to interest himself in the priory until his death in November 1272. The Close Rolls recorded a number of royal grants over the years, particularly of oaks from Salcey for building work. An entry of 1271 confirmed that the priory had been founded by the king for the good of the soul of Peter Chaceporc and with the goods left by him, and forbade royal officials to take possession of the temporalities when the office of prior was vacant, as it was at that time by the resignation of William.⁶⁰

Following Peter at Ivinghoe, the next rector seems to have been Master Guicard or Guiscard, about whom the only record found was that he resigned before February 1264 when he was succeeded by Master William de Wickwame, chancellor of York. William was elected archbishop of York in June 1279 and died at the abbey of Pontigny in Burgundy in August 1285 and was there buried; in any case, the Ivinghoe effigy's lack of archiepiscopal attributes rules out William as the subject.⁶¹

The next succeeding rector appears to have been Ralph de Ivinghoe. No record of Ralph's appointment has been found to confirm Lipscomb's date of 1280, since the rolls of institutions in the archdeaconry of Buckingham for the first nine years of Bishop Oliver Sutton (in

office May 1280) are missing and there is no extant Winchester register prior to that of John de Pontissara (1282–92), nor is there a mention of Ralph as rector of Ivinghoe in the register of John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury (1279–92). In fact, Ralph's earliest mention as parson of Ivinghoe was in a taxation list of September 1294.⁶² Master Ralph de Ivinghoe was recorded acting as proctor at the institution of John de Chishull as rector of Haversham, in December 1264 at Caversham.⁶³ However, there was a Ralph de Ivinghoe recorded as becoming vicar of Chicheley in January 1265 and being replaced there in July 1266 after his death.⁶⁴ The Ralph who became rector of Ivinghoe was an official of the archdeacon of London in 1268.⁶⁵ In April 1274, it was this Ralph, presumably, who was acquiring land-rents and service in *Eltrug* and Pitstone for the sum of 100s.⁶⁶ He was recorded, in May 1282, as chancellor of St Paul's and one of the executors of the will of Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester. In the next month, at Slindon, as archdeacon and chancellor of London, he was appointed by Archbishop John Pecham of Canterbury to act, as an executor of Walter Branscombe, late bishop of Exeter, in a suit against Edmund, earl of Cornwall. In May 1284 at Harrow, he was deputed by the archbishop to represent him in a case brought by Master Salvagium de Florencia against the abbot of Glastonbury.⁶⁷ In a papal letter of June 1286, Ralph was described as an official and precentor of London⁶⁸ (at St Paul's, the precentor ranked next below the Dean).

As chancellor of St Paul's, Ralph was involved in the collection, acknowledgement, and onward transmission of ecclesiastical taxes. For example, in November 1288 and January 1289, he gave quittances to the bishops of Lincoln and of Bath and Wells for the twentieths their dioceses had paid. In February 1286, at Westminster, he was mandated to hand over to the merchants of the society of Lucca, in payment of royal debts, the arrears of the fifteenth and twentieth received from the province of Canterbury. Next day, he received quittance from Orlandinius of Podio, merchant of Lucca, for the sum of

£55.15s.1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d paid ten days previously.⁶⁹ Later that year, in October, Ralph was named one of the six vicars spiritual appointed by Bishop John de Pontissara of Winchester who was going oversea.⁷⁰ In August 1289, at Auckland, Ralph was appointed justice in the king's court at Westminster to lead a team of three to hear causes against the ministers of Eleanor of Castile, Edward's queen consort, who died in November 1290; the mandate was renewed in April 1292 and August 1293.⁷¹

