

## A Late Thirteenth-Century Tile-Pavement at Cleeve Abbey

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THE magnificent tile-pavement, which is preserved on the site of the old refectory at Cleeve Abbey, has never received the attention which it deserves. Both for its intrinsic merit and for the light which it throws upon the development and chronology of the tile-wright's craft in thirteenth-century Somerset it deserves a study more complete than that which it can here receive. The writer has not, for example, been able to provide an illustration of the complete pavement; and the list of other Somerset finds is sadly incomplete. Nevertheless the following brief article may at least serve to draw attention to some important aspects of the subject, and to suggest further lines of detailed research. It could not have been prepared without the continued help of Mr. A. W. Vivian-Neal and of Mr. H. St. George Gray, to both of whom the writer is deeply indebted. Mr. J. F. Lawrence kindly provided tracings of some of the tiles preserved in Bridgwater Museum, and Dr. F. C. Eeles confirmed a number of points at Cleeve itself and in the neighbourhood.

The Cistercian Abbey of Cleeve, near Dunster, in West Somerset, was founded *circa* 1188 by William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln, who planted here a small colony of monks from Revesby in Lincolnshire. Before the end of the thirteenth century the church and other essential buildings had been completed, and in 1297 the number of monks was increased. Of the original buildings the church has vanished. At the close of the fifteenth century the old refectory, which projected southward from the south range of the cloister after the normal Cistercian plan, was replaced by the fine existing hall, which is unusual in that it runs from east to west. The area occupied by the old refectory lay largely to the south of the later buildings, and when the site was excavated many years ago, the greater part of the original thirteenth-century paving was found still in position. It had been much worn, and in many

places patched with later tiles. It is, however, exactly in the condition in which it was abandoned in the fifteenth century, and it still represents substantially the original thirteenth-century lay-out.

The tiles are inlaid sufficiently deeply to have retained a sharp outline despite two centuries of wear. The stamps from which they were made were boldly cut. There are slips of detail, but the general effect is striking enough. Three of the designs are unusually large, about 8 in. square, the remainder of normal 5-in. size. The lay-out is described in detail by J. R. Bramble, 'Notes on a recently discovered pavement at the Abbey of Old Cleeve, Somerset', *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, xxxiii (1877), 456-67 (the accompanying illustration, to which his text refers, does not seem to have been included).<sup>1</sup> It falls into a seemingly rather haphazard series of bands of pattern running from east to west across the hall and stopping about 5 ft. short of either wall against some feature now vanished. The northernmost zone, over 14 ft. broad, consists of large squares set obliquely and separated from each other by narrow, plain tiles. Each square consists of sixteen tiles, and seems to have contained originally designs Nos. 1 and 2 (? No. 3 also) in alternate squares. The strip, 27 in. wide, dividing this zone from the next zone to the south, consists of single large tiles, Nos. 2 and 3, set obliquely and separated from each other by narrow, plain tiles. It is itself bounded by narrow, plain border-tiles, running east and west. The second zone, which is 89 in. across, resembles the first, save that the squares consist of four tiles only, Nos. 4 and 7 in alternate squares. It is bounded by a narrow strip, 16 in. wide, with a narrow, plain border. It consists of whole and half tiles of designs Nos. 1-3, set obliquely without intervening plain tiles. The southernmost zone extends at least 7 ft. and consists like the first of squares of sixteen tiles, Nos. 5 and 6 in alternate squares, each square being separated from the next by a narrow plain border. The individual tiles have been very largely relaid, and in some cases replaced by tiles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In its broad outlines, however, the pavement undoubtedly forms a single, homo-

<sup>1</sup> The pavement was also described by Edmund Buckle, *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, xxxv, ii, 88-91.

geneous whole, and there can be no doubt but that it retains the general plan of the original lay-out.

Of the seven designs (Plates I and II) represented in the original pavement, five display coats of arms or badges. The significance of one of these, No. 5, has not, in this context, been established. It may, perhaps, be identified with Vaux or Moulton, or even with St. Barbe of South Brent. The badge, which surmounts the shield, a castle, is an unexpected feature,<sup>2</sup> but it occurs in conjunction with the same coat on another Somerset tile, found at Muchelney and elsewhere in the county. The four remaining armorial designs are all connected with the family of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall, and of his son, Edmund. They are :

- (i) No. 1. The Royal Arms of England as borne by Richard's brother, Henry III.
- (ii) No. 2. *Argent, a lion rampant gules crowned or, within a bordure sable bezanty* (i.e. Poitou within a bordure Cornwall), borne by Richard and by his son, Edmund.
- (iii) No. 4. *Or, a double-headed eagle displayed sable*, borne by Richard as King of the Romans, and occasionally by his son, Edmund.
- (iv) No. 3. The three chevrons of the family of de Clare.

Richard was born in 1209, the second son of King John. In 1225 he was created Earl of Cornwall and Poitou, and in 1257 he was elected King of the Romans. He died in 1272 and was succeeded in the earldom by his son, on whose death in 1300 it became extinct. By his first marriage in 1231 to Isabella, daughter of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and widow of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, Richard was distantly connected with the Clares. She died, however, in 1240, and these tiles were evidently made after Richard's election as King of the Romans in 1257. A more direct connection with the Clares was that of his son, who in 1272 married Margaret, daughter of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. It can hardly be in doubt that the de Clare arms

<sup>2</sup> This badge should be compared with that on his seal surmounting the arms of Simon de Montacute of Shepton Montague, Somerset, *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals, 1301*, p. 124. *De Walden Library*, pub. 1904.

represented on these tiles are those of Edmund's wife, and that the tiles belong therefore to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, between 1272 and 1300. They are thus roughly contemporary with the tiles from the Beauchamp Chapel, Stoke-under-Ham, which was built in the time of Edward I. (See *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, xxxv, 1889, ii, 127.)

