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Two Fragments of a Painted Screen from Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire, with Passion Imagery Including the Seven Effusions of Christ's Blood

JULIAN LUXFORD AND LUCY WRAPSON

Two fragments of a screen painted c. 1500 in the parish church of St Michael and All Angels at Hamstall Ridware in Staffordshire are analysed with reference to their imagery, handling and original setting. Although now mounted on a modern reredos, the panels were made for use in the church, and probably formed part of the rood screen. Unusually, they were painted on the interior, east-facing sides of the screen they occupied: this can be established by analysis of the panels' structure and the extent of the painting. The iconography is unusual in various ways. Notably, one of the panels is devoted to a cycle of images which constitute the seven sheddings of Christ's blood. While the seven sheddings is a recognised phenomenon of late medieval devotional literature, no other image cycle of the sort is known from England. The implications of this are briefly discussed in relation to Continental evidence, and the sheddings rehearsed using an English version of about the same date as the panels in order to suggest why the parish might have wanted a painted version of the cycle and how it could have been used. The way the artist handled his subject matter is also discussed as an illustration of the fact that aesthetically undistinguished work was perfectly acceptable for solemn imagery at the ritual heart of an imposing church. While this may occasion no surprise, the fact has been very little discussed to date, despite its importance for a holistic grasp of English art of the period.

KEYWORDS: rood screen, panel painting, medieval Staffordshire, Hamstall Ridware, holy blood imagery, seven effusions of Christ's blood, medieval parish

WHILE the county of Staffordshire is hardly known for pre-Reformation screens, its churches and chapels presumably had their share. The few that remain *in situ* suggest that rood and parclose screens of good quality and smart appearance were widespread at the end of the Middle Ages: the witnesses are in the parish churches at Betley, Blore, Clifton Campville, Hamstall Ridware, Lapley, Madeley and Tryshull. As the panels of these screens have flat outer faces and some have residual traces of paint, it also seems reasonable to think that embellishment by painting was common, although in only one case does anything substantial remain to show how the work was done. The job of the



FIG. 1. Overall view of the Hamstall Ridware reredos

Photo: Lucy Wrapson

present article is to consider this exception, which is at Hamstall Ridware, a rural village eight miles north of Lichfield. As it happens, the interest of the two painted panels surviving there transcends their status as regional curiosities. Their iconography, original setting and handling make them worth discussing in a national context.

THE LOCATION OF THE PANELS AND POSITIONING OF THEIR PAINTINGS

THE panels are in the parish church of St Michael and All Angels, and now form the sidepieces of a reredos whose central section, cobbled together from pieces of medieval furnishings, was installed in 1896 (Fig. 1). That on the north side has a sight size of 71.5×65 cm, that on the south 71.5×57 cm (Figs 2 and 3). Mounted in new frames, they were only added to the reredos in the 1980s after conservation at Birmingham Museum and Art Galleries.¹ They were previously displayed on the wall of the south aisle near the font.² While clearly medieval themselves, the fact that the panels are not fixed to a medieval object naturally leads one to ask whether they were originally made for the church or brought in from elsewhere at some comparatively recent date. This question, and the idea that they come from a screen rather than some other furnishing, need to be clarified at the outset. In fact, there are two pieces of evidence to suggest they have always been in the church. First, they were seen there in the late 18th century by Stebbing Shaw, a county historian. He noted 'in a large pew, under the second arch on the south side [...] some painted relics of the crucifixion, &c.'³ Four further painted panels are said to have existed around this time, built into the same pew (these had



FIG. 2. North panel of the reredos
Photo: Lucy Wrapson

‘perished’ by c. 1900).⁴ This is earlier than one would normally expect such objects to have been donated by a collector to a rural parish church. The loss of some of them also suggests they were not latter-day gifts. Secondly, the upper parts of what is now the back of the two panels on the reredos have applied tracery which is original to them (Fig. 4) and found elsewhere in the church. An example of the same tracery has been fixed onto an otherwise plain bench-end in the north aisle but is not original to this bench. It was evidently taken from elsewhere: the logical inference is that it comes from a larger screen to which the reredos panels also belonged (Fig. 5). In any case, the fact that the tracery of the reredos panels is not unique to them indicates that these panels were made for the church.

The idea mooted here, that the reredos panels come from a late medieval screen that was dismantled at some point after the change of religion, can be refined.⁵ As the north and south aisle chapels have original parcloles at their west ends (Figs 6 and 7), the north chapel’s dating from the 16th century and that of the south from the late 15th, the obvious candidate is the rood screen. If the position of the rood stair is indicative, then this crossed the church three bays west of the high altar, in line with the chapel parcloles. An unusual design feature of these parcloles supports the idea that the reredos panels come from the rood screen. This is a pierced grille, or frieze, set above the dado panels, which renders the panels shorter than usual. While it would, admittedly, be uncommon for all three screens in a church to share this feature (it is found slightly more frequently on parcloles alone, as at Willingham and Pampisford in Cambridgeshire), it is instructive to compare the sight sizes of the parclose dado panels with those of the reredos panels,



FIG. 3. South panel of the reredos
Photo: Lucy Wrapson

remembering that the latter are 71 cm high. The sight size of the parclose on the north side is 67.5×52 cm, while that on the south is 63×43 cm. As the reredos panels are somewhat larger (while remaining stunted by comparison with those of most late medieval screen panels), it makes sense to think they came from a rood screen whose centrality and visual dominance was thought to merit somewhat taller panels.

Admittedly, the iconography of the painting is of less value to this argument than one might think. While the Passion imagery on the reredos panels would be thematically suitable to a rood screen, there was also a Jesus chapel somewhere in the church at the end of the Middle Ages, and it would have been equally suitable to that. The existence of this chapel is known from the will of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert (d. 1538), the famous judge, who asked that a chantry be founded in the church 'in Jhesus chapell', without, however, giving any information about where this was.⁶ Possibly, it was the chapel at the end of the south aisle, whose current dedication to St Cecilia only dates from 1911.⁷ As the lateral, north-facing screen of this chapel is lost, it is conceivable that the painted fragments come from this. While admitting this possibility, the rood screen seems more likely to us because, as noted, the height of the panels on which the paintings were done is greater than that of the west-facing panels of the north aisle parclose. While it is always possible that the lost lateral element of this parclose had taller panels than those



FIG. 4. Reverse of the north panel, originally facing west
Photo: Julian Luxford

facing west, this would complicate an argument which cannot, finally, be decided one way or the other. For this reason, we have preferred what seems to us the more economical hypothesis.

