

# *Corpus Vitrearum XX International Conference*

*Bristol, 12–17 July 2000*



*Supported by:*

The British Academy • University of Bristol, Faculty of Arts, History of Art Department



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# Conference Programme

## Wednesday, 12 July

- 2–6 pm Registration (Clifton Hill House)  
3–5.30 pm Visit to Bristol Cathedral and Lord Mayor's Chapel  
*Coaches depart Clifton Hill House (3 pm and 4 pm) and collect from The Hawthorns*  
7 pm Reception, Clifton Hill House  
8 pm Buffet dinner, Clifton Hill House

## Thursday, 13 July

- Meet Chemistry Lecture Theatre, Cantocks Close, off Woodland Road (see map)*  
9 am Welcome by Michael Liversidge, Dean of Arts, Bristol University  
Introduction by Prof. Michael Kauffmann, Chair, CV Great Britain  
9.30 am **Prof. Jonathan Alexander**  
'Patronage and the Relations of Stained Glass with other Media, particularly Sculpture, Wall Painting and Manuscript Illumination'  
10.05 am **Prof. Fabienne Joubert**  
'La commande laïque en France à la fin du Moyen Âge: état de la question et perspectives de recherche'  
10.40–11 am *Coffee*  
11 am **Prof. Alyce Jordan**  
'The Relics Window in the Ste-Chapelle: The Politics of Piety and Dynasty'  
11.35 am **Dr Eva Fitz**  
'Das Retabel aus der Schlosskirche in Wernigerode und die Glasmalerei im Halberstadter Dom'  
12.10–1pm *Buffet lunch*  
1 to 2pm **Poster Boards** (in foyer)  
2.30 pm Visit to Wells and Holy Well Glass *Coaches depart Woodland Road, by Lecture Theatre*  
4 and 5 pm Tea, Vicars' Hall, Wells Cathedral  
6.30 pm Depart Wells *Coaches depart from outside Vicars' Close*  
Evening, free time in Bristol

## Friday, 14 July

- 9 am Depart for visit to Fairford  
*Coaches depart Clifton Hill House and collect The Hawthorns*  
10.30 am Arrive Fairford  
12.15 pm Leave Fairford for Oxford  
1.30 pm Lunch in Oxford (free time)  
2.30 pm Visits in Oxford (New College and Merton College; also optionally All Souls and Christ Church)  
5.15 pm Reception, Merton College  
7.15 pm Dinner, Harris Manchester College  
9.30 pm Depart Oxford *Coaches depart Harris Manchester College*

## Saturday, 15 July

- 9.20 am **Dr Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz**  
'Entstehung von Stiftungen zu Lebzeiten des Stifters, Normalfall oder Ausnahme?'

- 10.05 am **Prof. Nigel Morgan**  
'Donors, Text Scrolls and Devotions in English Stained Glass and Manuscript Painting, c.1300–1450'
- 10.40–11 am *Coffee*
- 11 am **Katia Macias-Valadez**  
'Le mécénat de Jean V de Montfort, duc de Bretagne (1399–1442): hermines et représentations pieuses dans les verrières du chœur de la cathédrale de Quimper'
- 11.35 am **Dr Hartmut Scholz**  
'Motivationen der Zweitverglasung im Chor der Rothenburger Pfarrkirche St. Jakob'
- 12.10–1pm *Lunch*
- 1–2pm **Poster Boards**
- 1–5.30 pm **Book Fair**
- 2 pm **Isabelle Lecocq**  
'Le patronage séculier dans les Anciens Pays-Bas au travers des recueils des "héralts d'armes" (XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)'
- 2.35 pm **Françoise Gatouillat and Guy-Michel Leproux**  
'Une donation du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle à Saint-Bonnet de Bourges: la verrière des Lallemand'  
*Followed by discussion*
- 3.30 pm *Tea*
- 4 pm **Discussion of revised International Guidelines** (CV members only)
- 6.30 pm Reception, Goldney Hall *Entrance opposite Clifton Hill House*  
Evening, free time in Bristol

***Sunday, 16 July***

- 10.45 am Depart for Great Malvern  
*Coaches depart Clifton Hill House and collect The Hawthorns*
- 12.30 pm Arrive Great Malvern. Packed lunch
- 3 pm Depart Great Malvern for Gloucester
- 4 pm Tea in Gloucester
- 4.30–6 pm Gloucester
- 6 pm Depart Gloucester
- 7 pm Arrive back at Clifton  
Evening, free time in Bristol

***Monday, 17 July***

- 9.15 am **Assoc. Prof. Elizabeth Pastan**  
'Secular Patronage in the Programme of the Paradisus Claustralis: Indiana's St Catherine Seized for Martyrdom (c.1517) and the Glazed Cloister of Louvain'
- 9.55 am **Dr Ivo Rauch**  
'Translozierte rheinische Glasmalereien in Shrewsbury (Shropshire). Stiftungen der Trierer Domkanoniker für die Andreas- und Stephanuskapelle in Trier'
- 10.30–10.45 pm *Coffee*
- 10.45–12.30 pm **AGM** (members of national committees only)
- 12.30 pm End of conference

# Introduction

## *Secular Patronage and Piety in the Later Middle Ages*

The beginnings of greater involvement of the laity in church affairs may be linked with the period of the Fourth Lateran Council, and its development with the growth of towns, the increasing importance of Purgatory and the concomitant need for intercession. Accordingly, the theme of our conference, while clearly intended to focus on stained glass, is equally applicable to any of the arts. Hence it was the intention of the organizers that we should extend the study of stained glass to include wider contexts, to make comparisons with other kinds of artefacts and to examine the social roots of the patronage involved.

We have been extremely fortunate in the response from colleagues from member countries, who have provided a wealth of most interesting subjects for their lectures. It has been logical to divide them into **General Topics** and **Individual Case Studies** – though the division is not always hard and fast. The case studies fall naturally into two categories: **royal and aristocratic patronage** and **bourgeois patronage**, the latter dominated by confraternities.

The formal lectures are supported and amplified by texts and images on **poster boards** in the foyer of the lecture theatre, and these also include contributions from colleagues in the field of conservation, who have been working on two of the monuments that we shall be visiting (Fairford and Gloucester).

We should like to thank all of the contributors and to offer the warmest welcome to you as delegates.

Prof. C. M. Kauffmann

*Chair, Corpus Vitrearum Great Britain*

# List of Lectures

## GENERAL TOPICS

**Prof. Jonathan Alexander (New York University)**, 'Patronage and the Relations of Stained Glass with other Media, particularly Sculpture, Wall Painting and Manuscript Illumination'

**Prof. Fabienne Joubert (Sorbonne, Paris 4)**, 'La commande laïque en France à la fin du Moyen Âge: état de la question et perspectives de recherche'

**Dr Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz (Centre suisse de recherche et d'information sur le vitrail, Romont)**, 'Entstehung von Stiftungen zu Lebzeiten des Stifters, Normalfall oder Ausnahme?'

**Isabelle Lecocq (Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels)**, 'Le patronage séculier dans les Anciens Pays-Bas au travers des recueils des "héralds d'armes" (XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)'

**Prof. Nigel Morgan (Oslo University)**, 'Donors, Text Scrolls and Devotions in English Stained Glass and Manuscript Painting, c.1300–1450'

## INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES

### *Royal and Aristocratic Patronage*

**Dr Eva Fitz (Arbeitsstelle für Glasmalereiforschung des CVMA, Potsdam)**, 'Das Retabel aus der Schlosskirche in Wernigerode und die Glasmalerei im Halberstadter Dom'

**Prof. Alyce Jordan (Northern Arizona University, Arizona)**, 'The Relics Window in the Ste-Chapelle: The Politics of Piety and Dynasty'

**Katia Macias-Valadez (CV, Canada)**, 'Le mécénat de Jean V de Montfort, duc de Bretagne (1399–1442): hermines et représentations pieuses dans les verrières du chœur de la cathédrale de Quimper'

### *Bourgeois Patronage*

**Françoise Gatouillat (Inventaire, Paris) and Guy-Michel Leproux (Ecole pratique des hautes études, Paris)**, 'Une donation du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle à Saint-Bonnet de Bourges: la verrière des Lallemand'

**Assoc. Prof. Elizabeth Pastan (Emory University, Atlanta)**, 'Secular Patronage in the Programme of the Paradisus Claustralis: Indiana's Saint Catherine Seized for Martyrdom and the Glazed Cloister of Louvain'

**Dr Ivo Rauch (Koblenz)**, 'Translozierte rheinische Glasmalereien in Shrewsbury (Shropshire). Stiftungen der Trierer Domkanoniker für die Andreas- und Stephanuskapelle in Trier'

**Dr Hartmut Scholz (Forschungszentrum für mittelalterliche Glasmalerei, Freiburg)**, 'Motivationen der Zweitverglasung im Chor der Rothenburger Pfarrkirche St. Jakob'

**Prof. Jonathan Alexander**  
(New York University)

*Patronage and the Relations of Stained Glass with other Media, particularly Sculpture, Wall Painting and Manuscript Illumination*

The paper will aim to integrate the study of stained glass surviving in England with the study of other media, particularly sculpture, wall painting and manuscript illumination. The first part of the paper will examine the changes in style in the second quarter of the fifteenth century away from the 'International Gothic' style towards the 'ars nova' of the Netherlands. It will ask how far glass painters can be considered to have been leaders in this stylistic development, e.g. glass at All Souls College, Oxford and Great Malvern. The second part will turn to an iconographic theme, that of genealogy and succession. I plan to compare royal and magnate imagery in glass, for example at Malvern, York Minster, St Mary's Warwick, with that in illuminated manuscripts.