(For the career and family of Richard and of his son, and for the arms which they bore, see Dr. G. Dru Drury in the *Proceedings, Dorset Natural History and Archæol. Society*, xlviii, 1926, 20-3, discussing the interesting and puzzling thirteenth-century steelyard weights which bear the coats-of-arms of Richard and of his son. The four devices which appear in this pavement are all found commonly on this series of weights.)

During the thirteenth century the royal house evinced a special interest in Cleeve Abbey. King Henry III gave the manor of Braunton, co. Devon, to 'the abbot and convent of Clyve' in 1228; and his brother, Richard, made a free benefaction of 'Pochewill (Poughill), Treglastan (or Treglasta in the parish of Altarnun), and Pundestoke (? Poundstock)' co. Cornwall, already in possession of the abbey, adding unusual and valuable privileges. (*Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, vi, 1855, 25-6). Richard's gift was made in 1235, and was by consideration of charity, and for the health of his soul, and of all his ancestors and successors. It is clear, therefore, that Edmund had a personal connection with the abbey: prayers for him must have been offered there, and he may have made some grant towards the completion of the monastic buildings, perhaps indeed of the refectory in which these tiles were laid.

The pavement is evidently a unit, and it was almost certainly made locally. The stamps, however, fall into two distinct groups. The larger designs, Nos. 1-3, are found only at Cleeve and at Bridgwater Friary, which was founded in the mid-thirteenth century, whereas the smaller tiles, Nos. 4-7, are distributed widely in Somerset and are found as far afield as Tintern. Both groups follow the familiar Wessex tradition, and closely related designs are found on a number of Somerset sites. The distinction may perhaps be one of size only. The larger tiles did not fit easily into the standard floor-pattern of the late thirteenth century. On the other hand it is possible

that the three larger designs were cut specially to complete a set which had come into the hands of the tile-wright charged with paving the Cleeve refectory. In the absence of further evidence it is hardly possible to decide between the alternatives. In either case it is clear from the limited distribution of some of the designs that the tiles themselves were made locally, and the wide diffusion of a certain number of these is therefore a matter of some interest. Few of the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century tiles are found outside an area within a few miles of Cleeve Abbey, to which they would naturally have been carried either in monastic times or after the Dissolution. On the other hand, not only do the designs of the thirteenth-century tiles at Cleeve fall closely into line with traditions current over a large part of southern England, but the actual stamps were employed on a number of sites elsewhere in Somerset and as far afield as Tintern Abbey.

Both in technique and in design the thirteenth-century tiles of Somerset resemble closely those of South Wiltshire, of which the tiles from the kiln at Clarendon (1234-36)<sup>3</sup> and those formerly in the Chapter House of Salisbury Cathedral (built 1263-84)<sup>4</sup> may be accepted as typical dated examples. The precise origin of this distinctive group of tiles is not yet certain. It is, however, clear that central Wessex was the first home of the inlaid-tile industry in southern England; and there can be no doubt of the wide diffusion of the types which were established there—in the first instance into Hampshire and Somerset and thence as far afield as Gloucester, Exeter, and Tintern, and subsequently into the Upper Thames,<sup>5</sup> the southern Midlands,<sup>6</sup> and the Middle Severn Valley.<sup>7</sup>

Viewed in the light of this development, the large series of designs at Cleeve (nearly a hundred different designs) fall into

<sup>3</sup> Not yet published.

<sup>4</sup> H. Shaw, *Specimens of Tile-Pavements* (1858), Plates XXIII-IV; F. Stevens, 'The Inlaid Paving Tiles of Wilts.' *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xlvii (1936).

<sup>5</sup> E. C. Hohler, 'Medieval Tiles of Buckinghamshire', *Records of the Bucks. Arch. Soc.*, xiv (1941), 5

<sup>6</sup> P. B. Chatwin, 'The Medieval Patterned Tiles of Warwickshire', *Trans. and Proc., Birmingham Arch. Soc.*, lx, (1936).

<sup>7</sup> H. Shaw, *op. cit.*, Plate XXXI, No. 1, from the Old Singing School, Worcester Cathedral; cf. Nos. 2-4 of the same plate, from Oxford, from Great Bedwyn and from Overton (Hants).

a natural and coherent sequence. Four main chronological groups of tiles may be distinguished:

- (a). INLAID TILES, technically indistinguishable from those of thirteenth-century South Wiltshire. The designs also are, almost without exception, drawn from the same source. *c.* 1250–1300.
- (b). INLAID TILES, technically identical with Group 1. The designs of these also are based on those of Group 1, but show considerable local modification and are not found outside the area immediately adjoining west and central Somerset. *c.* 1300–50, or later.
- (c). INLAID TILES, stamped less deeply than before. The designs, in many cases heraldic, bear little relation to preceding types and, though not in general dissimilar to those of later medieval tiles elsewhere, have a strictly limited, local distribution. *c.* 1350–1500.
- (d). PRINTED TILES. Rare (two specimens only at Cleeve) and late. Sixteenth century.