The residue of tracery and smooth, even surfaces on one side of the panels is typical of screenwork. In theory, however, other furnishings should be considered, for the panels might reasonably be thought to have come from painted wainscoting, a pulpit or even an altarpiece, despite the chamfered edges and double-sidedness. Fortunately, there is definitive evidence in favour of a screen. This is a squint cut through the panel on the north side of the reredos (Figs 2, 4 and 8). This squint takes the form of a countersunk quatrefoil which is carefully and identically carved on each face. The painter of the scenes appears to have accommodated his work to this feature, as some of the red paint he used is found on it. The arrangement recalls a rood screen panel at Stanton Harcourt (Oxfordshire), which has a decorative squint alongside the painted figure of a contemplative saint, who looks up from an open book as if to gaze through the squint herself. In this way, the squint is incorporated into the screen's imagery and symbolism: this may have been intended at Hamstall Ridware, too, although the evidence for it is not as clear.

The uncertainty on this point arises from the surprising but seemingly incontrovertible fact that the surviving paintings originally occupied the east face of the screen rather than the west.⁸ As such, they could not be seen from the nave, but only from within the chancel, and thus by priests, their assistants and privileged lay people. Their nave-fronting west faces, which as noted are smoothly finished and embellished with tracery, are now turned towards the east wall of the chancel: the distance in between is only a few centimetres (Figs 1, 4). This makes them hard to inspect, but it is clear enough that any painted decoration they once had below the tracery has vanished and was evidently stripped off deliberately. Within the tracery, the surfaces are painted red, and the tracery



FIG. 5. Bench-end on the north side of the church
Photo: Julian Luxford

itself picked out in red, blue and white, with yellow to mimic gold on the foliate carving in the spandrels (Fig. 4).⁹ Such fastidious, decorative treatment is found on the west sides of hundreds of surviving screens elsewhere in England.¹⁰ By contrast, the sides with figure-painting are roughly treated. The upper and right-hand edges of the north panel are bevelled in a workmanlike way typical in the preparation of rood screen dado panels. There is also a deep original deformation running vertically up the south panel (the artist painted over this and used it as a rough dividing line between two scenes).¹¹ Rather than wooden tracery, the head of this panel has painted arches to frame the imagery, coloured green and rather vaguely formed. These were evidently considered part of the composition, as the hats of two tormentors overlap the arch above the scene of Christ bearing the cross discussed below. There are no painted arches on the north panel, but this never had wooden tracery either: the omission here is due to the crowding of the imagery up



FIG. 6. North chapel parclose

Photo: Lucy Wrapson

against the head of the panel. The visible original edges are marked by burrs of paint. Thus, on both panels, the artist used all the space available to him, including the bevelled edges. There is none of the respect for borders or careful isolation of figures normally found on screens. One implication of this is that artistic custom gave way to some functional consideration because the paintings were displayed in an unconventional and exclusive setting.

THE ORIGINAL MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES OF THE PANELS

BEFORE turning to the imagery and handling of the painted panels, it will be useful to establish the materials and techniques used to make them, and to compare the painting technique front and back.¹² A case has been made for the panels deriving from Hamstall Ridware's rood screen, with the Passion scenes located on the reverse or east face of this screen and other painting, now lost below the tracery heads, on the original west face. However, questions remain as to whether the same artist painted both sides of the screen, and whether the painter or painters used pigments of a type typical in late medieval painting.

The panels are made of butt-joined oak boards with the grain running vertically. That the wood was of local origin is suggested by the erratic grain and original dent visible on the south panel: one would expect wood sought from afar to have more consistent surfaces. Evidence from both East Anglia and the West Country indicates that those responsible for the construction and decoration of screens were usually separate craftsmen.¹³



FIG. 7. South chapel parclose

Photo: Lucy Wrapson

Once the construction and carving was complete, the painting could begin, and the original front side of these boards was smoothed to receive the paint. A white ground, likely of chalk bound in animal glue, is visible on the side with the paintings, but is not detectable where paint has been lost on the original west face, perhaps due to the use of a wax consolidant which has saturated it.¹⁴ Although this ground was discovered in only one of four samples from the Passion scenes, it is probably more widespread and was not captured in the other samples. It was not, anyway, used throughout, as a lead white oil-bound layer served as ground in some locations. The presence of this lead white priming layer on the Passion scenes, which is absent from the tracery heads on the original west face, suggests (though does not of itself prove) that the two sides were painted by different hands.

Chalk grounds predominate in late medieval panel painting in England and are found in the north, the Midlands and East Anglia. In the West Country, red lead and red ochre grounds dominate instead. Infrared photographs of the Hamstall Ridware panels indicate the presence of some preparatory painting in black, for example on the proper right leg of a figure to the viewer's left on the north panel of the reredos, and on the south wing where there is a pentimento by a figure accompanying Christ carrying the cross.¹⁵ This latter example takes the form of a vertical line and is likely undertaken in a carbon black paint over the lead white priming (Fig. 9), which would be consistent with medieval technique as observed in East Anglia. The use of priming layers varied from workshop to workshop in that region, but almost all figural screens use underdrawing or underpainting to determine the painted composition.¹⁶ It may be added that, although no medium



FIG. 8. Squint in the north panel of the reredos
Photo: Julian Luxford

analysis was undertaken at Hamstall Ridware, the appearance of the paint and identification of the pigments indicates the use of a drying oil, something which seems to have been normal in English church screen painting.

The remnants of the painted scheme on the original west face of the screen follow typical late medieval practice. Pigments used here are red lead, vermilion, chalk, lead white, indigo, yellow earth and char black. In contrast, the pigments of the Passion scenes are chalk, lead white, copper green, orpiment, azurite, indigo, vermilion and red lead. All are consistent with northern European painting practice, and although gold is absent and azurite used sparingly, the pigments used could conceivably have been cheaper.¹⁷ As the condition of the painting of the Passion scenes is so much better, it is important not to read too much into the somewhat different and slightly wider range of pigments used here. More noteworthy is the fact that different pigments were employed to achieve the same visual results. In particular, the yellow ochre used on the tracery heads of the original west face (Fig. 4) would arguably have served better for the Passion scenes than the orpiment that was used. Orpiment is an arsenic sulphide which is both poisonous and unstable.¹⁸ It does, however, have the advantage of sparkling like gold, and was thus sometimes chosen as a substitute for gilding. Orpiment has been found sporadically in East Anglian late medieval painting, for example, on the angel roof at Cawston in Norfolk and the screen at Stradishall in Suffolk. It is more commonly found as an alternative to gold leaf on rood screens in Devon.¹⁹ In any case, as far as one can tell from study of the materials and techniques of the painting on both sides of the Hamstall Ridware panels, two separate painters or workshops using slightly different pigments and techniques seem to have been employed. The presence of paint from the Passion scenes in the carved squint may suggest that these paintings came later than the decoration of the front. Cost was evidently a factor where both sides of the screen were concerned. While the painters had access to good-quality materials, both used yellow pigments to imitate gold leaf and used the cheaper non-colour-fast pigment indigo as their main blue (there is no azurite on the original west face of the screen and it was



FIG. 9. Composite figure showing normal light image and underdrawn line
Photo: Lucy Wrapson

only used sparingly in the Passion scenes, mixed in with indigo to stretch it further in the blue passages). It is also worth noting that the painter of the Passion scenes was occasionally careless about the slow drying times of oil. The slight smudges visible in [Figure 9](#) show where wet-in-wet blending between layers has happened inadvertently.