**Dr Eva Fitz**  
(Arbeitsstelle für Glasmalereiforschung des CVMA, Potsdam)

*Das Retabel aus der Schlosskirche in Wernigerode und die Glasmalerei im Halberstadter Dom*

Gegenstand meines Vortrags ist das Gedächtnisretabel für den 1386 hingerichteten Grafen Dietrich von Wernigerode im Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt, das vermutlich in Halberstadt entstanden ist. In der Kunstgeschichtsliteratur gilt es aufgrund motivischer und stilistischer Ähnlichkeiten als ein Werk aus der weitläufigen Nachfolge des Conrad von Soest, es wird daher zwischen 1404 und 1420/30 datiert. Anhand verschiedener um 1400 entstandener Kunstwerke lässt sich jedoch belegen, dass die Marienszenen Motive aufgreifen, die damals in Südniedersachsen geläufig waren. Auch stilistisch stehen einige dieser Werke den Malereien des Retabels näher als die Gemälde des Wildunger Altars. Einige Details lassen vermuten, dass das Retabel schon vor 1400 ausgeführt wurde, wahrscheinlich bereits wenige Jahre nach dem Tod des Grafen, um 1390/95. Es zählt damit zu einem der frühesten Zeugnisse des Internationalen Stils im Bistum Halberstadt. Stilistisch und motivisch liegen hier die Voraussetzungen für eines der wenige Jahre später im Dom tätigen Glasmalereiateliers.

*An Altarpiece from the Castle Chapel in Wernigerode and Stained Glass in Halberstadt Cathedral*

The subject of my lecture is the memorial altarpiece for Count Dietrich of Wernigerode, who was put to death in 1386. Now in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, it was presumably produced in Halberstadt. On the grounds of similarities in style and iconography, it has been seen, in the art-historical literature, as a work distantly related to Conrad von Soest and dated between 1404 and 1420/30. Yet, comparison with various works of c.1400 shows that the Marian scenes contain motifs that were common in Southern Lower Saxony at the time. Stylistically, also, the retable is closer to these works than to Conrad's Wildung altarpiece. Various details lead to the conclusion that it was painted before 1400, probably only a few years after the death of the Count, about 1390–95. Consequently, it must be reckoned among the earliest examples of the International Gothic style in the Bishopric of Halberstadt. In both style and iconography, it is an immediate forerunner of the glass workshop active a few years later in Halberstadt Cathedral.

**Françoise Gatouillat**  
(Inventaire, Paris)  
and  
**Guy-Michel Leproux**  
(Ecole pratique des hautes études, Paris)

*Une donation du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle à Saint-Bonnet de Bourges: la verrière des Lallemant*

Les fastueuses commandes de Jacques Coeur pour la cathédrale de Bourges ont marqué leur époque, et l'arrestation de l'Argentier, en 1451, ne mit pas un terme à cette brillante période du vitrail berruyer, qui produisit bien au contraire dans les décennies suivantes des oeuvres de tout premier plan. Hormis les verrières célèbres alors offertes à Saint-Etienne, d'autres églises de la ville bénéficièrent de la générosité de la puissante bourgeoisie locale. Ainsi des scènes de la Passion et des figures de saints furent-elles exécutées pour Guillaume Lallemant et son fils Jean, placées en l'église paroissiale dont relevait leur hôtel, Saint-Bonnet. Ces vitraux furent réutilisés dans la chapelle familiale lors de la reconstruction de l'édifice après le grand incendie qui détruisit plusieurs quartiers de la ville en 1487. Ces panneaux, en raison du mauvais état de conservation de leur peinture, ont rarement été pris en compte pour l'étude des courants artistiques de cette période, malgré leur qualité. Le vitrail des Lallemant met pourtant en évidence que les oeuvres de cette période présentent entre elles des relations complexes, qui sont loin d'avoir été toutes élucidées: de troublantes ressemblances l'unissent notamment, à la cathédrale, aux peintures murales de la chapelle de Breuil et à la verrière de Pierre Fradet, qui elle-même n'est pas sans rappeler, par certains aspects techniques, des verrières en place à l'église Saint-Séverin de Paris et à la cathédrale de Tours.

*A 15<sup>th</sup>-century Gift for Saint-Bonnet at Bourges: Stained Glass Made for the Lallemant Family*

The lavish commissions of Jacques Coeur at Bourges Cathedral have defined their period, and the arrest of the banker in 1451 did not put an end to this brilliant period of glass in Berry. On the contrary, the following decades saw much produced of the first importance. Apart from the celebrated windows given to Saint-Etienne, other churches in the town benefited from the generosity of the powerful local bourgeoisie. Thus scenes of the Passion and figures of saints were made for Guillaume Lallemant and his son, Jean, and placed in their parish church, Saint-Bonnet. This glass was re-used in the rebuilt family chapel following the great fire of 1487 that destroyed many parts of the town. These panels, rarely included in studies of artistic currents of this period due to the poor condition of their paint, present complex inter-relationships that are far from being solved. There are problematic similarities with, in the Cathedral, the wall paintings in the Breuil Chapel and the window of Pierre Fradet, which in turn recalls in technique windows in the church of Saint-Séverin, Paris and Tours Cathedral.

**Prof. Alyce Jordan**  
(Northern Arizona University, Arizona)

*The Relics Window in the Ste-Chapelle: The Politics of Piety and Dynasty*

The 'Relics' window has long been noted for its famous portraits documenting the participation of Louis IX and his family in the Translation of the Crown of Thorns to Paris. When the Ste-Chapelle glass was restored in the nineteenth century, this window was effectively redesigned, through the suppression of authentic scenes and the inclusion of newly made panels, to depict the history of the True Cross and other Passion relics. Within this narrative framework, the scenes of the royal family have traditionally been understood as elaborate donor portraits. My investigation of the window's pre-restoration condition, together with my study of the other narratives depicted in the glass ensemble, suggest that the window originally contained not a history of the True Cross but, rather, a history of the kings of France whose formal constructs and thematic emphases mirrored those of the chapel's surrounding biblical windows. Identification of the 'Relics' window as a visual chronicle of French royal history invites reconsideration both of the window's role in the glass ensemble and of the ways in which veneration of Christ's relics, particularly the Crown of Thorns, resonated within Capetian constructs of dynasty and sacral kingship.

**Prof. Fabienne Joubert**  
(Sorbonne, Paris 4)

*La commande laïque en France à la fin du Moyen Âge: état de la question et perspectives de recherche*

Dans le cadre de l'exposé, l'auteur évoquera d'abord la courte historiographie de la question puis la nature des sources sur lesquelles peut se fonder une réflexion relative à la commande laïque.

Après avoir évoqué les lieux privilégiés par cette commande: dans les bâtiments religieux, où ils sont évidemment le plus souvent conservés, il s'agira de s'intéresser particulièrement à cette dernière, de loin la mieux documentée, par l'énoncé de quelques questions:

- quelles catégories sociales sont impliquées dans cette commande?
- quelles relations les lient au clergé?
- dans quelle mesure les laïcs s'impliquent-ils: dans le choix de la localisation de leur verrière, pour la définition du programme iconographique, pour le choix des peintres et peintres-verriers engagés dans la réalisation de leur verrière?
- comment se font-ils représenter?

*Lay Patronage in late Medieval France*

Within the framework of the talk, the speaker will first review the brief historiography of the issue, then the nature of the sources upon which a consideration of lay patronage can be based.

After outlining the places benefiting from this patronage; in religious buildings, where they are obviously most often preserved, it will be a question of being interested particularly in the latter, by far the most often documented, through the exposition of these questions:

- Which social categories were involved in this patronage?
- What were their relations with the clergy?
- To what extent were lay donors involved in: choosing the location of their glass; defining the iconographic programme; choosing the painters and glassmakers to be involved?
- How did they have themselves represented?