The two later groups lie outside the scope of this article. It is, however, worth noting in passing that the achievements of the mid-fifteenth-century tilers who wrought the pavements at Great Malvern or of Richard Canynge's house at Bristol found no echo in western Somerset. The late medieval tiles in this area are of uniformly poor quality; and it is only with the closing years of monasticism that there is any trace of fresh inspiration. In a number of churches as far afield as North Devon there are to be found printed tiles, the designs of which in some cases bear unmistakable traces of Renaissance decorative ideas. The workmanship is indifferent but the technique is new, and it would be interesting to know whence they were derived. These printed tiles belong probably to the early sixteenth century, or at earliest to the close of the fifteenth century, and they were thus contemporary with the earliest of the post-medieval relief-tiles characteristic of this area (see *Archæol. Journ.*, xciv, 1938, 134, Plate III), by which they were in turn eventually supplanted.

It is with the two earlier groups that we are here concerned. The distinction between the two, though convenient, is neces-

sarily somewhat arbitrary, for it is based on the successive stages of what was in fact a continuous process of development. Thus the pavement of the original refectory at Cleeve occupies a half-way position. One of the designs (No. 7) is scarcely modified from that of a tile found at Clarendon. Of the heraldic designs, three (Nos. 1-3) are only found elsewhere at Bridgwater in this precise form—clearly made to order at a local kiln; yet all three occur in Wiltshire (e.g. at Amesbury, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xlvii, 1926, Plate IV) in so closely similar a guise that there can hardly be any doubt that at the time of their manufacture the link between the two regions was still alive. A slightly later stage of the same process may perhaps be observed at Gloucester, where three tiles, found near the high altar of the Cathedral,<sup>8</sup> are evidently copied from the larger versions of the same designs which are found at Cleeve. The remaining heraldic tiles of the Cleeve pavement (Nos. 4-5) are not found outside Somerset, except at Tintern; and whereas the double-headed eagle of Richard, King of the Romans, inevitably occurs in a somewhat similar form on a number of sites elsewhere, the chequy coat, presumably of local significance, is a fresh addition to the Wessex repertory. The last design also (No. 6) falls rather into Group 2, for, although it clearly belongs to the general Wessex tradition, the several forms in which it is found all appear to be confined to Somerset and to the immediate neighbourhood.

It is hardly necessary to remark in detail upon all the remaining designs of Group 1, which are here illustrated from Cleeve (Plates III-V, Nos. 8-19). All can be matched in central Wessex by designs similar, and in some cases identical (see below, pages 50-52). Perhaps the clearest instance of the migration and development of a design is provided by the pair of oblong tiles depicting the conflict of two armed horsemen (Plate III, Nos. 8-9). In its original form they illustrated the story of the conflict of King Richard I and Saladin and it adorned, among other sites in Wiltshire and Hampshire, the Royal Palace of Clarendon. At Cleeve the royal warriors still retain their identity, Richard with a lance and his shield emblazoned with a cross, Saladin with a scimitar and a circular

<sup>8</sup> See Lord Alwyne Compton, *Tiles*, (MS. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, London).

buckler. The same form of the design, possibly from the same stamps, is found also at Glastonbury and at Tintern. At Margam Abbey and in Gloucester Cathedral (Plate VII) it has become merely a conflict between two mounted knights; and on a pair of tiles, fragments of which have been found at Taunton Priory and Stavordale Priory (Plate III, i-iii), the original significance is still further confused by the introduction of fresh decorative elements. In the final stage, in the fourteenth century, the horsemen appear singly on square tiles of normal size.

The appearance of Richard and Saladin at Tintern and at Margam is a striking instance of the diffusion of Wessex types. They were not the only designs to find their way across the Bristol Channel. Several of the Cleeve tiles are found also at Tintern, including four, Plate II, Nos. 4-7, from the old refectory pavement, all of them made with the same stamps. It is curious that the chequy coat should have so travelled, but medieval tilers were not particular, and many heraldic designs came to acquire a purely decorative significance.

It is not the intention to explore in detail the ramifications of the tiler's art in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Somerset. That could only be undertaken with profit in conjunction with a complete documentation of specimens surviving in Somerset itself and in neighbouring counties, together with a fuller study than is yet available of the material from South Wiltshire itself. In particular we must await the publication of the results of the excavations undertaken at Clarendon Palace, near Salisbury, by Professor Tancred Borenius and Mr. John Charlton. It is at present only possible to note in general terms that the closest connections with Wiltshire are to be found, as indeed might be expected, at Muchelney Abbey in Central Somerset, and to a slightly less degree at Keynsham Abbey, near Bristol (see Plate X). Muchelney possessed, in addition, a wheel design of the rare type that is found in this country exclusively on early sites (see Cleeve, No. 16). The tiles of Cleeve and Glastonbury on the one hand and of Bristol and Gloucester on the other are generally one stage more remote from the South Wiltshire originals. The diffusion was not a simple process. The Richard-and-Saladin motif, for example, seems to have been



borrowed directly from South Wiltshire, whereas others were evidently derived at second-hand only ; and while the Somerset and the Gloucester groups seem to belong generally to slightly divergent streams of development, there are many indications of such cross-currents as that which gave Gloucester Cathedral a set of 8-in. tiles in imitation of the unusual 8-in. tiles at Cleeve (Nos. 1-3) and Bridgwater. The central fact of diffusion, however, from a common source remains clear, and it is only in the light of such a development that the early history of tile-paving in Somerset becomes intelligible.