Finally, there have been some alterations to the paint over time, especially to the copper green, which has browned unevenly. The faces of some of the figures have been deliberately scratched, presumably in an effort of iconoclasm, and some are abraded, perhaps as a result of the removal of a brown overpaint of which traces remain throughout. This overpaint was probably applied when the woodwork was repurposed after the Reformation.

IMAGERY

AS suggested in the introduction, the iconography and handling of the paintings both invite attention. In order to clarify the following argument, it is worth noting a few fundamental points to begin with. First, the artist had panels of double the normal width at his disposal, like those found on the west faces of rood screens at Ashton in Devon, Moulton in Lincolnshire, and Loddon, Tacolneston and Wellingham in Norfolk. This may have helped to condition the choice of narrative imagery over isolated figures. Moreover, the small size of the figures and scenes, plus the high finish of the panels on the original west face, and the double-sided squint, suggest that the panels belonged to a dado rather than a loft.²⁰ Second, as suggested hitherto, a single artist painted all of the surviving Passion scenes. The work is, however, impossible to date precisely. A local

estimate of the time of Richard II (1377–99) is clearly much too early, and *c.* 1500 or somewhat later seems preferable on the basis of general appearance and the currency at this time of the devotional theme represented on the north panel.²¹ It is also worth acknowledging here that the original location of the panels relative to one another is obscure, and that what survives gives no grounds for speculation about any further imagery, except that there probably was some, and of a Christological nature. More positively, we are at least able to correct a lingering misconception that further fragments from the same ensemble survive in Hamstall Hall, the manor house next to the church.²² The Hall does contain three fragments of a religious painting, or perhaps two paintings, made around the time of the Reformation, but they are by a different artist altogether, and the composition they indicate was originally too large to have belonged to a conventional church screen.²³

As the original arrangement of the panels relative to one another is unknown, they may be described in either order. That on the south side of the reredos is iconographically simpler and may as well come first (Fig. 3). It contains two scenes, Christ's deposition from the cross on the viewer's left and the bearing of the cross on the right. The latter occupies more space, perhaps because the panel has been truncated and part of the deposition is lost.²⁴ Even without this loss, the panel would look asymmetrical. As well as the narrative disjunction, the impetus of the scenes pulls the viewer in two directions: Christ's head inclines to the left in the deposition, and the cross is weighted on that side by the presence of the Magdalene at its base, whereas the figures in the scene of the bearing of the cross move and gesture towards the right. Further, the figures in the cross-bearing scene are mostly larger than those in the deposition, and extend lower into the panel, which makes them look closer to the picture plane. While it would be possible to account for these discrepancies by assuming an intention to encourage meditation on the scenes as discrete events (as opposed to links in a solemn but familiar sequence), the visual dissonance may arise from no more than haphazard planning on the artist's part. A brief from the patron simply to fill the panels up with Passion subjects, perhaps coupled with a limited number of artistic exemplars, could have resulted in such an arrangement. The artist did, anyway, attempt a sort of formal unification, by giving both vignettes the same grassy, hilly setting, with a continuous band of white sky above and brown clouds at the top under the arches. He also used red robes with vertical black fold-lines in both scenes.

While these two scenes are simplified to fit the available space, each has points of interest that are worth noting. For example, in the cross-bearing scene, Christ is shown somewhat larger — taller and more voluminous — than the seven figures accompanying him. It seems more likely that this was a matter of artistic choice than dependence on a source which keyed size to hierarchy in an old-fashioned way. The Virgin Mary is also shown smaller, swooning at the sight of her suffering son, and harangued by a man in a conical hat who is presumably intended for a Jew. The pseudo-Bonaventuran paraphrases of the Passion narrative laid emphasis on such details. For example, Nicholas Love's popular *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (*c.* 1400) stated that when the Virgin saw her son weighed down by the cross, 'she was alle out of hir self, & half dede for sorowe'.²⁵ The other five figures wear parti-coloured dress and pointed hats or helmets, and a couple of them buffet Christ, emphasising his suffering. The broad red line painted across the hand of one of these buffeters looks accidental rather than a mark of guilt. It is just possible that this figure was intended to represent one of the boys sometimes shown to participate in the mocking of Christ on the road to Calvary, particularly in Netherlandish art.²⁶



FIG. 10. Deposition of Christ (detail) from the south panel
Photo: Julian Luxford

The deposition has fewer figures but is more curious. It includes a compositional quirk which is unlikely to be anything other than a creation of the artist. Although the figure with the pincers to Christ's left stands high up on a ladder, and the figure on the right, with Christ's arm around his shoulder, stands on the ground, both are shown at the same height. This was achieved by placing the latter figure, presumably intended for Joseph of Arimathea, on a hillock. An iconographic emphasis is placed on Christ's blood which corresponds to the theme represented on the north panel. This is probably no coincidence: perhaps a patron wanted the blood highlighted for its symbolic relevance to the high rood or the masses performed at the altar. Equally, the emphasis may have been chosen by the artist. The blood is represented in a striking way, rolling in large drops over an unusually but suitably grey body (Fig. 10). Although the cross is green in the cross-bearing scene, it is grey here like the dead body, which is surely a deliberate contrast and hints at an interest in symbolism as well as variety. Christ's right eye appears to be open, but this would be odd and may be a result of damage to the panel. Mary Magdalene remains at the foot of the cross, embracing it even as her master's body is brought down. She is often shown thus at the crucifixion (in a development of John 19:25), although the image-type is unusual in English art.²⁷ Again, a positive idea rather than a mistake or simple desire to populate the space may underly this. For example, the intention was perhaps to pair the figure of the Magdalene with that of the Virgin Mary diagonally opposite her in order to emphasise female suffering, a familiar collateral theme of late medieval Passion devotion.