Dr Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz  
(Centre suisse de recherche et  
d'information sur le vitrail, Romont)

*Entstehung von Stiftungen zu Lebzeiten des Stifters, Normalfall oder Ausnahme?*

Das Bild eines identifizierbaren Klerikers oder eines Laien in mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien, gilt dem Kunsthistoriker normalerweise als sicherer Anhaltspunkt für die Datierung des zur Diskussion stehenden Werkes. Die Beschäftigung mit den Glasmalereien von Bern und Königsfelden ergab jedoch zahlreiche Hinweise darauf, daß Glasmalereien sehr häufig **nicht** zu Lebzeiten ihrer Stifter geschaffen wurden. Für die verlorene Verglasung von zwei Seitenkapellen liegen uns die Testamente vor, in denen Verfügungen für die Ausführung noch nicht vorhandener Glasmalereien gemacht wurden.

Dasselbe kann man auch für die berühmte Chorverglasung in der ehemaligen Klosterkirche von Königsfelden nachweisen. Mit einer Ausnahme waren alle dargestellten Söhne von Albrecht I. dessen Ermordung 1308 der Anlaß für die Gründung des Doppelklosters von Franziskanern und Klarissen war, bereits tot, als die angeblich von ihnen gestifteten Glasmalereien entstanden.

In einem letzten Abschnitt soll erwägt werden, ob die Situation von Bern und Königsfelden verallgemeinert werden können oder nur gerade für die beiden erwähnten Monumente gelten.

*The Creation of Stained Glass during the Donors' Lifetime: Rule or Exception?*

The image of an identifiable donor, either clerical or lay, in medieval stained glass, is normally taken as firm evidence for dating the work under discussion. Yet the investigation of the glass at Bern and Königsfelden has provided numerous cases of glass **not** being produced during the donor's lifetime. For the lost glazing in two of the Bern side chapels, we have the wills containing instructions for the production of stained glass not yet begun.

The same can be shown for the famous glass of the choir in the former abbey church at Königsfelden. The murder of Albrecht I in 1308 occasioned the foundation of the double convent of Franciscans and Clares. His sons are depicted in the windows, but, with one exception they were already dead when the glass, nominally their gift, was made.

The last section will consider whether general conclusions can be drawn from the situation in Bern and Königsfelden or whether these two monuments remain exceptional.

**Isabelle Lecocq**  
(Institut Royal du Patrimoine  
Artistique, Brussels)

*Le patronage séculier dans les Anciens Pays-Bas au travers des recueils des 'héralds d'armes'  
(XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*

La marque iconographique la plus évidente du patronage séculier dans le domaine du vitrail ancien est la figuration des donateurs et de leurs armes. C'est précisément ce caractère qui a éveillé l'intérêt des 'héralds d'armes'. Des notes et des recueils de ces officiers qui parcouraient églises et couvents ont été conservés. Ils sont d'un intérêt considérable pour l'étude du vitrail dans les anciens Pays-Bas. Plus que tout autre document, ils permettent d'estimer l'importance des disparitions et de retrouver la trace de vitraux qui ne seraient pas connus par ailleurs et qui évoquent par leur thématique, divers signes et conventions, la piété des donateurs laïques.

Plusieurs recueils de ce type conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles seront présentés.

*Secular Patronage in the Netherlands in the collections of Heralds (15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*

The most common iconographic feature of secular patronage in medieval glass is the depiction of donors and their arms. It was precisely this feature that awakened the interest of 'heralds'. The notes and collections of these officials, who visited churches and monasteries, have been preserved. They are of considerable interest for the study of stained glass in the Netherlands. More than any other kind of document, they make it possible to assess the importance of lost glass and to rediscover stained glass that would not otherwise be known, evoking through their themes, various signs and conventions, the piety of lay donors.

Several collections of this type preserved in the Bibliothèque royale, Brussels will be presented.

## Katia Macias-Valadez

(Canada)

*Le mécénat de Jean V de Montfort, duc de Bretagne (1399–1442): hermines et représentations pieuses dans les verrières du chœur de la cathédrale de Quimper*

Dans la Bretagne des ducs de Montfort, la production artistique est indissociable du contexte politique dans lequel elle s'inscrit. Cette dynastie a supplanté en 1364 la puissante famille Blois-Penthièvre qui a mal accepté sa défaite. Les Blois-Penthièvre, malgré – ou à cause de – leurs alliances avec la famille royale de France, s'étaient constitués des racines dans le passé et l'hagiographie légendaires bretons et en avaient fortement imprégné leur piété.

On s'entend généralement pour postuler que l'attentat perpétré en 1420 contre le duc Jean V par la famille rivale constitue un tournant majeur pour l'histoire de l'art breton. Cet événement aurait en effet marqué une relance du mécénat qui permettait d'assurer, par l'image, une présence ducale sur l'ensemble du territoire. Ou déjà avant cet attentat, le duc multipliait ses libéralités et ses fondations pieuses comme c'est le cas dans les vitraux du chœur de la cathédrale de Quimper.

Ayant été élevé à la cour de Bourgogne et ayant épousé la fille du roi de France Charles VI, le duc Jean V a pris modèle dans les grandes cours de France et utilisé l'art et l'image comme supports à sa politique propagandiste. Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Quimper, commandés avant 1420, font partie d'un monument qui témoigne dans toutes ses parties d'un contexte particulier. De plus, en proposant quelques œuvres de comparaison, où le mécénat ducale est tout aussi éloquent, nous montrerons la signification et la portée de l'hermine comme symbole du pouvoir ducale. Enfin, ces représentations publiques dans les verrières quimpérioses, comme dans les sculptures et les peintures, font de la piété individuelle de la famille ducale un fait social à fort contenu politique.

*The Patronage of Jean V de Montfort, Duke of Brittany (1399–1442): Ermines and Pious Portrayals in the Choir Windows of Quimper Cathedral*

In the Brittany of the de Montfort dukes, artistic production is inseparable from political context. This dynasty supplanted the powerful Blois-Penthièvre family in 1364, who accepted defeat badly. The Blois-Penthièvres, in spite of – or because of – their alliances with the French royal family, had constituted roots in the past and legendary Breton hagiography, which greatly shaped their piety.

It is generally agreed that the assassination attempt upon Duke Jean V by the rival family in 1420 marks a major turning point in the history of Breton art – that this event stimulated a revival of patronage that allowed the maintenance, in image, of the ducal presence throughout the duchy. Already before this attack, the Duke was increasing his gifts and his pious foundations, as in the choir glazing of Quimper Cathedral.

Raised at the Burgundian court and married to the daughter of King Charles VI of France, Duke Jean V took his model from the great courts of France, using art and image as supports for his propagandist politics. The stained glass of Quimper Cathedral, commissioned before 1420, forms part of a monument that bears witness in every way to a particular context. Moreover, by proposing some works in comparison, in which ducal patronage is equally eloquent, the significance of Ermine will be revealed as a symbol of ducal power. In short, the public image in the stained glass of Quimper, like that in sculpture and painting, makes the individual piety of the ducal family into a social event with a strong political content.

**Prof. Nigel Morgan**  
(Oslo University)

*Donors, Text Scrolls and Devotions in English Stained Glass and Manuscript Painting, c.1300–1450*

The inscribed scrolls presented by donors to Christ, the Virgin or the saint before whom they kneel are more varied in their texts and intentions than is commonly supposed. These simulate the spoken words of the donors, or alternatively they were viewed as written petitions, and they have received little systematic study. They provide evidence regarding devotional attitudes, prayer intentions, and are directed towards aid for the condition of the donors within this world, and also in their expectations for the afterlife. Examples from stained glass will be paralleled with others from illuminated manuscripts, whose accompanying prayers in the text provide additional information for interpretations of these images.

**Assoc. Prof. Elizabeth Pastan**  
(Emory University, Atlanta)

*Secular Patronage in the Programme of the Paradisus Claustralis: Indiana's Saint Catherine Seized for Martyrdom (c.1517) and the Glazed Cloister of Louvain*

A small, exquisitely detailed, early sixteenth-century stained glass panel of St Catherine Seized for Martyrdom, in Bloomington, Indiana, is one of the treasures first published in the checklists of American collections. Seminal studies by Vanden Bemden and Kerr (1983–84) and Wayment (1988, 1989) established the context for the panel. The style, size, and collecting history offer suggestive evidence that the St Catherine panel comes from the Charterhouse of Louvain. This paper will present the iconographic case for attribution to Louvain.