King's clerk, Ralph de Ivinghoe, again presumably the rector, was recorded, in November 1293 at Westminster, as having his rental of the king's watermill at Pitstone extended from a grant at pleasure at a rent of 20s to a holding in fee simple. In a last mention in the Patent Rolls, in February 1297 at Langley, Master Ralph was included in a long list of clerics granted protection, having discharged taxes due.⁷² A record of July 1297 dealt with a complaint from Winchester to Bishop Sutton of Lincoln, who was acting as archbishop of Canterbury during avoidance, concerning unspecified actions at Ivinghoe by the archdeacon of Buckingham. In response, from the Old Temple, Sutton mandated the archdeacon of Buckingham not to exercise over the parishioners of Ivinghoe any jurisdiction granted by the pope to the bishop of Winchester but to maintain all his other rights in the parish.⁷³ Had the archdeacon been trespassing on the rights of an absentee rector who had returned to take up residence? The last record of Master Ralph de Ivinghoe was in February 1304, when he disposed of lands and rents in Little Marlow and Dorney and the advowson of Dorney church for the sum of £20.⁷⁴

Ralph must have died during 1304 since, in November, Walter de Preston was named by the Winchester authorities to the church of Ivinghoe, vacant by the death of Ralph de Ivinghoe, and was instituted in December.⁷⁵ However, in that month, the king, Edward I, directed John Dalderby, bishop of Lincoln, to admit Peter de Collingbourne to Ivinghoe, in the king's gift by virtue of the avoidance of the bishopric of Winchester.⁷⁶ Although there appears to be no record of Peter's institution

to Ivinghoe, it is certain that he displaced Walter, since later records refer to the latter as rector of Bleadon only (from 1303 to his death before 1315), with no reference to him as incumbent of the more valuable church of Ivinghoe. Moreover, the institution to Ivinghoe, in November 1313, of James de Florencia on the death of Peter de Collingbourne is on record.⁷⁷

Peter de Collingbourne, in his first mention in July 1285 at Westminster, in the Patent Rolls, was named attorney by John de Ludgershall going oversea.⁷⁸ Peter was a king's clerk who, during his career in royal service, was clerk and attorney in the Exchequer, cofferer, keeper of the queen's gold and, finally, keeper of the wardrobe for a short time in the early months of Edward II.⁷⁹ He was another pluralist appointed by direction of the king to several benefices, often during episcopal voidances. In May 1298, at Westminster, Peter was presented by the king to the church of Overstone (in 1291 taxable value £8) in the diocese of Lincoln; since he was then a clerk in minor orders, he was ordained in the major order of sub-deacon before being instituted at Brampton.⁸⁰ Then, at St Albans in April 1300, Peter was presented to Steeple Langford (in 1291 taxable at £20) in the diocese of Salisbury, to which John de Wyntonia had been presented in March 1299 and John was presented to Overstone. Following this, in February 1301, Peter and John seem to have exchanged churches again, Peter to Overstone and John to Steeple Langford.⁸¹ Next year, in April, a royal direction, repeated in September, ordered admission of Peter to Kempsey (in 1291 taxable with chapels at £26.13s.4d) in the see of Worcester, then void.⁸² A papal letter of April 1304 granted a dispensation, at the king's request, to his clerk, Peter de Collingbourne, to retain the rectory of Kempsey, held by him without being ordained priest, but ordered his ordination in that grade.⁸³

Peter accompanied Edward I to Scotland. At Stirling, in May 1304, an ex-soldier turned robber was pardoned at his instance. In December at Dunfermline, it was recorded that he had resigned from the church of Overstone

to be replaced by Adam de Collingbourne. It was in that month that the king directed Peter's admission to Ivinghoe. At Beverley in July 1306, Peter, king's clerk, was granted safe conduct to take money to Scotland to maintain the king's subjects in his service there.⁸⁴ Then, in December 1307 at Langley, he was granted protection until the Purification to go overseas with the new king, Edward II, a protection that was extended, in January 1308 at Wye, until Easter. In May 1309, at Westminster, Peter was named with four others to carry out a commission of oyer and terminer to investigate the misappropriations and other misdeeds of Ivo de Solton, the king's bailiff in the area of Macclesfield. His last appearance in the Patent Rolls was in December 1311, at Berwick-on-Tweed, when he was one of four commissioners charged with enforcing the Statute of Westminster in the counties of Worcester, Gloucester and Hereford.⁸⁵ No record has been found as to when and where Peter died and was buried, but he was obviously another official who was an absentee parson of a number of benefices, and there seems to be no particular reason that he should have been buried at Ivinghoe.