The iconography of the north panel is clearly more systematic. In this case there is a coordinated cycle of seven narrative episodes around a central image of Christ as the

Man of Sorrows (Figs 2, 11). The cycle is that of the seven effusions, or sheddings, of Christ's blood, which occurred at his circumcision, agony in the garden (where he sweated blood), flagellation, crowning with thorns, disrobing, nailing to the cross, and when the lance was thrust into his side. This has been recognised before, but its rarity in the context of English art has not been noticed: as far as we can discover, this is the only surviving example.²⁸ In art, the theme is predominantly northern and Continental, occurring primarily in the Netherlands and Germany. The most familiar example is the central subject of a triptych painted on panel c. 1556 by Frans Floris for the church of St Leonard at Zoutleeuw.²⁹ There are various earlier examples, and indeed later ones, and the number of effusions was sometimes doubled to fourteen or rounded up to fifteen.³⁰

Seven was, however, the commonest number of blood effusions, reflecting a familiar concern with the sevenfold division of penitential subject-matter. The same interest is evident in the standard inclusion of the seven penitential psalms in books of hours, as well as other prayer- and image-cycles like the seven falls of Christ, his seven last words on the cross, the seven stations of the cross and the seven sorrows of the Virgin (the latter sometimes partnered with the seven effusions).³¹ Devotion in this mode was reflexively associated with the seven days of the week, adopted in later medieval religion as a structure for popular devotion to the whole Passion of Christ. The familiar manifestations of this are found in the *Meditationes vitae Christi* and its derivatives, of which Love's *Mirror* was the commonest of various English examples.³² The week was also used as a template for devotion to aspects of Christ's Passion, including the seven blood effusions. A text dubbed by its modern editor the 'Revelation of the Hundred Paternosters', but more accurately called the 'Seven Effusions of the Blood of Jesus Christ', is an example in Middle English of c. 1500, beginning on Sunday with an exhortation to remember the circumcision and concluding on Saturday with the blood and water that flowed when the spear entered Christ's side.³³ 'On the next sonday mayst thou begyn again at his circumsision': the process is designed to be repeated over and again, something reflected formally in the clockwise arc which the scenes at Hamstall Ridware make around the Man of Sorrows.

While there are shorter versions of this prayer-cycle from late medieval England, the Seven Effusions text seems the clearest available guide to how the imagery of the north panel might have been understood.³⁴ For this reason, and because this text was circulating at the turn of the 16th century in forms that could have been known at Hamstall Ridware, it is worth giving a sense of its content and tone before turning to describe the painting.³⁵ Beginning at the circumcision, the individual devotee is first encouraged to imagine the innocence and sweetness reflected in the infant's body and face, and then to contrast this with the pain and anguish caused by the stone knife as it cut the tender flesh. Contemplation of something beautiful and joyous is abruptly plunged into bitter and spiritually empowering reflection on the cruelty and pain of the first effusion of blood. The intensity of the reflection is increased by the forecast of the Passion represented by this event. Next, at Gethsemane, the reader or listener (who is also a viewer in imagination) is asked to dwell on Christ's mental torment as he contemplated his death, and the way his face ran so thickly with blood, tears and sweat that his body was wet with them. The reader is invited to shed tears of his or her own. With the flagellation, attention is guided away from the psychological and towards the physical distress of Christ. Such was the effect of the knotted scourges that no whole piece of skin remained on him; even his bones were exposed. At the fourth effusion, the crowning with thorns, abuse of the head rather than the body is the focus. The devotee is reminded that the thorns pierced not only Christ's scalp but also his brain; that a face once radiant was

revoltingly disfigured, and that Christ manifested the extremity of his suffering with piteous groaning while his hard-hearted tormentors mocked him regardless. The fifth effusion is imagined like this: the robe was stuck so fast to the abused body by dry blood that its stripping was for Christ akin to being flayed alive ('Beholde how rewfully he is arrayed lyke no man but more lyke a thyng that were newe slayne without any skynne'). The agony of this is said to have exceeded that of the flagellation. Pinch yourself on the finger or somewhere else, the devotee is advised, if you cannot relate to this pain, so that 'thyn owne lyttel payne' will serve for a reminder of it.³⁶ And remember the while that you are the cause of this suffering. Next comes the nailing to the cross, which includes the subsequent episodes of the crucifixion up to the point of the *coup de lance*. The reader must imagine how Christ's body was stretched to fit the cross, so that its joints popped and sinews tore; he or she should contemplate each hand and foot individually as it is pierced in turn; and particular attention is due to the agony caused by the fact that the weight of Christ's body once the cross was erected was supported only by the nails. Truly, this was a double agony to him! All the horrors of a garish crucifixion are to be summoned to mind, along with the meekness with which Christ bore them. Finally, when the spear is thrust into his side, the devotee is asked to imagine the sound of it thudding home to the depths of the innocent heart, to look into the hole in that heart, and to see the clean path the blood and water made through the filth on Christ's side. A comparison is made again between Christ's body and 'a beest newly slayne'.³⁷ At the seventh effusion, the devotee gets his or her longest piece of advice. It extends to recognition of the many things Christ did in his life, and by his death, in order to enable the individual's salvation, together with the unworthiness of that individual and the possibility of forgiveness notwithstanding. After this, the sufferings of the Virgin Mary are evoked in much detail. Here is the deposition from the cross, the lamentation at its foot and so on. The first of these episodes is, as noted, shown on the south panel at Hamstall Ridware, while the second, and others conjured up by the text, perhaps give a sense of what has been lost.

This text, like the contemporary Netherlandish Passion tracts to which it is closely related, is deliberately designed to be accessible to lay users.³⁸ In common with earlier vernacular and Latin devotions to the blood effusions, and to the *vita Christi* in general, it is couched in simple and encouraging language that emphasises the value of mental visualisation and tells the reader how as well as what to imagine.³⁹ It is in effect a step-by-step guide to conjuring up the most devotionally useful narrative of all. This helps one to understand why the theme was desirable to a parish. The linking of the effusions to an individual's personal sins, guilt ('remembre the grete payne that he suffred for the which thou were the cause of') and experience, to the practice of penance, and to the eucharist, made it broadly useful in the context of secular piety.⁴⁰ From a formal point of view, comparison with Frans Floris's later panel suggests that the synoptic representation of the scenes in the Hamstall Ridware painting — as opposed to consecutive representation on, for example, a sequence of panels or pages — was considered devotionally expedient.⁴¹ Arranging them like a closed string of beads was a way to evoke their potential for quotidian, reiterative use and (it seems reasonable to suggest) encourage such use. It also left a centre which could be provided with an appropriate subject like the Man of Sorrows, which represented both the sum and the container of the surrounding parts. The composition as Floris and the Hamstall Ridware artist present it suggests how devout meditation on dominant Passion motifs in late medieval culture was pervaded by a host of other images. By unpacking (as it were) the Man of Sorrows, the