While eighteenth-century chroniclers refer to a typological programme in the Great Cloister, Maes uncovered references and panels corresponding to a cycle of St Nicholas. Wayment further expanded the hagiographical programme by connecting panels from the life of St John with a document of 19 June 1517 that named John, Lord of Berg, as the donor of stained glass that the glazier Jan Diependale had been dilatory in completing. In the case of St Catherine, there is no established typological connection, but the scene from her martyrdom may be related to a particular donor named Catherine from the Boelen family of Amsterdam.

**Dr Ivo Rauch**  
(Koblenz)

*Translozierte rheinische Glasmalereien in Shrewsbury (Shropshire).  
Stiftungen der Trierer Domkanoniker für die Andreas- und Stephanuskapelle in Trier*

Die Marienkirche von Shrewsbury (Shropshire) besitzt eine große Anzahl kontinentaler Glasmalereien, die der in der 1. Hälfte des 19. Jh. dort tätige Vikar William Gorsuch Rowland vermutlich im Kunsthandel angekauft hatte. Unter anderem befinden sich dort 43 Scheiben, die offenbar von Trierer Domkanonikern um 1478/79 gestiftet worden waren. Man glaubte daher bislang, daß diese Fenster zur ursprünglichen Verglasung des Trierer Doms gehörten.

Anhand genauer Bestandsaufnahmen und ikonographischer Analysen kann jedoch gezeigt werden, daß diese Scheiben keineswegs aus dem Trierer Dom stammen sondern gleichzeitig für die Andreas- und die Stephanuskapelle im Dombezirk geschaffen wurden. Diese Kirchenräume wurden 1792 bzw. 1806 abgerissen. Die in Shrewsbury gefundenen Glasmalereien wurden von den Amtsträgern, den Dignitates des Kathedralkapitels für diese beiden Kapellen gestiftet.

Obwohl zur gleichen Zeit und von einer Personengruppe gestiftet, beauftragte man mit der Ausführung verschiedene Werkstätten. Die Scheiben der Stephanuskapelle wurden vermutlich von einer mittelhheinischen Werkstatt angefertigt, die enge Zusammenhänge mit den Scheiben der Bopparder Karmeliterkirche (heute Köln, Darmstadt, Glasgow, New York) aufweist. Die Glasmalereien der Andreaskapelle dagegen stammen wohl aus einer Kölner Werkstatt, die neueste Kunsttendenzen um 1480 kannte und verarbeitete. Insbesondere die Tafelmalereien aus dem Umkreis des Meisters des Marienlebens und der Georgslegende waren für diesen Stil prägend.

Es ist hier erstmals gelungen, sowohl den ursprünglichen Standort dieser Scheibengruppe aus St. Mary's Church in Shrewsbury zu bestimmen, als auch die künstlerische Herkunft der Glasmalereien zu benennen. Auf dieser Basis kann weitergefragt werden nach der Motivation der Stifter, der liturgischen und sozialen Funktion der Scheiben und der Kapellenräume, für die sie geschaffen worden waren.

*Relocated Rhenish Glass in Shrewsbury: The Canons' Gift to the Chapels of SS Andrew and Stephen in Trier, 1478–79*

The Church of St Mary in Shrewsbury (Shropshire) contains a large amount of Continental stained glass which was acquired, presumably on the art market, in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the vicar, William Gorsuch Rowland. Among others, there are 43 panels apparently donated by the canons of Trier Cathedral in 1478–79. Until recently therefore, it was thought that these windows originally belonged to the glass of Trier Cathedral.

As a result of a closer study of the provenance and iconography, however, it can now be shown that these windows did not come from Trier Cathedral but, rather, were made for the chapels of SS Andrew and Stephen in the cathedral precinct. These chapels were demolished in 1792–1806. The glass now in Shrewsbury was given to these chapels by the responsible officials, the *dignitates* of the Cathedral chapter.

Although the glass was given at one time and by a single group of donors, several workshops were involved. The panels from St Stephen's chapel were presumably made by a middle Rhenish workshop closely connected with the glass of the Carmelite church in Boppard (now in Cologne, Darmstadt, Glasgow and New York). The St Andrew's Chapel glass, on the other hand, most probably came from a Cologne workshop which produced work in the most up to date stylistic conventions of c.1480. In particular, the panel paintings in the circle of the Master of the Life of the Virgin and the Master of the Legend of St George bear the stamp of this style.

This is the first time that it has been possible to discover both the original home of the Shrewsbury panels and their stylistic origins. On this basis, one can discuss the motivation of the donors, the liturgical and social functions of the stained glass and the chapels for which it was created.

**Dr Hartmut Scholz**  
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*Motivationen der Zweitverglasung im Chor der Rothenburger Pfarrkirche St. Jakob*

Mit Vertrag von 1398 war die Verwaltung des Kirchenbauvermögens der Pfarr- und Deutschordenskirche St. Jakob in Rothenburg/Tauber zur Gänze vom Deutschen Orden in die Hände der Reichsstadt übergegangen. Zu dieser Zeit hatten die städtischen Kräfte – voran die reichen Patrizier – längst den Löwenanteil für Neubau und Ausstattung ihrer Pfarrkirche zu tragen. Bereits um 1390 wurden einzelne Ornamentfenster im Langchor aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts in direktem Kontext mit bestimmten Mess-Stiftungen, den liturgischen Gepflogenheiten an hohen Marienfesten und der regionalen Heilig-Blut-Wallfahrt durch monumentale figürliche Bildzyklen der *Sieben Freuden Mariens* (einer Verbindung von freudereichem und glorreichem Rosenkranz), der *Verkuendigung* und der *Verehrung der Eucharistie* ersetzt. Dabei nehmen die inhaltlichen Vorgaben der Fensterstifter für die Wahl der Bildprogramme ganz eindeutig Bezug auf die annähernd gleichzeitigen Stiftungs- und Ablassbriefe: Ein für den Besuch bestimmter Festtage sowie Spenden zu Bau und Ausstattung gewährter Ablass des Jahres 1356 galt ausdrücklich der Verehrung der Sieben Freuden Mariens in Wort und Bild: *qui coram ymagine beatae Mariae virginis septem ave Maria ob reverentiam septem gaudiorum beatae Mariae virginis dixerint*. 1388 stiftete der berühmteste Sohn der Stadt und langjährige erste Bürgermeister Heinrich Topler einen Gesangsgottesdienst vor dem Marienaltar in St. Jakob, der an den Vorabenden aller Marienfeste zu feiern war. Geadelt wird diese Mess-Stiftung noch ausdrücklich durch einen päpstlichen Ablass des Jahres 1391, der den Besuch namentlich zu den Festen *Nativitatis, Epiphania, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis et corporis domini nostri Ihesu Christi ac Penthecostes, necnon in Nativitatis, Annunciatis, Purificationis et Assumptionis beatae Mariae virginis* begnadigte – also exakt die freud- und glorreichen Ereignisse des Marienlebens benennt, die auch, von zwei verlorenen Szenen abgesehen, in den Rothenburger Grossmedaillons und im Verkuendigungsfenster dargestellt sind.

Durch den gleichfalls im Jahr 1388 bewilligten Abbruch der alten Fronleichnams- und Heilig-Blut-Kapelle war ausserdem Ersatz für ein Bildprogramm (in Wand- und Glasmalerei ?) zu schaffen, das mit Sicherheit der Heiligblut- und Corpus-Christi-Verehrung in der Kapelle gewidmet war und mit dem Abbruch aufgegeben werden musste. In der Hoch-Zeit der Eucharistieverehrung und -wallfahrt in Rothenburg konnte auf einen bildkünstlerischen Ausdruck der heilsspendenden Wirkung des Messopfers nicht verzichtet werden. Das um 1390 neugeschaffene Eucharistiefenster nimmt ausserdem so wortlich Bezug auf das Patrozinium der abgetragenen Kapelle, dass es ohne diesen unmittelbaren Anlass nicht zu erklären wäre. Mehr als ein Jahrhundert vor Inangriffnahme der neuen Heilig-Blut-Empore im Westbau 1453/71 und deren Ausstattung 1505 muss das Eucharistiefenster im Ostchor – neben der eigentlichen Wunderblut-Reliquie – zum programmatischen Mittelpunkt der Wallfahrt in Rothenburg bestimmt gewesen sein. Die um 1400 noch höchst ungewöhnliche Ikonographie vom Nutzen der Eucharistie für die Armen Seelen basiert auf zeitgenössischen Texten mit relativ niedrigem Anspruchsniveau und hoher Verbreitung und gibt am Rande der beiden zentralen Szenen des Fensters – mit der Feier des Messopfers, den Fürbitten und der Stiftung von Kerzen – zugleich das Abbild der frommen Werke, die von der Kirche gefordert und dem eigenen Seelenheil dienlich waren.