The next recorded rector is the last falling within the postulated time-frame of the effigy. This was James Sinobaldi de Florencia, presented by the bishop of Winchester, on the death of Peter de Collingbourne, and instituted in November 1313, as noted earlier. James earliest mention was in September 1305, as bishop's proctor at the papal curia.⁸⁶ In April 1306, he and Walter de Preston were among the executors of the will of Bishop John de Pontissara and, in April 1307, he was not distrained on as an executor because he was then at the papal court.⁸⁷ In his next mention, in October 1313, James, staying oversea, nominated Geoffrey de Titchfield as his attorney for one year.⁸⁸ From these and other entries in various records, he made many trips and spent much time oversea on royal and ecclesiastical business, in particular at the papal curia.⁸⁹ He was recorded as parson of Ivinghoe, also archdeacon of Winchester and prebendary of St Laurence in Romsey, in November 1315 at Clipstone, when he was granted protection for

one year.⁹⁰ James was another pluralist – on a grand scale – as well as a foreigner. A papal letter of March 1317 authorized him “provision of a canonry of Lincoln, with reservation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he is archdeacon of Winchester, canon and prebendary of Florence and Romsey, rector of Ivinghoe and Brightwell in the dioceses of Lincoln and Salisbury, and elsewhere out of England, and expects a benefice in Winchester”.⁹¹ His last mention, in November 1324 at Westminster, granted him protection until midsummer to go oversea on the king's business with John Salmon, bishop of Norwich.⁹² James had resigned from Ivinghoe before March 1318 and, probably, died abroad, late in or after 1324; there seems little likelihood that he, or any one of his de Florencia successors at Ivinghoe, was buried there.⁹³

If the Ivinghoe effigy is that of a rector and within the time-frame late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, the records suggest that the subject could be either Peter Chaceporc, if it is assumed that the figure was not made until some time after his death, or Ralph de Ivinghoe. Here it may be pointed out that surviving tomb effigies of thirteenth/fourteenth-century ecclesiastics, other than those of high-ranking and therefore rich, archbishops, bishops and abbots, are rare (there is only one other tomb effigy of a priest in Buckinghamshire, a fourteenth-century one at Woughton-on-the-Green).⁹⁴ Peter was certainly rich enough and Ralph probably, but both were absentees holding offices elsewhere, while Peter also held many other parsonages. Against Peter too is the record of his burial at Boulogne. In Ralph's favour are that his suffix indicates that he was from a local Ivinghoe family and that it was probably he who acquired property in the vicinity before becoming rector; these make it likely that he retired, died, and was buried there. Ralph seems such an obvious candidate that it is most surprising that the effigy was not ascribed to him by any commentator in the past. This makes it more difficult to reject the thirteenth-century date for the effigy postulated by all those venturing a date, from Browne Willis in the mid-eighteenth century to Pevsner in 1960,

except the R.C.H.M. in 1913, and the ascription to Peter, made by Browne Willis and accepted by a majority of more recent writers. However, if the ascription to Peter is to be taken seriously despite his recorded burial in Boulogne, it is necessary to enter the realms of speculation as to the circumstances which could have led to his effigy being in the church

at Ivinghoe; this speculation is, more appropriately, relegated to the Appendix.

To repeat – the lack of documentary evidence precludes unequivocal resolution of the puzzle of the identity of the subject of the Ivinghoe effigy, whatever its precise date and whether or not it represents a local rector.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The author wishes to thank sincerely Dr. Marjorie Chibnall FSA for encouragement in the preparation of this paper, Dr. Michael Oates for going out of his way to identify the stone of the effigy, and Dr. Nicholas Bennett for kindly supplying information from the Lincoln Cathedral Library, as well as Dr. John Blair

FSA for helpful comment, and Messrs. John Meloy and David Robertson of Aldenham for drawing attention to the publication by W. Briggs and F.K. Gibbs. Opinions, conclusions and errors remain the responsibility of the author.

APPENDIX.

How the Effigy came to Ivinghoe from Ravenstone – a “Fanciful” Tale?