Hamstall Ridware painter provided a sort of diagram of the intervisual nature of devotional seeing in relation to the holy blood.⁴²

None of the individual scenes is particularly unusual in and of itself, although there are several interesting motifs. The historical damage, which consists of repetitive scoring and rubbing (mainly to the figures' faces), has obliterated only three things: the cup of sorrows in the second scene, the face of the Virgin in the seventh and the face of the Man of Sorrows in the centre (Figs 11, 12).⁴³ The cycle starts at the viewer's lower left, with the circumcision, where Joseph and Mary stand on one side, the priest and a deacon on the other and a female figure centrally and behind the table (or altar) on which the naked Christ child sits (Fig. 13). Here, as consistently on this panel, the artist has placed Christ at the centre of a roughly symmetrical group, so that the eye goes around the individual scene as it does the whole sequence of episodes. In the agony in the garden above the circumcision, Christ is placed between a rock and a single, recumbent disciple. This disciple appears to have been shown awake rather than (as usually) asleep, with open eyes and praying hands: perhaps the artist intended him to represent a model of the devout viewer, attending the scene in imagination. The flagellation presents Christ bound with his hands behind his back and pink skin covered in drops of blood. To either side is a torturer in parti-coloured costume. Use of this costume to denote evil, and the treatment of Christ's body, are the same as on the south panel, except that the greyness of Christ's flesh in the deposition is completely absent from the effusion scenes, possibly to make an iconographic contrast, or perhaps simply because the lead white of the deposition is layered over a green background, lending it a coolness with increasing transparency of the white paint over time.

The crowning with thorns is squeezed in directly above the Man of Sorrows, much of it on the bevelled margin of the panel (Fig. 14). On the viewer's right, the torturer is so cramped that his head takes up about a third of his total height, suggesting that he is deformed. Since the artist could easily have extended this figure's legs below the patibulum of the cross behind the Man of Sorrows, as he did with the torturer to the viewer's left, the stunting here looks like a deliberate choice rather than a matter of technical incompetence. There are also three figures in each of the two following scenes, that is, the disrobing, at the top right and the nailing to the cross below it. In the latter, one of the executioners is shown in a ludicrously contorted stance, recalling the way Salome was often represented at Herod's feast (Fig. 15). While this looks like gauche handling, the grotesque stance was presumably meant to have a moral connotation. The other notable point about this scene is that Christ already has a large, bleeding wound in his side, which is, of course, chronologically wrong; but the artist probably knew what he was doing by increasing the number of devotional motifs available to the viewer in this way. In the last of the seven scenes, the figure of Longinus kneels, and seems both to clasp his hands and hold his spear at the same time (Fig. 12). The face is abraded, but he may originally have been shown blind and in the act of being healed by the effusion of blood and water. A kneeling figure of Longinus that unambiguously refers to this miracle is included in the crucifixion miniatures of some important prayer-books, including the Queen Mary psalter and the book of hours now Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 11. 7.⁴⁴ Behind Longinus stands the centurion, with St John and a swooning Virgin Mary on the right: the tract on the seven effusions cited above asks the devotee to remember that the Virgin 'falleth often in swoynynge, her tender herte lyke to be braste for pyte & compassyon of her chylde'.⁴⁵ Her facial features have been rubbed off, as opposed to scratched out, possibly by modern cleaning rather than iconoclasm.

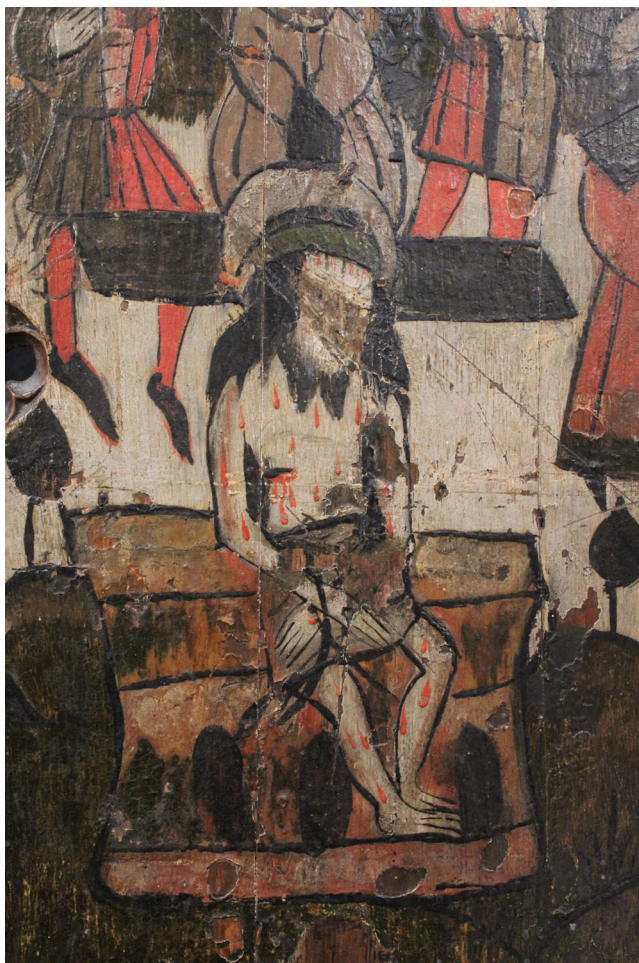


FIG. 11. Man of Sorrows from the north panel
Photo: Julian Luxford

The Man of Sorrows is shown seated on the holy sepulchre, which has the normal (and historical) three openings in its side (Fig. 11).⁴⁶ The head and shoulders are enlarged at the expense of the lower torso and legs, possibly to emphasise the figure's pathos. In England, and indeed elsewhere, Christ is usually shown standing in the tomb up to his waist rather than seated upon it. But the stance here is undoubtedly meditated rather than a mistake. The tomb is sealed, so that Christ sits on the ledger stone. This, plus the facts that Christ's hands and feet lack wounds and his hands are crossed before him (if not actually bound), signify an intention to recall the devotional image of Christ awaiting crucifixion, called variously Christ in repose, Christ in distress or Christ on the cold stone. The type is altogether uncommon in English art.⁴⁷ Indeed, the allusion goes further than this, for the chamfered edge of the stone, which tapers inward to meet the narrower, shorter chest below the upper surface, looks like an attempt to parallel tomb and altar. The green cross shown behind Christ suits this idea as an intelligible reference



FIG. 12. The piercing of Christ's side (seventh effusion)

Photo: Julian Luxford

to an altar cross as well as the instrument of crucifixion. Possibly, the white halo was meant to evoke a eucharistic host, just as Christ's body and blood — the latter rolling in large drops from the side-wound — represent the consecration of bread, wine and water that originally occurred within sight of the image.