*Motives for the Reglazing of the Choir of the Parish Church of St James in Rothenburg, Bavaria*

With the accord of 1398 the administration of the building fund of the Parish- and Teutonic Order Church of St James in Rothenburg/Tauber was taken over entirely by the town authorities. At this period, the town – above all the wealthy patricians – had long borne the lions' share of the cost of the rebuilding and furnishing of their parish church. Already in about 1390 some of the mid 14<sup>th</sup>-century decorated windows in the choir were replaced by monumental figured picture cycles of the Seven Joys of the Virgin (a mingling of a joyous

and glorious rosary) and the Annunciation and the Glorification of the Eucharist. These were subjects contextually linked with particular votive masses, with the liturgy at high Marian feasts and with the local Holy Blood Pilgrimage. The instructions of the donors concerning the choice of the pictorial programme clearly referred to the almost contemporary letters of the donation foundation and indulgence. An indulgence of 1356, offered for attendance at particular feast days and for donations to the building and furnishing fund, specifically referred to the honouring of the Seven Joys of the Virgin in word and image: *'qui coram ymagine beatae Mariae virginis septem ave Maria ob reverentiam septem gaudiorum beatae Mariae virginis dixerint'*. In 1388 the town's most famous son, Heinrich Topler, for many years Bürgermeister, donated a sung mass at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in St. James's Church, which was to be celebrated on the eve of all Marian feasts. This donation was specifically dignified in a Papal indulgence of 1391 which was granted for participating in the feasts of *'Nativitatis, Epiphanie, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis et corporis domini nostri Jhesu Christi ac Penthecostes, necnon in Nativitatis, Annunciatis, Purificationis et Assumptionis beatae Mariae virginis'*. These were precisely the joyful and glorious events of the Life of the Virgin which – apart from two lost scenes – were depicted in the large medallions and in the Annunciation window in Rothenburg.

Because of the agreement of 1388 to pull down the old Chapel of Corpus Christi and the Holy Blood, the need arose for a picture cycle (in wall painting and stained glass?) dedicated to these feasts to replace those originally in the destroyed chapel. In the peak period of the Corpus Christi cult and of pilgrimage to Rothenburg it was clearly essential to install a visual expression of the salvational effect of the Eucharist. The new Eucharist window of c.1390 is, furthermore, so closely based on the dedication of the destroyed chapel that it would be inexplicable without a direct connection. More than a century before the building of a new Holy Blood gallery at the west end in 1453/71 and its furnishing in 1505, the Eucharist window in the east choir – next to the Wondrous Blood reliquary – must have formed the programmatic core of the Rothenburg pilgrimage. The, at this time, highly unusual iconography of the value of the Eucharist for poor souls was based on contemporary texts of a widely accessible kind. It provides in the borders of both central panels of the window – with scenes of the celebration of the Eucharist and the solicitation for and donation of candles – a depiction of pious works encouraged by the church and of value to the individual's salvation.

# Poster Boards

## *Secular Patronage and Piety in the Later Middle Ages*

Prof. Joost **Caen**, Hogeschool Antwerpen, CV Belgium  
'The Calvary Window in the Castle of Caestere in Rumbeke'

*This magnificent and exceptionally well preserved window commemorates Jan van Langhemeersch, d.1477, but was modified by the de Thiennes family, later owners of the castle, in the early sixteenth century. Recent research and conservation is reviewed, including details of glass analyses carried out by the University of Antwerp.*

Dr Penny **Hebgin-Barnes**, CV Great Britain  
'Secular Patronage in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>-century Cheshire'

*Cheshire's late medieval glass offers a glimpse of the preoccupations of secular donors, with emphasis on their station, offspring and piety. The religious context is now almost completely lost, however. The glazing of two chapels added to one church, two centuries apart, demonstrates how the Reformation diminished the size and importance of church windows.*

Pedro Redol **Lourenço da Silva**, CV Portugal  
'Royal Patronage in Portugal in the Time of King Manuel I (1495–1521)'

*This reign was the most magnificent in the history of Portuguese stained glass, when it became part of a complex visual and iconographic scheme to consecrate the king as world ruler by divine destiny. The choice of traditional forms as propaganda instruments in the context of the rising modern state gave rise to a number of unique works that mirror the conflicts of that time.*

Prof. Virginia C. **Raguin**, College of Holy Cross, Worcester, MA, CV USA  
'Mapping Margery Kempe'

*An introduction to the website of the same name ([www.holycross.edu/kempe](http://www.holycross.edu/kempe)). This explores the text of the Book of Margery Kempe through the art, including stained glass, of the areas where she lived and travelled, including Kings Lynn, Norwich and York.*

## *Studies in Conservation*

Keith **Barley**, Barley Studio, Dunnington, Yorkshire  
'The Conservation of the Stained Glass in Fairford Church, Gloucs.'

*A review of recent work on the remarkably complete early 16<sup>th</sup>-century glazing of this church, which the conference will be visiting.*

Lisa **Pilosi**, David Whitehouse and Mark T. Wypyski, CV USA  
*A report on the recent analysis of some silver stained Byzantine glasses.*

Patricia C. **Pongracz**, CV USA  
'Excavated Glass from Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons'

*A report on excavated glass from the site of the Augustinian abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons.*

Dr Sebastian **Strobl**, Cathedral Studios, Canterbury  
'The Conservation of the Great East Window, Gloucester Cathedral'

*A review of recent work on one of the largest surviving medieval stained glass windows in Britain, c.1351–67, which the conference will be visiting.*

# Site Notes

## **Bristol**

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## **Tewkesbury Abbey**

*Sarah Brown* *page 38*

## **Wells Cathedral**

*Tim Ayers* *page 41*

# Bristol Cathedral

In 1140 Robert Fitzharding, the first Lord Berkeley, founded the Augustinian abbey of St Augustine's (since 1542 a cathedral). Little survives of the Romanesque buildings, apart from the Chapter House of c.1150–70, an imposing rectangle preceded by a vaulted vestibule and covered with two mighty cross-rib vaults. Its walls are decorated with some of the most elaborate interlace, chevron and zig-zag carving in English late Norman architecture. Similar patterns embellish the arches of the late Romanesque vaulted **Great Gatehouse** to the west of the church. Its upper parts were rebuilt in 1500 and the whole gate drastically restored in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

St Augustine's claim to architectural fame comes in the Gothic period, in the abbey church. Nothing survives of its Romanesque predecessor, though it has been suggested recently that it may have been a hall church of western French derivation. The earliest part of the present church is the **Elder Lady Chapel** (begun c.1218–20), opening off the north transept in the manner of the Lady Chapel at Tewkesbury (c.1200). Its format of four vaulted bays, and its sumptuous decoration of polished blue lias shafts and sculptured dado arcades, owes much to the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury (begun 1184). But the particular forms of the chapel – its arch mouldings and capitals, its lavish stiff-leaf carving and the inventive figural sculpture of its arcades and headstops – come straight from the nave and west front of Wells Cathedral – a connection confirmed by Abbot David's request (in a letter dated 1218–20) to the Dean of Wells to loan him his servant 'L' to build the chapel. The chapel's vault, buttresses and east window, date to a remodelling later in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps in the 1290s when communal services may have been transferred here in preparation for the demolition of the Romanesque church and its replacement with the present choir.

The **Transepts**, in their walling Norman, belong largely to the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The **Nave** was designed by G. E. Street and constructed between 1868 and 1888 (completion of western towers). It is the **Lady Chapel and Choir**, one of the most idiosyncratic buildings of European Late Gothic, which has given Bristol its international art-historical reputation. It is the most

important English example of a hall church, a type of structure hitherto confined in England to subsidiary spaces (e.g. Trinity Chapel, Salisbury). Richard Morris has recently divided its building chronology into three broad phases. The first, possibly directed by the architect Nicholas of Derneford, lasted from the beginning of the work in 1298 under Edmund Knowle (abbot 1306–32) to c.1320. It comprised the outer walls of the Lady Chapel and choir, the walls of the Berkeley and Newton chapels (the former intended at this stage as a vestry), the completion of the interior wall passages below the windows, and perhaps the vault of the south western aisle bay, as well as some designs for the tracery of the main windows. Morris argues that many of the more ingenious features of the choir do not belong (as was previously thought) to the original plan of 1298 but to the second and third phases.