If the Ivinghoe effigy is, indeed, that of Peter Chaceporc, its possible date and Peter's untimely death argue against it having been put in hand by Peter himself. Who then ordered the figure and how did it come to be where it is? It seems unlikely that Peter had had some particular attachment to Ivinghoe, even if he had contributed significantly enough to the building of the church as to be considered the founder. His other local churches, at Aldenham and Tring, also retain features from around his time. Most likely, his dying wishes, confided to King Henry, concerned the priory he had intended to found at Ravenstone. Repatriation of his body for reburial there is not likely. It could be that the effigy was ordered by Henry for a cenotaph there of the true founder, his departed friend, in fulfilment of a death-bed wish; such an action would be consonant with all that we know of Henry's character, particularly if payment for the effigy came from Peter's bequest. Or was it ordered and similarly paid for by his brother and heir, Sir Hugh Chaceporc? A third possibility is that the figure was ordered by a prior of Ravenstone. In any of these cases, there could have been a sufficient lapse of time between Peter's death and the making of the effigy to bring it close to, or later than, Gardner's date of c.1270 for an early stone effigy with the double-cushion feature.

pression was proposed by Cardinal Wolsey and authorized by a bull of Pope Clement VII, dated April 1524, on condition that the “founder” should consent and that the proceeds should be at the disposal of the Church. This bull received the royal assent in October 1524.⁹⁵ In principle, Wolsey then arranged for the king, Henry VIII, to be declared the “founder” and the king then transferred the lands and goods of these houses to the cardinal to endow his proposed foundations of St Frideswide's College at Oxford (later Christchurch) and a college (aborted after his fall) at his home-town of Ipswich. The priory at Ravenstone was certified in February 1525 as having been dissolved on 17 February 1524.⁹⁶ There had been only the prior, Henry Cockys, two canons and two servants, but not until 1530 was it recorded that the four latter had been paid off with 20s apiece.⁹⁷ The pension arrangements that obtained at the major dissolutions later had apparently not been put in place by 1530. According to Lipscomb, Browne Willis presumed that the prior might have become a canon of St Stephen's College at Westminster.⁹⁸ If the Ravenstone community had been dispersed in 1524, it is strange that the prior of Ravenstone figures, by office but not by name, in a list dated 1529 of ecclesiastics invited to attend a convocation of the province of Canterbury.⁹⁹

If the figure was originally at Ravenstone, how could it have come to Ivinghoe? Ravenstone Priory was one of the small, decayed, houses whose sup-

If it is difficult to decide precisely when the priory community was actually dispersed, as distinct from the certified date of dissolution, there is further diffi-

culty in following the records of disposals of the priory buildings and lands. The lands were recorded, in February 1525, as being leased by Wolsey to George Throkmorton at a rent of 100 marks yearly, the rent being payable to the dean of St Frideswide's College, Oxford, 10 marks being allowed for finding someone to sing (say masses) in the church and the priory to be kept in repair.¹⁰⁰ Recorded in April 1528 was a proposal by the Ipswich college to dispose of the priory lands to Sir Francis Bryan.¹⁰¹ In December 1528, records show Sir George Throkmorton relinquishing the manor of Ravenstone to Wolsey in exchange for lands elsewhere, with Wolsey and the dean of the Oxford college apparently leasing the priory premises to Sir George's son, Robert.¹⁰²

After Wolsey's attainder, late in 1529, the site and lands fell to the king. In February 1530, the non-cooperation of the priory tenants with officials sent to survey their holdings was recorded.¹⁰³ Probably at the same time, the priory bells and other movables were removed and sold and the canons paid off. The Oxford college received a total of £72 from Ravenstone in that year.¹⁰⁴ In July 1530, the lands were apparently assigned by the king to Sir Francis Bryan for £88.5s.4¼d.¹⁰⁵ However, in September 1532, the king granted the site of the priory, a watermill and the advowson of Ravenstone parish church, plus all messuages in Ravenstone, to the use of the dean of the college of St George at Windsor.¹⁰⁶ Finally, in March 1535, the foundation site, precinct, watermill, messuages and rents were granted to Sir Francis Bryan.¹⁰⁷

It seems unlikely that significant dismantling of the priory church occurred while the Oxford or Windsor colleges were involved, since the former at least stated an intention to find a use for the priory buildings, including the church. It seems probable that the church fabric, and fixed features not readily

salable, remained substantially intact at any rate until Sir Francis Bryan came into possession in 1535.