This panel contains an enigma in the form of the tall, pointed area of unpainted surface below the Man of Sorrows. The most we can say with confidence is that this represents an original feature which has been lost. Its originality is indicated by a burr of paint or ground abutting the blank area, showing that the artist worked around the object. As there are no dowel holes, something made of parchment or paper seems possible, although a wooden object might also have been stuck on. The surviving paint-burr, which is a type of feature found where lost wooden tracery abutted flat panels, shows that the object was comparatively stiff. Whatever the object was, its presence dictated the relatively high position of the Man of Sorrows, which could otherwise have been located squarely in the centre of the panel, allowing more space for the crowning with thorns scene above. Evidently the lost object was considered important. While not part of the cycle, it may have included imagery and/or been invested with relic-status or something else. Whatever it was could be removed wholesale rather than simply defaced.

HANDLING

THE artist's handling of forms has an interest which invites separate discussion. In the description of both panels, the reader may have detected a reluctance to criticise what looks in conventional terms like 'poor' art (the quotation comes from Pevsner's account of Hamstall Ridware).⁴⁸ Instead, we have assumed that the artist knew what he was



FIG. 13. Circumcision (first effusion)
Photo: Julian Luxford

doing by representing imagery in this way and sought to emphasise motifs and compositions that were considered important at the time. This is not to pretend that he was capable of aesthetically distinguished work: he may have been, but there is no evidence of it here. Little, however, would be served by simply dismissing the work as bad. Negative judgements of this sort tend to stifle curiosity where there is often much to be curious about. By contrast, being optimistic about this sort of work — that is, taking it seriously as art over and above its value to the history of religion — stimulates questions about historical attitudes to style and facture. At Hamstall Ridware, such questions are informed by the fact that the paintings were made to occupy the ritual heart of an elegant church (Fig. 16), where, it is reasonable to think, they reflected and influenced the corporate spirituality of all parishioners, regardless of social status. In other words, they were good enough — at least — for those who commissioned them. This implies that the way they looked was perfectly acceptable.

The implications of this conclusion could comfortably sustain more thought, as they are important for any balanced account of the economy of late medieval English art. Here, as elsewhere, the prospect arises that religious investment in iconography was sufficient to render unimportant what now look like egregious artistic shortcomings. It was not that those involved in the transaction could not see that some of the figures and compositions described here were, for example, cramped or distorted, but simply that this did not matter to them, even in a bespoke painting whose artist had at least some azurite at his command. This is not to go so far as to claim positive enthusiasm for such painting. It would almost certainly be a mistake to think that the panels were considered somehow ‘abject’ by contrivance, and as such that their ‘poor’ or ‘ugly’ facture embodies



FIG. 14. Crowning with thorns (fourth effusion: above the Man of Sorrows)
Photo: Julian Luxford



FIG. 15. Nailing of Christ to the cross (sixth effusion)
Photo: Julian Luxford



FIG. 16. Parish church of St Michael and All Angels, Hamstall Ridware: central vessel, looking east

Photo: Julian Luxford

the pathos of what they represent.⁴⁹ If the people who ordered and used these paintings had positive or negative opinions of their handling, then, as suggested, it seems more likely that the subject matter caused the work to look agreeable to them than that they thought the painting either disagreeably or beneficially ugly.

In conclusion, whatever one makes of the execution of these panels, the man responsible for it was an artist by any commonly accepted measure. He may have done other things besides making art to earn his living — one suspects that medieval English artists often did — but he was evidently known locally for his ability and expertise. He owned materials of the sort used by professional artists elsewhere, and possessed or knew of exemplars for his images, including a sophisticated, Continental-looking one that dictated the composition of the seven effusions. He was evidently capable of complex thought about the meaning of certain image-types in relation to one another. And he reproduced what look like stock artist's motifs, such as the small, leaf-shaped trees above the second register of effusions scenes and the undulations of their landscape setting. The

whole layered structure of this panel, with two unembedded scenes below, two episodes couched in a landscape above this and then, at the top, three set against a background that is half sky, half opaque interior, is worked out with as much clarity as the available space allowed.

In all probability, the Hamstall Ridware painter was a local man, summoned from no further away than Lichfield. Here, as often, the idea of a peripatetic artist may be dismissed on the assumption that solemn works like this were not commissioned simply because someone who could make them happened to have turned up; and it is similarly doubtful that anyone with the technical competence exhibited here was sought far afield. A local, jobbing artist seems most likely. While this conclusion would seem less warranted in the context of East Anglia, where there was more artistic choice and (evidently) better networks of patron-artist communication, there is very little to contradict it in Staffordshire, or for that matter many other parts of rural England.

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NOTES

1. This information comes from David Rudge, churchwarden, who helped to fit the panels to the reredos himself. For the date of the conservation work, see also the NADFAS report cited in n. 22 below.

2. The date of the reredos, location of the panels in the aisles, and other information is contained in notes added to a curious parish scrapbook by John Octavius Coussmaker (d. 1923), who was rector of Hamstall Ridware from 1884 to 1921. This scrapbook, donated to the church by Coussmaker himself, and augmented by others, is now Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office (hereafter SRO), D6343/1. The notes are excerpted in J. O. Coussmaker, *Guide to the Church of S. Michael and All Angels, Hamstall Ridware, Staffs.* (Hamstall Ridware n.d.), and extensively reproduced in an unpublished history compiled by R. F. Elton in 1988, 'Hamstall Ridware' (for access to a copy of Elton's history we are indebted to Michael and Sarah Elsom). Elton's compilation (between pp. 9 and 10) includes photographs of the panels in the frames they had before they were conserved and mounted on the reredos.

3. S. Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, 2 vols (London 1798–1801), I, 158.

4. SRO, D6343/1, fols 6, 7. Note that this is our foliation (the pages of the book are unfoliated), commencing from the section of the scrapbook (as n. 2) that follows after the printed material. SRO, D5611/2/3 is a diocesan faculty granted in December 1867 for the sweeping restoration of the church, including reseating the building. The old pews mentioned by Shaw were probably lost at this time.