The second phase, under Thomas of Witney, architect of Exeter Cathedral and later of Wells, started around 1320 and extended into the 1330s. This saw the construction of the window tracery, the installation of the exotic stellate tomb recesses for the Berkeley family along the outer walls of the aisles, and the choir pillars – their forms closely dependent on local West Country precedent, especially the crossing tower of Wells. The stellate tomb type may have originated with the tomb of Thomas Berkeley II (d.1321) and his wife Lady Joan Ferrers (d.1309), inserted into the wall between the south aisle and the Berkeley Chapel. The insertion necessitated the construction of a new entrance from the south aisle to the chapel one bay further west, via a new sacristy. The details of the sacristy place it in the third phase of construction, extending from c.1330 into the 1340s, when the whole eastern arm was finished (Abbot Asshe, who died in 1353, was the first to be buried in front of the high altar). This last phase, which saw the construction of the lierne vaults over the Lady Chapel and the central aisle of the choir, as well as the famous bridges and net vaults over the side aisles, shows such close similarities with the choirs of Wells Cathedral and Ottery St Mary, that Morris attributes all this work to Thomas of Witney's successor at Exeter and Wells, William Joy. Joy may also have been responsible for the contemporary remodelling of Thomas III Berkeley's chapel and great hall at Berkeley Castle.



There are certainly clear analogies between St Augustine's choir and contemporary secular halls, notably its battlemented silhouette, its transomed windows, and the striking similarities between the aisle vaults and the braces, crown-posts and tie-beams of timber roofs. This unexpected transfer of 'secular' forms to a major church may be explained by the abbey's traditional function as the burial hall of the Berkeley family. The medieval glass, celebrating the Berkeleys as donors and benefactors to the abbey, would have underlined this intended meaning.

#### THE STAINED GLASS

No glass survives from the 13<sup>th</sup>-century **Elder Lady Chapel** except perhaps a trumpeting angel of c.1300, which may have been part of the east window of c.1290. Winston records it as being *ex situ* in the east window of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Lady Chapel. It is now in the Hunt Museum, Limerick (see *Age of Chivalry* catalogue, no. 558). All the surviving medieval glass of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Abbey Church, apart from a few pieces in the cloister and the sacristy of the Berkeley Chapel, is now concentrated in the **Lady Chapel**. When Joseph Bell and Son, with the advice of Charles Winston, restored the Lady Chapel glass between 1847 and 1852, the medieval windows were in an advanced state of deterioration. Apart from restoring the *in situ* glass, the restorers gathered together medieval glass from several locations in the church and re-used it in the Lady Chapel, concentrating most of it in the brighter, southern windows. The bombing raid of 1941 seriously damaged windows on the north side and the great east window. The result is an amalgam of heavily restored fragments, possibly of varying date. Only the east window retains its original iconographic scheme and a significant amount of its original (but highly restored) glass. It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct the original scheme of the side windows as a series of standing single figures beneath canopies, with heraldic decoration in the tracery lights, in the borders and in the base panels. The upper tiers of the windows depicted saints, the lower lights contained knights and ecclesiastics, perhaps representing donors or benefactors to the abbey. Differences in scale suggest that some of the standing figures of knights at present in the Lady Chapel may once have occupied the choir aisle windows, forming a chivalric complement to the tombs below.

The glass of the **Lady Chapel** is largely the creation of Bell and Son, but with many (very

restored) medieval pieces. The north-west window (**N3**) is wholly by Bell, apart from the centre of the second shield. Some original canopy work existed below the transom in 1851 and Winston recalled at that time fragments of a knight. The north-east window (**N2**) is also by Bell, except for glass with Bristol merchants' heraldry in the transom. Winston recorded fragments of a knight and canopies in the heads of the lower lights (no longer there). The south-east window (**S2**) is wholly 19<sup>th</sup> century apart from St Stephen in the left upper light. Six shields in the tracery, including the Berkeley arms and a variant of St Edmund's, are based on, and incorporate, 14<sup>th</sup>-century originals. Winston recorded another knight in this window and canopy work (like that on the north side) occupying three of the four lower lights. The south-west window (**S3**), which in 1851 had no original glass remaining, now contains large amounts of medieval glass, all of it from elsewhere. The upper lights contain the martyrdom of St Edmund (perhaps a gift of his namesake Edmund Knowle?), originally in the upper lights of N3; the lower lights show a Pope flanked by two knights, the left one with the arms of Berkeley, and originally in N2. The tracery contains arms, among them those of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, whose second daughter, Margaret, married Thomas Berkeley II in 1320.

The great east window (1) closely follows its original medieval scheme. In the lower lights is a Tree of Jesse (with 12 prophets and 4 kings, plus Jesse) and a central figure of the Virgin and Child. Liversage's *Illustrated History* of 1854 identified the medieval figures, but all of them are now largely 19<sup>th</sup> century or later. The upper three lights contain the Virgin and St John, flanking a central Crucifixion restored and enlarged from the smaller original shown in Samuel Lysons 1802 (?) drawing. The tracery lights preserve the best ensemble of original glass in the cathedral, with a series of splendid heads of prophets and kings in the reticulated units of the side lights and a celebration of the Berkeleys and their companions in arms in the heraldry of the three large petals in the centre.

The iconography of the Lady Chapel glass, with its Berkeley knights and its heraldic displays, closely parallels the contemporary commemoration of the Despencer family in the choir clerestory of Tewkesbury Abbey; while the combination in the east window of a Tree of Jesse with the Crucifixion parallels the prophetic and eucharistic imagery of the great

east window at Wells, also going up in the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The much-restored nature of the glass makes stylistic comparisons hazardous, but the facial types seem to belong with the choir glass at Tewkesbury and Gloucester, Ludlow and Madley (Marks). There are also many similarities with glass rather further away, in the Latin Chapel at Oxford Cathedral (Christ Church). The canopies relate closely to those at Tewkesbury. All these comparisons suggest a date for the glass around 1340. This is consistent with Morris's revised dating of the architecture and with Sabin's convincing date of 'c.1350' for the heraldic glass of the east window. Recent scholarship therefore suggests that St Augustine's choir, despite its ingenuities, is not the 'European prodigy' it was once thought to be, nor a pioneer in the ornamental vocabulary of the English Decorated style, but a rather late manifestation of architectural and glazing practices already current in the West Country.

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Paul Crossley

## Bristol, Lord Mayor's Chapel

Built as the chapel of the Hospital of St Mark, founded in 1220, the building was bought by the Corporation of Bristol in 1541 and became the official place of worship for the Mayor and Corporation in 1721. The nave is of the late 13<sup>th</sup> century and the south aisle was added in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century with a west window decorated with ballflower ornament. In the late 15<sup>th</sup> century the west window of the nave was rebuilt in a 13<sup>th</sup>-century manner. In 1487 the east tower was added and in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century both the chancel and the aisle were extended towards the east. Shortly afterwards a chapel was built south of the extended east end of the nave. Known as the Poyntz Chapel after Sir Robert Poyntz, who founded it as a chantry at his death in 1520, it has the date 1536 on the east window. The north transept was built in 1889 and the main entrance on the west front was also constructed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