Could an effigy have been removed at some time during these transfers, before the destruction of the church, of which no stone now remains in situ? At that time, the advowson of Ivinghoe belonged to Ashridge College, which was not itself dissolved until November 1539.¹⁰⁸ The canons of Ravenstone and the brothers at Ashridge had in common that they all followed the rule of St Augustine. The last rector of Ashridge, from 1529, was a man in good odour with Henry VIII – Thomas Waterhouse who, after dissolution of the college, became rector of Quainton and remained a strong traditionalist to the end of his days in 1554, piously preserving mementoes of his earlier life which figured in his will.¹⁰⁹ It would be in keeping for Thomas Waterhouse to have had the effigy removed from Ravenstone. But was it taken to Ashridge and from there moved to Ivinghoe after the dissolution of the college (as the screen and monument with effigies of Sir Robert Whittingham and his wife, as well as the Verney altar tomb and brasses, were moved to the church at Aldbury?)¹¹⁰ The church at Ashridge must already have been cluttered with the tombs of benefactors and there would have been little to be gained by adding that of Peter. More likely, Thomas Waterhouse, with the assistance of the priory-appointed vicar of Ravenstone, John Holden (1522–1575), and the then vicar of Ivinghoe, either Thomas Woodmancey (vicar 1519 to 1532) or Gabriel Power (vicar 1532 to 1554), had the effigy removed directly from Ravenstone to Ivinghoe church, of which Peter was one-time rector and reputedly founder.¹¹¹ There it rests, scarred by casual vandalism rather than deliberate mutilation, fittingly if incidentally in the founder's position on the north side of the chancel, in a convenient recess previously designed to house an Easter sepulchre.

REFERENCES

1. Norris, H., *Church Vestments. Their Origin & Development*. (Dent, 1949) 18, 78f, *passim*. Mayo, J., *History of Ecclesiastical Dress*. (Batsford, 1984) 46, 61, 131ff, 141ff. 155, *passim*. Crossley, F. H., *English Church Monuments 1150–1550*. (Batsford, 1921) 38, 177f.
2. Lipscomb, G., *History & Antiquities of Buckinghamshire*. (1847) Vol. 3, 391ff.
3. Lysons, D. & S., *Magna Britannia* (1813) Vol. 1, Pt. 3, 587f. J. S. B., *Gentleman's Magazine* (1812) Pt. 1, 209f, 315ff.
4. Kelke, W. H., *Rec. Bucks.* Vol. 1 (1854) 77ff. *Rec. Bucks.* Vol. 3 (1870) 20. Sheahan, J. J., *History & Topography of Buckinghamshire*. (1862) 696ff.
5. Fowler, H., *Transactions of St Albans Architectural & Archaeological Society*. (1892) 24ff. Wauton, A. E. *Rec. Bucks.* Vol. 7 (1897) 472f.
6. Gurney, F. G., *Rec. Bucks.* Vol. 10 (1916) 259ff.
7. *Royal Commission on Historic Monuments. Buckinghamshire North*. (1913) 46, 156
8. Pevsner, N., *Buildings of England, Buckinghamshire*. (Penguin, 1960) 178f.
9. Tummers, H. A., *Early Secular Effigies in England: The 13th Century*. (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1980) 6, 9.
10. *ibid.* 4, 89f, 99.
11. Gardner, A., *English Medieval Sculpture*. (CUP, 1951) 208ff, *passim*. Stone, L., *Sculpture in Britain, Middle Ages*. (Penguin, 1955) 141ff, *passim*.