SOME THIRTEENTH- AND EARLY FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TILES  
AT CLEEVE AND ELSEWHERE IN SOMERSET

The following lists have been compiled with the collaboration of Mr. A. W. Vivian-Neal and Mr. H. St. George Gray, except as regards the early tiles of Cleeve itself. They are in no sense complete. They represent only those sites about which the writer has been able to obtain information under wartime conditions and may serve as a guide for future, more exhaustive, compilation. References drawn from Lord Alwyne Compton's manuscript folio of tile-tracings preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London have not in all cases been verified from the originals.

Most of the tiles belonging to the two earlier groups have four deep 'keys' on the back. Those of Group 3 are without keys. So many of the specimens examined are, however, still *in situ* that it would be rash to claim that the distinction is rigid. All are inlaid. The more economical technique of printing did not find its way into Somerset until a late date and then only sparingly. The fourteenth-century tiles, however, are generally less deeply printed than those of the thirteenth century.

Once established the tile-industry took root in Somerset as it did elsewhere. The history of the craft in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is one of regional specialization. An individual tiler might take his stamps from London to Coventry or from Penn to Winchester ;<sup>9</sup> but the days were past when a single workshop could serve Chertsey in Surrey and Hales-

<sup>9</sup> Hohler, *op. cit.* : cf. *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, p. 236.

owen near Birmingham, and the same designs might reign in Reading Abbey, at Exeter or at Gloucester. Thus the line between the Worcestershire area served by Great Malvern and the region of which Warwickshire forms a part is so sharp as to be almost exclusive; <sup>10</sup> and no doubt detailed study will define many such boundaries. Cleeve was no exception. The tiles of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries form a noble series, rich in decorative and heraldic interest. They bear the marks of their wider ancestry, but they had themselves little influence outside the narrow region in which they are found. For all their intrinsic interest they cannot claim the attention given to their thirteenth-century forerunners.

Plate VII, Nos. 1-5 and Plate IX, No. 3, are drawn from Lord Alwyne Compton's folio of tile-tracings preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. Plate VIII, Nos. 1-5, Plate IX, Nos. 1, 4, 5 and Plate X, No. 3, are copied from the drawings of the late Mr. C. E. Clayton through the kindness of the Trustees of Glastonbury Abbey and of Mr. St. George Gray. In neither case has the writer been able to examine the original tiles. References to Stevens are taken from F. Stevens, 'The Inlaid Paving-Tiles of Wilts., *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xlvii; those to Greenfield from B. W. Greenfield, 'Encaustic Tiles of the Middle Ages, especially those found in South Hampshire', *Proc., Hants Field Club*, ii, 141-66.

(i) FROM THE FLOOR OF THE OLD REFECTORY, CLEEVE ABBEY

(See Plate I)

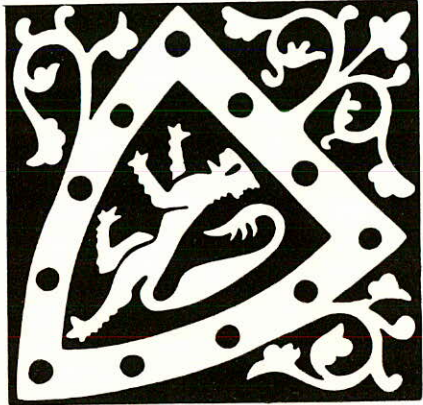
1. The Royal arms of England as borne by King Henry III.
2. The arms of Richard, Earl of Cornwall and Poitou, and of his son, Edmund.
3. The arms of de Clare, for Margaret, wife of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall.

Nos. 1-3 are found also in the Franciscan Friary, Bridgwater, founded *temp.* Henry III (in Bridgwater Museum). The size, about 8 in. square, is unusual, but all three tiles can be matched, both for size and design, by a set of tiles recorded by Compton (p. 113) from near the altar of Gloucester Cathedral. The designs appear in a very similar form on tiles of normal size in central Wessex and also in the west country. (See Plate VIII, Nos. 1-3.)

<sup>10</sup> Chatwin, *op. cit.*



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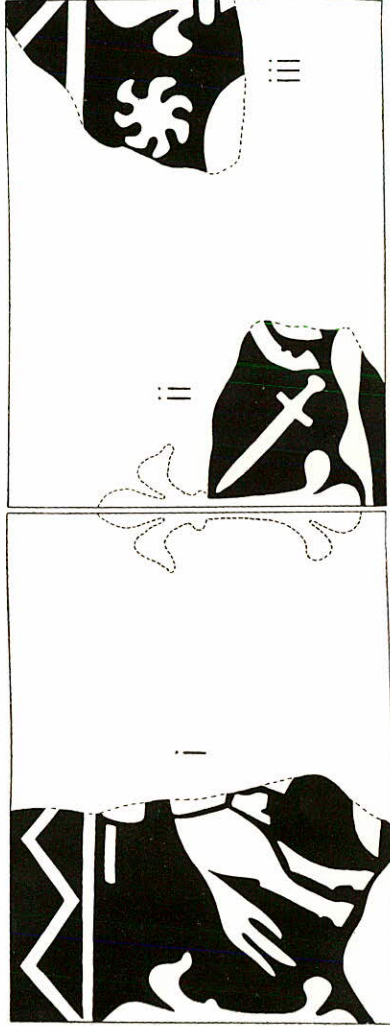
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CLEEVE ABBEY  
LARGE XIII CENTURY TILES FROM  
THE EARLY REFECTORY