5. For changes made to screens over time, see L. J. Wrapson, 'East Anglian Medieval Church Screens: A Brief Guide to their Physical History', *Bulletin of the Hamilton Kerr Institute*, 4 (2013), 33–47.

6. TNA: PRO, PROB 11/27/20. The will is printed with modern spelling in D. G. Edwards ed., *Derbyshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1393–1574*, Derbyshire Record

Society 26 (Chesterfield 1998), 70–73; and with original spelling, but with the unnecessary reading ‘Johns (or Jesus) Chapell’, in R. H. C. Fitzherbert, ‘The Will of the Celebrated Judge, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert’, *The Reliquary*, 21 (1881), 234–36.

7. Coussmaker, who had a window commemorating his sister and one of his daughters installed there (in it, Saints Agnes and Cecilia were given these women’s faces), apologised for the chapel’s dedication of 1911 thus: ‘There were formerly two chapels in this church, which were always called the N. & S. chapels [...] The [original] dedication of these chapels is lost’. SRO, D6343/1, fol. 6v. The medieval designations of parochial chapels were not always stable anyway. At All Saints’ parish church in Bristol, for example, the Lady chapel in the north aisle was referred to as the Jesus aisle after c. 1500 because a Jesus mass had been established at its altar and a guild of the same dedication was based there: C. Burgess, *The Right Ordering of Souls: The Parish of All Saints Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation* (Woodbridge 2018), 154–56, 160–61, 168, 187.

8. For another example of a screen with figure-painting on its eastern side, and brief comments on the type, see E. Sinclair, ‘Investigating Medieval Polychromy of West Country Rood Screens’, in *Paint and Piety: Collected Essays on Medieval Painting and Polychrome Sculpture*, ed. N. L. W. Streecon and K. Kollandstrud (London 2014), 131–48, at 133.

9. While this tracery is now imperfectly fitted to the head of its panel, the presence of the mahlrand, or burr, of original paint and ground shows that it is authentic to that position.

10. For more on the colour schemes and factors determining them on screens, see S. Bucklow, ‘Reflections and Translations: Carving and Painting Rood Screens’, in *Paint and Piety*, 149–58; L. J. Wrapson, ‘Heralding the Rood: Colour Convention and Material Hierarchies on Late Medieval English Rood Screens’, in *The Rood in Medieval Britain and Ireland, c. 800–c. 1500*, ed. P. Turner and J. Hawkes (Woodbridge 2020), 145–59.

11. L. J. Wrapson, ‘The Materials and Techniques of the c. 1307 Westminster Abbey Sedilia’, in *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Technique, Analysis and Art History. Studies in Commemoration of the 70th birthday of Urm Plahter*, ed. J. Nadolny (London 2006), 114–36.

12. XRF was undertaken using a Bruker Tracer III portable X-Ray Fluorescence Spectrometer. A total of seven samples were taken from both sides of the painted panels of the altarpiece. The samples taken for analysis were generally no larger than a printed full-stop. Samples were set in polyester casting resin with Butanox M50 liquid hardener and ground for examination in cross-section with a Leica DM2700M microscope (where specified) under normal light, UV light and in bright field. Images were taken at 200× magnification. Material from sample fragments was used to make dispersions for Polarised Light Microscopy (PLM), in which all layers were sampled, ground in methyl ethyl ketone and mounted on a slide with a cover slip and set in Meltmount™ resin. The slides were examined using a Leica DM2700P microscope at 200× magnification. Selected samples were further analysed with scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive X-ray spectroscopy (SEM/EDX) using a Quanta 650F Field Emission Gun Scanning Electron Microscope (FEG-SEM).

13. The context for these observations is provided in L. J. Wrapson, ‘Patterns of Production: a Technical Art Historical Study of East Anglia’s Late Medieval Screens’, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2013.

14. These observations are detailed in L. J. Wrapson, ‘Technical Analysis. Panel Paintings at St Michael and All Angels, Hamstall Ridware’, unpublished report, Hamilton Kerr Institute, 11 March 2020.

15. Infrared photographs were taken with an adapted Canon 100D camera.

16. The context for this and other technical observations is chapter 5 (‘The Methods and Materials of East Anglian Screen Painting’) in Wrapson, ‘Patterns of Production’.

17. One of the best sources for pigment prices in medieval England (albeit of 14th-century date) is the accounts of Exeter Cathedral. For example, in c. 1320–21, lead white was three times cheaper than vermilion, six times cheaper than indigo and fourteen times cheaper than ‘azure’: see A. M. Erskine ed., *The Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral, 1279–1353*, 2 vols, Devon and Cornwall Records Society n.s. 24, 26 (Torquay 1981–83), I, 134.

18. For more on orpiment, see E. West Fitzhugh, ‘Orpiment and Realgar’, in *Artists’ Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics, Volume 3*, ed. E. West Fitzhugh (Washington and London 1997), 47–79.

19. For orpiment on Devon screens, see L. J. Wrapson and E. Sinclair, ‘The Polychromy of Devon screens: preliminary analytical results’, in *The Art and Science of the Church Screen in Medieval*

Two Fragments of a Painted Screen

Europe: Making, Meaning, Preserving, ed. S. Bucklow, R. Marks and L. Wrapson (Woodbridge 2016), 150–75 (esp. 169–70).

20. The possibility that the paintings were made for a loft cannot be absolutely ruled out. The squint by itself does not disqualify it: see e.g. the screens at Llanellieu (Breconshire) and Llanegryn (Merioneth) illustrated in A. Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London 1936), figs 33, 221. Surviving English evidence is too scanty to inform the question.

21. Coussmaker was sufficiently interested in the date to solicit opinions about it from ‘three good authorities acting independently’ (SRO, D6343-1, fol. 7r). These agreed on temp. Richard II.

22. This notion, still current at Hamstall Ridware, got into the report on the church compiled in 2007 by The Arts Society (under its former name, National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies, or NADFAS), on p. 3 (a copy of this unpublished report is held by the National Art Library at the V&A Museum, shelfmark 47.JJ.0142).

23. One of these fragments has a figure kneeling in prayer (the head is gone), in red robes that look like those of a judge. The same composition contained a much larger, turbaned figure, apparently female; there was an elaborate landscape background. We wonder if the painting originally had to do with the aforementioned Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, who obtained Hamstall Hall by marriage during the second decade of the 16th century.

24. As noted above, this panel is 8 cm narrower than its counterpart on the north side of the reredos.

25. Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Full Critical Edition*, ed. M. G. Sargent (Exeter 2005), 171. For the Jews’ harassing of the holy women who accompanied Christ to Calvary, see e.g. G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. J. Seligman, 2 vols (London 1971–72), II, 81.