12. Tummers., *op. cit.* 8.
13. Devon, F., *Issues of the Exchequer from Henry III to Henry VI.* (Rec. Off. 1837) 99. Gardner. *op. cit.* Figs. 422/4. Stone., *op. cit.* Plates 108/9.
14. Tummers., *op. cit.* 8.
15. *ibid.* 144. Gardner. *op. cit.* Fig. 321.
16. Stone. *op. cit.* 149.
17. Tummers. *op. cit.* 44ff.
18. *ibid.* 48, *passim*, plates. Gardner. *op. cit.* 218, Fig. 431. Stone. *op. cit.* 147, Plate 112.
19. Tummers. *op. cit.* 4, 128.
20. Gardner. *op. cit.* 208. Fig. 410. Pevsner, N., *Buildings of England, Herefordshire.* (Penguin, 1977) 41, 218. Plate 27. 21. Tummers. *op. cit.* 22.
22. *ibid.* 8.
23. *Dictionary of National Biography.* Vol. 9, 563ff. Kelke (see note 4).
24. Todd, H. J., *History of the College of Bonhommes at Ashridge.* (1823) 18, 23., *Victoria County History. Bucks.* Vol. 1 (1905), 389ff.
25. Todd. *op. cit.* 21.
26. Cocks, A. H., *Rec. Bucks.* Vol. 9 (1909) 143.
27. Powell, D., *VCH Bucks.* Vol. 3 (1925) 383. Contemporary documents refer to Peter Chaceporc (and variants such as Peter Cacheporc) and to Peter de Chaceporc. The former is preferred in this paper since the cognomen does not appear to have been territorial.
28. Esdaile, K. A., *Rec. Bucks.* Vol. 15 (1947–52) 40.
29. Phillimore, W. P. W. (ed.), *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles Episcopi Lincolnensis 1209–1235.* (Lincoln Record Society. Vol. 6) 3, 54., *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232–47.* 249. Davis, F. N. (ed.), *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste Ep Lin 1235–53, necnon Rotulus Henrici de Lexington Ep Lin 1254–58.* (LRS Vol. 11) 357.
30. *Annales Monastici. Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia.* (Rolls Series) Vol. 3. 56.
31. DNB. Vol. 15, 938ff. Wykes, Thomas., *Ann. Mon. Chronicon Vulgo Diction Chronicon Thomae Wykes.* (RS) Vol. 4. 76. Paris, Matthew., *Chronica Majora.* (RS) Vol. 3. 289. Wendover, Roger de., *Flores Historianum.* (RS) Vol. 3. 88.
32. *Rec. Bucks.* Vol. 13 (1934–40). 246.
33. Cook, G. H., *Mediaeval Chuntries & Chantry Chapels.* (Phoenix House, 1953) 4f.
34. *Calendar of Liberate Rolls 1245–51.* 128. *Cal Pat 1232–47.* 311.
35. Bliss, W. H. (ed.), *Calendar of Papal Registers. Papal Letters 1198–1304.* (HMSO, 1893) Vol. 1. 154.
36. *Calendar of Close Rolls 1237–42.* 176.
37. *Cal Lib 1226–40.* 454. It is assumed the “sterling” mark (marc) is meant, equivalent to two-thirds of an English pound or 13s. 4d. (weighing thus approximately 303 grammes), rather than the marc of Paris or Troyes equating to one-half of the French “strong” livre or two-thirds of the French “weak” livre (weighing thus about 245 grammes). No meaningful 1991 equivalent in purchasing power of the 13th century mark can be quoted.
38. Paris, Matthew., *Chronica Majora.* (RS) Vol. 5, 179, 335., *DNB.*, Vol. 3, 1339f. Tout, T. F. Chapters in Medieval Administrative History. (MUP, 1923–5). Consult index in vol 6 under Peter de Chaceporc.