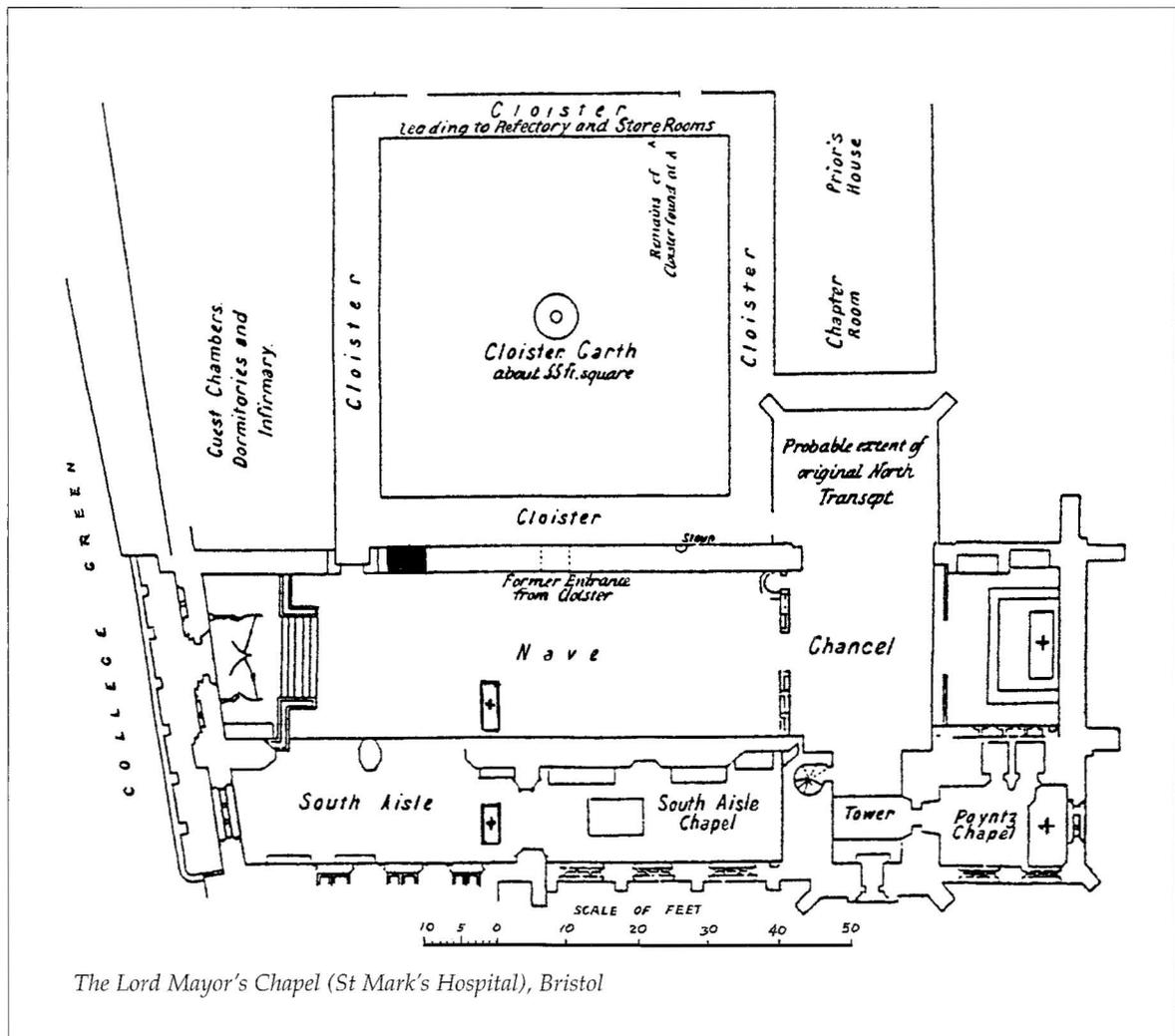
### THE STAINED GLASS

**East window.** Fragments still remaining in the chapel suggest that the main lights may have

contained a Passion series surmounted by the twelve Apostles in the tracery lights with, above them, Passion shields and arms or badges of the Hospital, benefactors and others associated with it. The glass currently in the window is probably French, of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and includes figures of Sts Catherine, Barbara, Antony and Thomas, as well as scenes of the Dream of Joseph, the Assumption and the Treachery of Tryphon (based on the *Biblia Pauperum*). This collection was bought by the Corporation of Bristol at the sale of Sir Paul Baghott of Lypiatt Park, near Stroud, in 1820.

**North side of the nave.** Three windows containing French 16<sup>th</sup>-century glass from both religious and secular settings. The latter includes coats of arms, ciphers and mottoes connected with the Constable of France, Anne de Montmorency (1493–1567), his family and Henri II, probably from Ecouen. Bristol Corporation bought this and other glass at the Beckford sale at Fonthill in 1823.

**South Aisle.** The west window has French 16<sup>th</sup>-century and later German glass, with figures of



Moses (left) and Elias (right). Beneath Moses is a scene of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Beneath Elias is German heraldic glass. All this may have come from the Baghott sale mentioned above. The three windows in the south wall contain German and Netherlandish roundels of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. These were probably bought from one of the Fonthill sales. The aperture of the squint contains an English 14<sup>th</sup>-century head of a knight. In the east window there is a figure of St Thomas Becket, designed by Benjamin West for Fonthill and painted by James Pearson in 1798.

**East Window of the Poyntz Chapel.** Three 15<sup>th</sup>-century roundels and two panels from the Abbey of Steinfeld. One of these shows St Castor with St Castrina. The other has a kneeling figure identified in an inscription as

John Berendorp, Abbot of Sayn near Koblenz (at that time one of the daughter houses of Steinfeld), donor of the glass in 1527, presented by his patron St Nicholas. There are also further English panels and a collection of bird quarries.

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Michael Archer

# Fairford

A church has existed here since before 1100. Except for the lower part of the central tower, it was completely rebuilt from the 1490s by the Tames, a family of wealthy clothiers. In 1542 John Leland, a generally reliable witness, wrote 'John Tame began the fair new church of Fairforde and Edmund Tame finishid it'. Neither John Tame's will, made in 1497, nor that of his son Edmund, made in 1534, mentions the fabric or the windows. However, John Tame's initiation of the project is borne out by his burial in a position normally reserved for a founder. It is probable that Edmund, who acquired both significant wealth and social status, embellished the new church with its remarkable set of stained glass windows in the early years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Although built by wool merchants, the church does not share the most characteristic features of other late medieval 'wool churches' in the Cotswolds. The pier profile of the nave arcade has no parallels in the Cotswolds, but is similar to that of the University Church of St Mary the Virgin, Oxford, dating from the 1490s, suggesting that the rebuild was carried out by Oxford masons. There is a marked absence of sculptural ornamentation compared, for example, to the churches at Cirencester and Northleach. The clerestory windows are set wide apart, rather than being separated only by clustered shafts, as in the 'lantern' clerestories at Chipping Norton, Northleach and Cirencester. The window tracery at Fairford is not of the repetitive 'gridiron' type, but varies according to the location and importance of the window. Hence, in order of ascending complexity and importance, there are different designs for the clerestory, aisles, west wall and eastern chapels, and the chancel. The east window is of a design unique to the church, with quatrefoils in its tracery and pierced transom.

The differentiation of window designs and the overall plainness of the intervening stonework is an indication of the importance accorded to the stained glass.

## THE STAINED GLASS

Fairford is unique among English medieval parish churches in retaining a complete set of medieval stained glass windows. Twenty-eight in all, they were installed in a single campaign in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

*Style and Design.* In style as well as iconography the glass is heavily indebted to continental sources. The composition of the Crucifixion scene, for example, derives from late 15<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlandish altarpieces, while the pictorial treatment of the windows at the east end, with landscape settings and realistic interiors, owes its inspiration to the work of Van Eyck, Memling and their contemporaries.

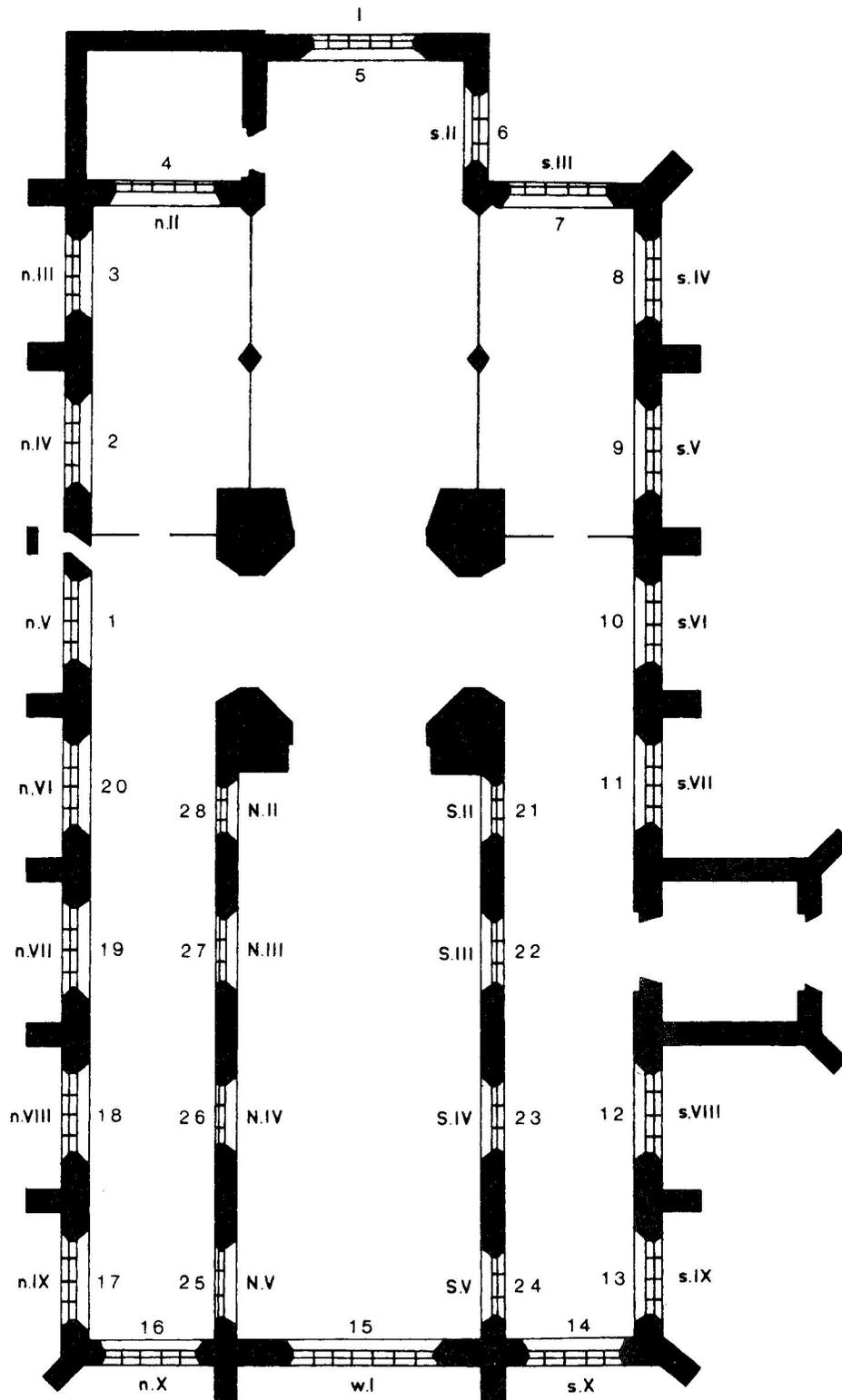
*Date.* The appointment in 1497 of Barnard Flower, a foreign glazier, as King's Glazier, heralded a transformation in English stained glass. Immigrant glaziers, mainly from the Low Countries, began to introduce new styles and techniques through the major glazing commissions that they won during the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Fairford glass was clearly executed by foreign glaziers and relates to schemes at Westminster Abbey and King's College, Cambridge.