26. On the boys, see J. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk 1979), 145–49.

27. Folio 7r of the Gorleston Psalter (BL, Add. MS 49622: c. 1330) is the obvious English example to cite. For the type in general, see K. L. Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton 2000), 82–96; S. Nash, ‘Claus Sluter’s “Well of Moses” for the Chartreuse de Champmol Reconsidered: Part III’, *Burlington Magazine*, 150 (2008), 724–41.

28. It is fleetingly noted in L. R. Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge 1995), 247 n. 20, with thanks to Peter Meredith for information. Professor Meredith has kindly told us that he encountered the panel in fieldwork some decades ago but has not investigated it further.

29. E. H. Wouk, *Frans Floris (1519/20–1570): Imagining a Northern Renaissance* (Leiden 2018), 315–23.

30. For example, Kate Rudy has discussed two early-16th-century Netherlandish prayer-books containing miniatures to accompany cycles of fifteen effusions: ‘Laat-middeleeuwse devotie tot de lichaamsdelen en bloedstortingen van Christus’, in *Geen Povere Schoonheid: Laat-Middeleeuwse Kunst in Verband met de Moderne Devotie*, ed. K. Veelturf (Nijmegen 2000), 111–33, at 119–28.

31. See e.g. J. Stadlhuber, ‘Das Laienstundengebet vom Leiden Christi in seinem mittelalterlichen Fortleben’, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 72 (1950), 282–325, at 310–14; E. Kirschbaum and W. Braunfels eds, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols (Rome 1968–76), I, col. 113.

32. See Love, *Mirror*; I. Johnson, *The Middle English Life of Christ: Academic Discourse, Translation, and Vernacular Theology* (Turnhout 2012).

33. F. Wormald, ‘The Revelation of the Hundred Paternosters: A Fifteenth-Century Meditation’, *Laudate*, 14 (1936), 165–82 (quotation from 180). Compare V. M. O’Mara, ‘Manuscript and Print: The Relationship between the “Revelation of the Hundred Paternosters” and the *Seven Sheddings of the Blood of Jesus Christ*’, *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 111 (1997), 434–47 (pointing out that the manuscript text edited by Wormald is based on that of a pamphlet printed by Wynkyn de Worde in London c. 1500, and again in 1509, titled ‘The vii shedynges of the blode of Ihesu cryste’). For a discussion which comprehends this literature and significantly extends knowledge of the English evidence, see M. V. Hennessy, ‘The Disappearing Book in *The Revelation of the Hundred Paternosters*’, in *Devotional Culture in Late Medieval England and Europe: Imaginations of Christ’s Life*, ed. S. Kelly and R. Perry (Turnhout 2014), 243–66.

34. An example in Middle English verse, written out in the late 15th century, is in BL, Harley MS 1706, fol. 10v.

35. In the following description the 1509 edition of the pamphlet printed by de Worde (see note 33) has been followed. The precise copy used is Cambridge, University Library, Sel. 5. 35 (foliated A.i–A.iv, B.i–B.iv).

36. ‘The vii shedynges’, pr. by de Worde, fol. A.iii r–v (quotations).

37. *Ibid.*, fol. A.iv recto (quotation).

38. For detailed discussion of the Netherlandish tracts and images associated with them, see Marrow, *Passion Iconography*. A general sense of the broader artistic context in late medieval England can be had from G. McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago 1989); K. Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in Late Medieval England 1350–1500* (London 2002); R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud 2004). However, Marrow’s book is most useful for understanding the imagery of the north panel at Hamstall Ridware.

39. For earlier English texts on the blood effusions, see e.g. R. Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), 225–27. The flow of Christ’s blood as a distinct object of veneration, as opposed to the blood per se, is also suggested in other English sources that significantly predate the Hamstall Ridware panel. For instance, a letter by the prior and convent of Canterbury cathedral priory of 1383 includes the phrase ‘ob reverenciam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi et effusionem sanguinis sui preciosi’: W. A. Pantin ed., *Canterbury College Oxford*, 4 vols (Oxford 1947–85), III, 45. And, in a Glastonbury relic-list of the mid-13th century, one finds ‘De loco ubi sanguis Christi effusus est’: M. Howley, ‘Relics at Glastonbury Abbey in the Thirteenth Century: The Relic-List in Cambridge, Trinity College R.5.33 (724), Fols. 104r–105v’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 71 (2009), 197–234, at 225. Further examples of relics *ubi, supra quam* etc. Christ’s blood flowed are found in other English lists.

40. ‘The vii shedynges’, pr. by de Worde, fol. A.iii verso (quotation); see also C. W. Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia 2007), 178–80.

41. This idea is supported by compositionally similar representations of the seven sorrows and seven joys of the Virgin Mary (e.g. Wouk, *Frans Floris*, 316–18).

42. Floris placed the crucifixion at the centre and arranged the other effusion scenes around it in an arc. The enclosure of the central subject is achieved by inclusion of a painted predella. However, the reciprocal significance of central and marginal subjects is no less obvious.

43. With the Man of Sorrows, something may possibly have been painted over the features and imperfectly removed during conservation.

44. BL, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol. 256v; Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 11. 7, fol. 48v. See also N. J. Morgan, ‘Longinus and the Wounded Heart’, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 46–47 (1993–94), 507–18.

45. ‘The vii shedynges’, pr. by de Worde, fol. B.i verso.

46. On these openings, see M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud 1999), 37–40, 85–88.

47. See Schiller, *Iconography*, II, 85–86. M. B. Merback, ‘The Man of Sorrows in Northern Europe: Ritual Metaphor and Therapeutic Exchange’, in *New Perspectives on the Man of Sorrows*, ed. C. R. Puglisi and W. L. Barcham (Kalamazoo 2013), 77–116, teases out something of the relationship between image-types including the Man of Sorrows and Christ in distress. The type was not absent altogether from England: one work that seems to have included it was ‘a tabernacle of tree gilt with the Image of Criste sittyng vpon a hill with the armys of his passion aboute hym’ given to Christ’s College Cambridge in 1509: R. F. Scott, ‘On a List ... of the Plate, Books and Vestments bequeathed by the Lady Margaret to Christ’s College’, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 9 (1898), 349–67, at 355.

48. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Staffordshire* (London 2002), 139.

49. The immediate allusions in this case are to J. Hamburger, ‘To Make Women Weep: Ugly Art as Feminine and the Origins of Modern Aesthetics’, *Res*, 31 (1997), 9–33, although we do not pretend to reflect the complexity of this article’s argument here.