8

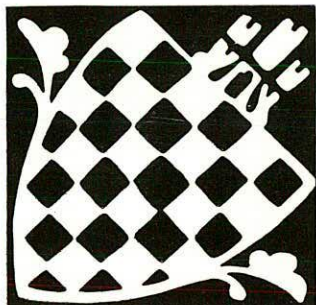
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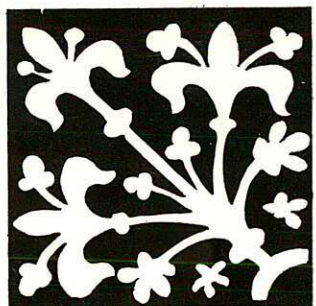
8-9 (Above), RICHARD AND SALADIN TILES, CLEEVE ABBEY  
Below, CONFLICT BETWEEN ARMED HORSEMEN,  
(i, iii), TAUNTON PRIORY, (ii), STAVORDALE PRIORY



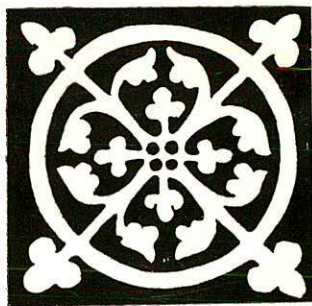
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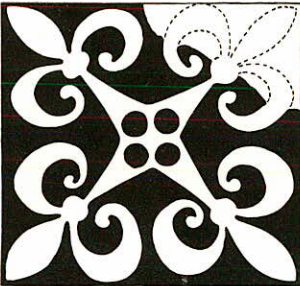
CLEEVE ABBEY  
XIII CENTURY TILES  
FROM THE EARLY REFECTORY



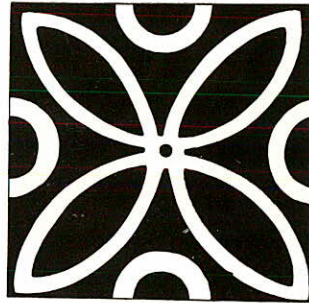
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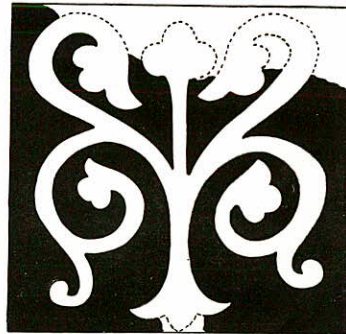
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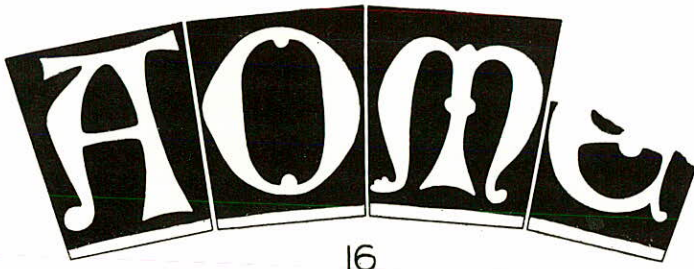


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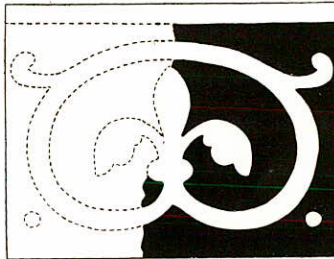
CLEEVE ABBEY  
XIII CENTURY TILES



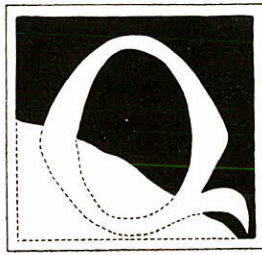
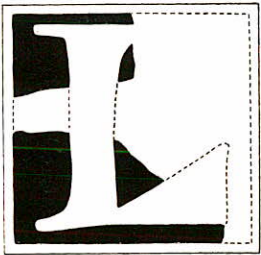
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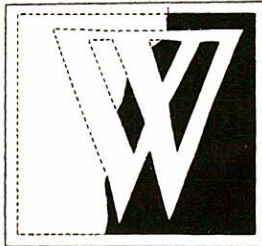
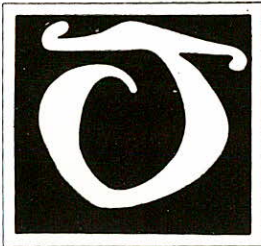
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18



19



CLEEVE ABBEY



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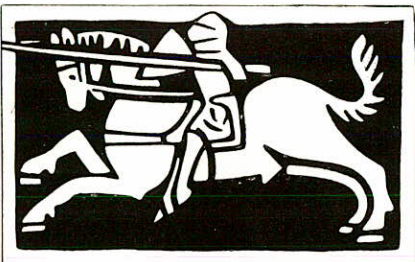
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CLEEVE ABBEY  
XIV CENTURY TILES