39. *Cal Lib 1245–51.* 57, 59, 258, 279, 368.
40. *ibid.* 303, 307, 312, 369., *Cal Pat 1247–58.* 79. Paris, Matthew., *Chronica Majora.* (RS) Vol. 6, 53f.
41. *Ann. Mon. Ann. de Dunstaplia.* (RS) Vol. 3. 100.
42. Paris, Matthew., *Chronica Majora.* (RS) Vol. 4, 86f, 134. Paris, Matthew., *Historia Anglorum.* (RS) Vol. 2, 445., *Cal Pat 1232–47.* 244, 246., *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV circa 1291.* (Record Commission, 1802). Taxable values of benefices are there given in £. s. d. See index for relevant church.
43. *Feet of Fines.* Herts. Henry III. 326. Referenced in W. Briggs & F. K. Gibbs., *Parish Registers of Aldenham.* (1910). 300.
44. Davis, F. N. (ed.), *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend Ep Lin 1258–1279.* (LRS. Vol. 20) 169, 316. Bliss. *op. cit.* Vol. 1, 366.
45. *Cal Pat 1232–47.* 247, 249. Davis, see Note 29.
46. Davis, F. N. (ed), *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste.* (LRS. Vol. 11) 298.
47. *Cal Close 1242–7.* 59.
48. *Cal Pat 1232–47.* 267, 330, 423, 448., *Cal Pat 1247–58.* 167, 241, 394.
49. Bliss. *op. cit.* Vol. 1. 202, 273, 274, 300.
50. *Cal Pat 1247–58.* 251, 259, 366. 51. Bliss. *op. cit.* Vol 1, 300.
52. *Cal Close 1242–7.* 182, 313, 315, 328, 419, 523., *Cal Close 1247–51.* 303, 490, 491., *Cal Close 1251–3.* 5, 109, 136, 285, 293.
53. Paris, Matthew., *Historia Anglorum.* (RS) Vol. 3, 342f. Paris, Matthew., *Chronica Majora.* (RS) Vol. 5, 483f, 535, 691.
54. Hagerty, R. P., ‘Peter de Wintonia, Parson of Crawley’. *Rec. Bucks.* Vol. 31 (1989) 94. In his turn, this Peter became dean of Tettenhall by direction of King Henry III.
55. *Cal Pat 1247–58.* 388.
56. Hughes, M. W. (ed.), *Calendar of Feet of Fines for Buckinghamshire 7 Richard I/ 44 Henry III.* (Bucks Arch Soc, Record Section Vol. 4) 85.
57. *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1226–57.* 447.
58. *Cal Pat 1247–58.* 413, 441.
59. Tout. *op. cit.* See index in Vol 6 under John de Chishull. *DNB.* Vol. 4, 264f.
60. *Cal Close 1256–9.* 97, 260, 394. (Oaks total 19), *Cal Close 1259–61.* 47, 239, 410. (Oaks total 6), *Cal Close 1261–4.* 52, 169. (Oaks total 10), *Cal Close 1268–72.* 370. Davis, F. N. (ed.), *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend.* (LRS. Vol. 20) 247, 253.
61. *ibid.* 239., *DNB.* Vol. 21, 178f.
62. *Cal Pat 1292–1301.* 95.
63. Davis, F. N. (ed.), *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend.* (LRS. Vol. 20) 239, 340.
64. *ibid.* 239, 242.
65. Hill, R. M. T. (ed.), *Rolls & Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280–1299.* (LRS. Vol. 39). 78, 90.
66. Travers, A. (ed), *Calendar of Feet of Fines for Buckinghamshire 1259–1307.* (Bucks Record Society, Vol. 25) No 192.
67. Davis, F. N. (ed.), *Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury.* (Canterbury & York Society. Vol. 64) 182f. Douie, D. (ed.), *Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury.* (CYS. Vol.