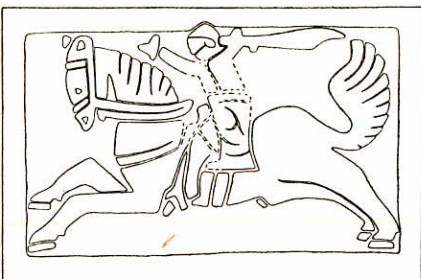
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4



5

MARGAM ABBEY (1-4), AND GLOUCESTER  
CATHEDRAL (5)



1



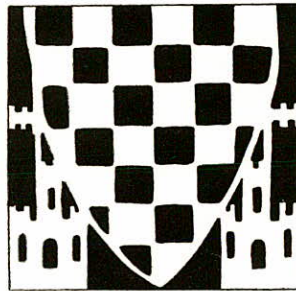
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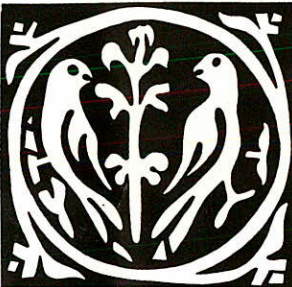
GLASTONBURY ABBEY



1



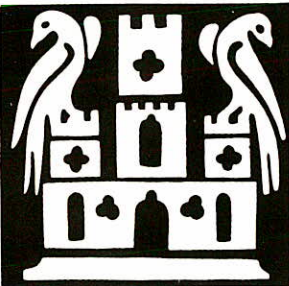
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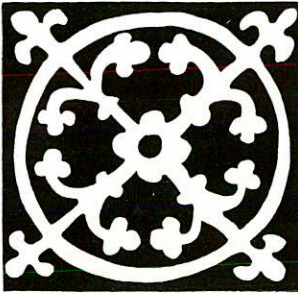


5



6

1, 4, 5, GLASTONBURY ABBEY  
2, 6, ST. NICHOLAS' CHAPEL, STOKE-UNDER-HAM  
3, MAYOR'S CHAPEL, BRISTOL



1



2



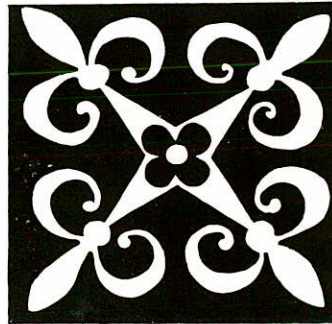
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6

1, 2, KEYNSHAM ABBEY      3, GLASTONBURY ABBEY  
4, TAUNTON PRIORY      5, ST. CROSS HOSPITAL,  
WINCHESTER      6, WEACOMBE, BICKNOLLER

(See Plate II)

4. The double-headed eagle, borne by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, as King of the Romans, 1257-72, and by his son Edmund. Found also at Bridgwater Friary (in Bridgwater Museum), at Tintern (Compton, *op. cit.*, p. 117), at Wells, in St. Bridget's Chapel, Glastonbury (in Glastonbury Museum), in the Beauchamp Chapel, Stoke-under-Ham (Somerset County Museum), and at Lyme Regis (*V. and A. Museum Guide to the Collection of Tiles*, Plate 20, D.) A variant, differing slightly in the markings on the body, is found at South Petherton and at Glastonbury (Plate VIII, No. 4).
5. Coat of arms, possibly for Vaux, Moulton, or St. Barbe. Found also at Bridgwater Friary (in Bridgwater Museum), at Tintern (Compton, *op. cit.*, p. 116), and in St. Bridget's Chapel, Glastonbury (Glastonbury Museum). The same arms and crest appear on other Somerset tiles at Glastonbury and at Muchelney Abbey.
6. Elaborate fleur-de-lis, found also at Tintern (Compton, *op. cit.*, p. 116), in the Beauchamp Chapel, Stoke-under-Ham (Somerset County Museum), at Glastonbury, and at Wells. A similar tile, also from Glastonbury (Somerset County Museum) lacks the rosettes which flank the stem on the inner corner (Plate IX, No. 1). Another variant (Plate IX, No. 2), somewhat more slender and lacking the trefoil-terminals, is found at Muchelney Abbey (in Muchelney Church), at Dunkeswell Abbey (H. Shaw, *Specimens of Tile-Pavements*, Plate xxv, 3) and in the Beauchamp Chapel, Stoke-under-Ham (Somerset County Museum).
7. Foliate design, found also at Tintern (Compton, *op. cit.*, p. 116), in St. Bridget's Chapel, Glastonbury (Glastonbury Museum) and in the Beauchamp Chapel, Stoke-under-Ham (Somerset County Museum) and at Lacock Abbey (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xxxi, 1900-1, 220, Fig. 4). It is copied closely from a common central Wessex design, found for example at Clarendon (*Antiq. Journ.*, xvi, 1936, Plate xiv) and at Amesbury (Stevens, *op. cit.*, Plate v); also in East Somerset at Keynsham Abbey (Somerset County Museum), see Plate X, No. 1.

Nos. 4-7 are of normal size, about  $4\frac{3}{4}$ -5 in. square. All four were employed in the Beauchamp Chapel at Stoke-under-Ham, built *temp.* Edward I, and also at Tintern Abbey.

(ii) THIRTEENTH-CENTURY TILES OF WESSEX TYPE PRESERVED ON THE DAIS OF THE UPPER HALL, CLEEVE ABBEY.

(See Plate III)

8-9. Richard and Saladin. This familiar and attractive tile motif appeared first in the Royal Palace of Clarendon and it was common in central Wessex, e.g. at Great Bedwyn and Amesbury, Wilts, and at Romsey, Hants. It spread thence to the west country, where it had a long and interesting history. The following is the list of derivative designs known to the writer :

(a) *Somerset and Gloucestershire.*

**Cleeve Abbey.** The royal warriors still retain their identity, Richard with a lance and his shield emblazoned with a cross, Saladin with a falchion and a circular buckler.

**Glastonbury Abbey.** Probably from the same stamps as at Cleeve.

**Bridgwater Friary.** Fragment, probably from the same stamp as Cleeve, No. 9.

**Bristol,** from the site of St. Ewen's Church, Broad Street. A set of at least three different scenes of conflict between pairs of mounted knights. The identity of the original contestants has become submerged. The hounskulls indicate a fourteenth-century date. (*Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.*, xlii, 1920, Plate XVI.)

**Gloucester Cathedral.** Part of a similar scene, simpler in style and probably earlier in date. (Compton, *op. cit.*, 107, and Plate VII, No. 5.).

**Taunton Priory** (now in Somerset County Museum). Fragment of another scene of combat in which the original significance has been yet further obscured by the introduction of irrelevant decorative detail. (Plate III, Nos. i, iii.)

**Stavordale Priory** (now in Somerset County Museum).  
Fragment of the same pair of tiles as at Taunton  
Priory. (Plate III, No. ii.)

(b) *South Wales.*

**Tintern Abbey** (i) Probably from the same stamps  
as at Cleeve and at Glastonbury.  
(ii) Fragment of a derivative design.  
(National Museum of Wales).

**Margam Abbey.** The same set as at Bristol, Plate  
VII, Nos. 1-4, after Compton, *op. cit.*, 119.

**Neath Abbey.** The only fragment seen by the writer  
belongs to the same set as the Bristol tiles.

(See Plate IV)

10. Found also at South Petherton (Somerset County Museum), in St. Bridget's Chapel, Glastonbury (Glastonbury Museum) and at Tintern (Compton, *op. cit.*, p. 117). A very similar design is recorded from Romsey Abbey and St. Cross, Hants, cf. Plate X, No. 5.
11. Found also at South Petherton (Somerset County Museum), at Wells, at St. Bridget's Chapel, Glastonbury (Glastonbury Museum), and at Muchelney Abbey (Muchelney Church); and in a slightly heavier form at Tintern (Compton, p. 118). The lion, set within a circular frame with trefoils or small fleurs-de-lis at the corner, usually one of a pair with a dragon, is one of the commonest of Wessex designs, of which the prototype may be seen at Clarendon (*Antiq. Journ.*, xvi, 1936, Plate XIV). For the variety of forms in which it may appear, see Greenfield, *op. cit.*, Plate E, illustrating only the Hampshire varieties; cf. Stevens, *op. cit.*, Plate v, from Amesbury. The motif found its way as far afield as Exeter Cathedral.
12. A variant of a common Wessex design. Cf. *Antiq. Journ.*, xvi, (1936), Plate XIV, from Clarendon; Stevens, *op. cit.*, Plate v, from Amesbury; *Archæol. Journ.*, lxiii, 1906, Plate XVI, from Beaulieu. For a local variety see Plate X, No. 6, from Weacombe, Bicknoller.
13. A simple geometric design widely represented in the west country, e.g. at Exeter, Wells, etc.

14. Perhaps the commonest of all Wessex designs, found in a bewildering number of varieties both in central Wessex itself and wherever the influence of central Wessex was felt, e.g. to name only a few major sites, at Salisbury, Amesbury, Winchester, Romsey, Beaulieu, Reading, Gloucester, Bristol, Keynsham, Lacock, Forde, Exeter. The Cleeve design differs in no essential detail from the central Wessex prototype, cf. Stevens, *op. cit.*, Plate v, 13, from Amesbury.
15. This design does not appear to be recorded elsewhere, but it clearly belongs to the same group as a number of tiles from Clarendon (*Antiq. Journ.*, xvi, 1936, Plate xiv).

(See Plate V)

16. Selection of letters from a circular inscription, part of a wheel-design now lost. Wheel-designs are rare and early in this country. They are recorded from Jervaulx, from Romsey, from Beaulieu, and from Muchelney. Abroad they occur sporadically in Anjou and Normandy, e.g. at Angers (Maine-et-Loire), at Cunault, near Saumur (Maine-et-Loire), at St. Pierre-sur-Dives (Calvados), at Coucy (Ardennes), and at Les Châtelliers (Eure-et-Loire).
17. Very similar to a design found singly on small tiles or in groups of four on tiles of normal size in the central Wessex area, cf. Clarendon (*Antiq. Journ.*, xvi, 1936, Plate xiv); Amesbury (Stevens, *op. cit.*, Plate vi).
18. Apparently identical with a Clarendon design (*Antiq. Journ.*, xvi, 1936, Plate xiv).
19. Selection of letters from an inscription. A number of other letters are preserved in the upper hall.