- 65) 45f, 72f.
68. Bliss. *op. cit.* Vol 1, 489.
69. *Cal Pat 1281-92*. 222f, 303, 311. According to Stone (*op. cit.* 143), the effigy of Eleanor was gilded with gold obtained by melting down florins obtained from the merchants of Lucca.
70. Deedes, C. (ed), *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara 1262-1304*. (CYS. Vol. 19) 329.
71. *Cal Pat 1281-92*. 51, 484., *Cal Pat 1292-1301*. 49.
72. *ibid.* 52, 236.
73. Hill, R. M. T. (ed)., *Rolls & Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton*. (LRS. Vol. 64) 12.
74. Travers. *op. cit.* No 557.
75. Deedes. *op. cit.* 180., *Register of John Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln 1300-20*. Lincoln Cathedral Library. 2 fo 177.
76. *Cal Pat 1301-07*, 303.
77. *Register of John Dalderby*. 2 fo 185v.
78. *Cal Pat 1281-92*, 179.
79. Tout. *op. cit.* See index in Vol 6 under Peter de Collingbourne.
80. *Cal Pat 1292-1301*, 349. Hill. R. M. T. (ed)., *R & R of Bishop Sutton 1280-1299*. (LRS. Vol. 43) 148.
81. *Cal Pat 1292-1301*. 397, 505, 564.
82. *Cal Pat 1301-07*, 29, 63. 83. Bliss. *op. cit.* Vol 1, 615.
84. *Cal Pat 1301-7*, 206, 224, 450.
85. *Cal Pat 1307-13*, 25, 35, 172, 329.
86. Goodman, A. W. (ed)., *Registrum Henrici Woodlock Diocesis Wintoniensis AD 1305-16*. (CYS. Vol. 43) 42.
87. *ibid.* (CYS. Vol. 44) 909, 924f.
88. *Cal Pat 1313-17*. 20.
89. *ibid.* 572, 602. 609., *Cal Pat 1317-21*. 406, 417., *Cal Pat 1321-4*. 48, 439, 441., *Cal Pat 1324-7*. 14, 16.
90. *Cal Pat 1313-17*. 365.
91. Bliss. *op. cit.* Vol 2, 1305-42. 142f.
92. *Cal Pat 1324-7*. 49.
93. James de Florencia resigned from Ivinghoe to be succeeded by Reyner Rembertinus de Florencia in March 1318. (*Register of John Dalderby* 2 fol 190). Reyner resigned late in 1319 and was succeeded by Joventius Lami de Florencia in March 1320., *Cal Pat 1317-21*. 402, 407., *Register of John Dalderby*. 2 fol 351). On resignation of Joventius, he was succeeded by Jacobus Francisci de Florencia in April 1321., *Register of John Dalderby* 4 fol 325v). The next rector according to Lipscomb was William de Pakington, instituted in 1372.
94. R. C. H. M. *op. cit.* 46, 347. Described as crude and in clunch, "probably" fourteenth century. The flowing treatment of the vestments compared to the stiff treatment on the Ivinghoe effigy is an indicator of a later date. The hair of the Woughton figure could be taken for a wig.
95. *Letters & Papers of Henry VIII*. Vol. 4, Pt. 1, No. 697.
96. *ibid.* Nos 650, 1137.
97. *L & P. Henry VIII*. Vol. 4, Pt. 3, No 6222.
98. Lipscomb. *op. cit.* Vol. 4, 314.
99. *L & P. Henry VIII*. Vol. 4, Pt. 3. Page 2698.
100. *L & P. Henry VIII*. Vol. 4, Pt. 1, No 1087.
101. *L & P. Hery VIII*. Vol. 4, Pt. 2, No 4229.
102. *ibid.* No 4917. No 5024.
103. *L & P. Henry VIII*. Vol. 4, Pt. 3, No 6217.
104. *ibid.* No 6788.
105. *ibid.* No 6516.
106. *L & P. Henry VIII*. Vol. 5. No 1351.
107. *L & P. Henry VIII*. Vol. 8, No 481-31.
108. Todd. *op. cit.* 25. Dissolution was on St Leonard's day (November 6) in 1539, the year before that during which Thomas Cromwell was executed. VCH Bucks. Vol. 1, 387., VCH Bucks Vol. 3, 386ff.
109. Todd, *op. cit.*, 24f.
110. Pevsner, N., *Buildings of England, Hertfordshire*. (Penguin, 1977). 65. Coult. D., *Prospect of Ashridge*. (Phillimore, 1980) 49f. Coult says the Verney memorials and screen were transferred in 1575, by Sir Edmund Verney, and set up in the Pendley chapel he created in Aldbury church. Pevsner says the effigies of Sir Robert Whittingham of Pendley and his wife were transferred at the same time. The chapel is floored with medieval tiles said to be from Ashridge.
111. Lipscomb. *op. cit.* Vol. 4, 3, 320. 393.