(iii) FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TILES ILLUSTRATING THE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT OF WESSEX TYPES.

(See Plate VI)

20. Also found at Athelney (in Somerset County Museum) and Muchelney Abbey (in Muchelney Church).
21. Also found in the Beauchamp Chapel, Stoke-under-Ham (in Somerset County Museum).
22. Also found at Athelney and in the Beauchamp Chapel,



- Stoke-under-Ham (both in the Somerset County Museum). The central Wessex connections of this design are remote.
23. Also found at Athelney, at old house, East Street, Taunton, and on the site of the Priory Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Taunton (all three in Somerset County Museum).
  24. A stylized version of No. 14.
  25. A version of a very common Wessex design, which is found in a wide number of varieties. See, for example, Stevens, *op. cit.*, Plate v, from Amesbury; cf. Plate IX, No. 3, from the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol (after Compton, *op. cit.*). Local variants occur in Luccombe Church and Haccombe Church and elsewhere in West Somerset and North Devon.

(iv) TILES FROM OTHER SITES, ILLUSTRATED HERE FOR COMPARISON.

(See Plate VII)

- 1-4. From Margam Abbey (after Compton, *op. cit.*, 119.). These tiles are from the same set as those found at Bristol on the site of St. Ewen's Church, Broad Street, and at Neath Abbey, Glamorganshire (see p. 51).
5. From Gloucester Cathedral (after Compton, *op. cit.*, 107.).

(See Plate VIII)

- 1-3. From Glastonbury Abbey. The parent forms of Cleeve, Plate I, Nos. 1-3. These designs appear originally in central Wessex, e.g. at Amesbury (Stevens, Plate IV) and at Stanley Abbey (*Archæologia*, lx, 1907, Plate LV), and later versions are found as far afield as at Tintern (Compton, p. 116), Exeter (*Trans. Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, iii, 1849, Plate 29) and Launceston (*Arch. Cambrensis*, 5th series, xiii, 1896, 307-14). See specially No. 44 at Exeter and No. 13 at Launceston, which must be directly derived from the version represented by No. 2 of this plate.
4. From Glastonbury Abbey. A variant of Cleeve, No. 4. Also found at South Petherton (Somerset County Museum).
5. From Glastonbury Abbey, cf. Cleeve, No. 5. Also found at Muchelney Abbey (in Muchelney Church).

(See Plate IX)

1. From Glastonbury Abbey (in Somerset County Museum). The design differs very slightly only from that of Cleeve No. 6, which also is represented at Glastonbury. As the more coherent form, it is perhaps the earlier.
2. From St. Nicholas's Chapel, Stoke-under-Ham (in Somerset County Museum). Also found at Muchelney Abbey (in Muchelney Church). See Cleeve, Plate II, No. 6.
3. From the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol (after Compton, *op. cit.*, 170.). A variant of Cleeve, Plate VI, No. 25. The design is very common in the west country, and it is found, for example, in slightly different forms in Exeter Cathedral, at Glastonbury (Plate X, No. 3), at Haccombe Church, North Devon, and at Luccombe Church, West Somerset.
4. From Glastonbury Abbey. A further variant of Cleeve, No. 25. See No. 3, above.
5. From Glastonbury Abbey. A sophisticated version of No. 6, below.
6. From St. Nicholas's Church, Stoke-under-Ham (in Somerset County Museum). Also found at Muchelney Abbey (in Muchelney Church). For the style of the design, cf. Cleeve, Plate VI, No. 24. Another tile, found at Muchelney and at Glastonbury, depicts a similar heraldic building in association with a shield chequy, i.e. Cleeve, Plate II, No. 5, in another form.

(See Plate X)

1. From Keynsham Abbey, East Somerset (in Somerset County Museum). Almost the same design as Cleeve, Plate II, No. 7, but even closer to the central Wessex original.
2. From Keynsham Abbey, East Somerset (in Somerset County Museum). Another design which gained currency in the west country, e.g. at Wells, and Exeter. For the original, see Greenfield, *op. cit.*, Plate A, Nos. 10 and 12 (Beaulieu, Romsey, Winchester, St. Cross, Christ Church, St. Denys, Salisbury, Great Bedwyn); also at Amesbury (Stevens, Plate v) and Stanley Abbey (*Archæologia*, lx, 1907, Plate LVI).
3. From Glastonbury Abbey. (See Cleeve, Plate IV, No. 14.)

4. From the site of the Priory Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Taunton (in Somerset County Museum). Another specimen in the museum comes from St. James's churchyard, Taunton. This tile illustrates a relatively advanced stage of the development of this motif, derived from a version found at Glastonbury and at Bristol (but not at Cleeve) and also elsewhere in Wessex. In this the two birds are set obliquely, as here, within a circle, and face each other across a conventional spray of trefoil foliage; in the corners are quarter rosettes. (See, for example, *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, xxxi, 1875, Plate XIII, at Keynsham Abbey.)
5. From St. Cross Hospital, near Winchester (after J. Nicholls, *Examples of Decorative Tiles*, No. 12). Also found at Romsey (Greenfield, *op. cit.*, Plate E, No. 8). Cf. Cleeve, Plate IV, No. 10.
6. From Weacombe, Bicknoller (in Somerset County Museum). Cf. Cleeve, Plate IV, No. 12.