Hilary Wayment's dating of c.1500–17 has recently been modified by Richard Marks, who considers it unlikely that Fairford predates the comparable glazing of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster (1509–1511). Marks, however, accepts a dating before c.1515, given the absence of Renaissance classicizing decorative motifs.

*Technique.* The Fairford glass was produced by exceptionally skilled craftsmen, whose work includes virtuoso cutting, drilling and accomplished handling of inserts (see, for example, the eyes of the demons in the north clerestory windows). Flashed glasses (ruby, green and even red on blue in SII) are used extensively and subtly abraded (eg. the book lying on the ground in I). The 1987–2000 conservation programme revealed the use (for the dragon in SIII) of a striated type of glass employed in Paris and Nuremburg in around 1500 and usually reserved for vessel glass. It consists of white glass on to which white filaments of colour have been 'trailed'.

*Iconographic Programme.* The iconographic programme is exceptionally coherent for a parish church. It comprises three elements: the Life of Christ; the Exponents of the Faith; and the Last Judgement.

The east end of the church is devoted to the Life of Christ. The cycle accords prominence to the Virgin, to whom the church is dedicated, and begins with the typological window in the



north aisle of the nave (nV) which, with its strong Marian significance, sets the tone for the entire programme. The windows east of the screen, in the most liturgically important part of the building, depict an almost continuous narrative from the birth of the Virgin to the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, a cycle in which the redemptive act of Christ's Passion and Crucifixion dominates in the chancel east

window. The different elements of the cycle are associated with the three altars at the east end: the life of the Virgin and the birth and infancy of Christ in the Lady Chapel; the Passion, Crucifixion, Deposition, Entombment and Harrowing of Hell in the two chancel windows; and episodes following the Resurrection and leading up to the Ascension of Christ in the Corpus Christi Chapel.

The windows in the north and south walls of the nave are filled with images of the Exponents of the Faith, with prophets and Apostles, as well as the Doctors of the Church and the Evangelists facing each other across the nave.

The Last Judgement fills the great west window, and is flanked by two Old Testament types – The Judgement of Solomon and David's Judgement on the Amalekite – in the west windows of the north and south aisles.

The eight clerestory windows, in which twelve Champions of the Faith on the south side oppose twelve Persecutors on the north, relate both to the Judgement windows and to the other nave glazing.

*Conservation.* Since 1987 Barley Studio has undertaken a programme to conserve every window in the church. The west wall glazing – the last of the windows to be conserved – will be reinstalled later this year.

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## Gloucester Cathedral

The cathedral was formerly the church of the Benedictine abbey of St Peter in Gloucester. At the Reformation the monastery was surrendered to the king, in January 1540. The abbey church was saved from destruction by its conversion to cathedral status, with John Wakeman, the last abbot of Tewkesbury, as its first bishop.

An Anglo-Saxon church was rebuilt between 1089 and c.1122. A wooden spire was added c.1222 and by 1242 the nave had been vaulted. Structural instability led to the reconstruction of the south nave aisle c.1318.

In 1327 the abbot of St Peter's accepted for burial the body of the deposed King Edward II, murdered at nearby Berkeley Castle. A state funeral was held in the abbey and the tomb of the king soon attracted pilgrims. The income from the burgeoning cult, reinforced by royal patronage, triggered the re-modelling of the Romanesque building, beginning with the **south transept** (c.1331–37). The project was probably entrusted to Thomas of Canterbury (d.1336), the second architect of the royal chapel of St Stephen's, Westminster. The wall surfaces of the Romanesque building were modernized by the addition of tracery in the newly emerging Perpendicular style. A second, anonymous architect directed the trans-

formation of the **choir**. The liturgical choir, under the crossing, was altered first (c.1337–51). The remodelling of the eastern choir and the replacement of the apsidal east end with a flat east wall containing a great east window followed in the period c.1351–60. Work was complete by 1367. The novel form of the enormous triptych-like east window, with its angled outer wings, was determined by the underlying foundations of the Romanesque apse and crypt. The north transept was remodelled c.1368–73.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the west front and two westernmost bays of the nave were rebuilt (c.1421–37). A large new **Lady Chapel** was built to the east of the choir. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century antiquary, John Leland attributed the building of this to the abbacies of Richard Hanley (1457–1472) and William Farley (1472–1498).

#### THE STAINED GLASS

##### **East Window and Choir Clerestory.**

The east window is acknowledged to be one of the great landmarks of English medieval glass-painting. Its designer exploited the angled, triptych-like quality of the architectural setting. The tracery is unusual in being of double-skin construction, the inner tracery more complex than the outer, into which the glass is set.

Figures are placed in niches under slender architectural canopies, with recessed three-dimensional vaults. The top of each canopy rises to become the plinth supporting the figure in the tier above. Both architecture and figures are executed predominantly in white glass, enlivened with yellow stain.

The glass-painting is of exceptional quality. Features and drapery are modelled with strong trace line and extensive smear shading. There is also a considerable amount of back painting. The silvery glass contrasts with the sumptuous colour of the blue and flashed red backgrounds, arranged in vertical alternation. Additional emphasis is given to the central two lights by the doubling of red backgrounds. The figures thus have a strong sculptural quality, the whole structure resembling a stone reredos, comparable, for example, to the contemporary screen at Christchurch Priory (Hampshire). The glazing of the choir clerestory (NII–VI and SII–VI) does not survive *in situ*, although the windows were glazed at the same time as the east window.

*Iconography.* The central image is of the Virgin Mary and Christ enthroned in Majesty. They are accompanied by the Apostles and a gallery of angels. In the registers below are a gallery of saints, and a row of abbots and bishops. The lowest tier of the window was reserved for a display of heraldry representing the king and members of the nobility, of both national and local significance. Quarry glazing occupies the base of the window, now obscured by the shadow of the Lady Chapel. The earlier Lady Chapel was lower than its 15<sup>th</sup>-century successor.

**Windows NII–VI and SII–VI** now contain glass by Clayton & Bell. Medieval fragments were still *in situ* when glass-historian Charles Winston studied the windows in the early 1860s. The lower register of each window contained a figure, with canopy work and quarries above. Six figures of kings now in the east window are likely to have come from the choir clerestory, and were probably intended to represent royal benefactors and figures of historical significance to the abbey.

*Date.* Although the progress of the fabric is well documented in the abbey chronicle, no specific documentation survives for the glazing of the east window and choir clerestory. The heraldry in the east window places the glazing in the middle years of the century. The progress of the architecture suggests a date in the period c.1355–60 for the installation of the glass. Stylistic comparisons bear this out, especially those with a number of sculptural schemes

(eg. the tomb of Peter, Lord Grandison (d.1352) in Hereford Cathedral, the reredos of Christchurch Priory, Hampshire (c.1350–60) and the wooden Annunciation group from the Vicars Choral Hall at Wells Cathedral (c.1350)).

*Condition and Restoration:* A medieval restored head survives in the angel group at the top of the window. Some repairs were undertaken in 1661. In 1798 a considerable amount of medieval glass was stolen from the cathedral, although it is unclear whether this was taken from the east window of the choir or Lady Chapel. Between 1861 and 1862 a major restoration was undertaken by the firm of Ward & Hughes, supervised by Charles Winston. This was a conservative programme, involving re-leading but little other intervention.

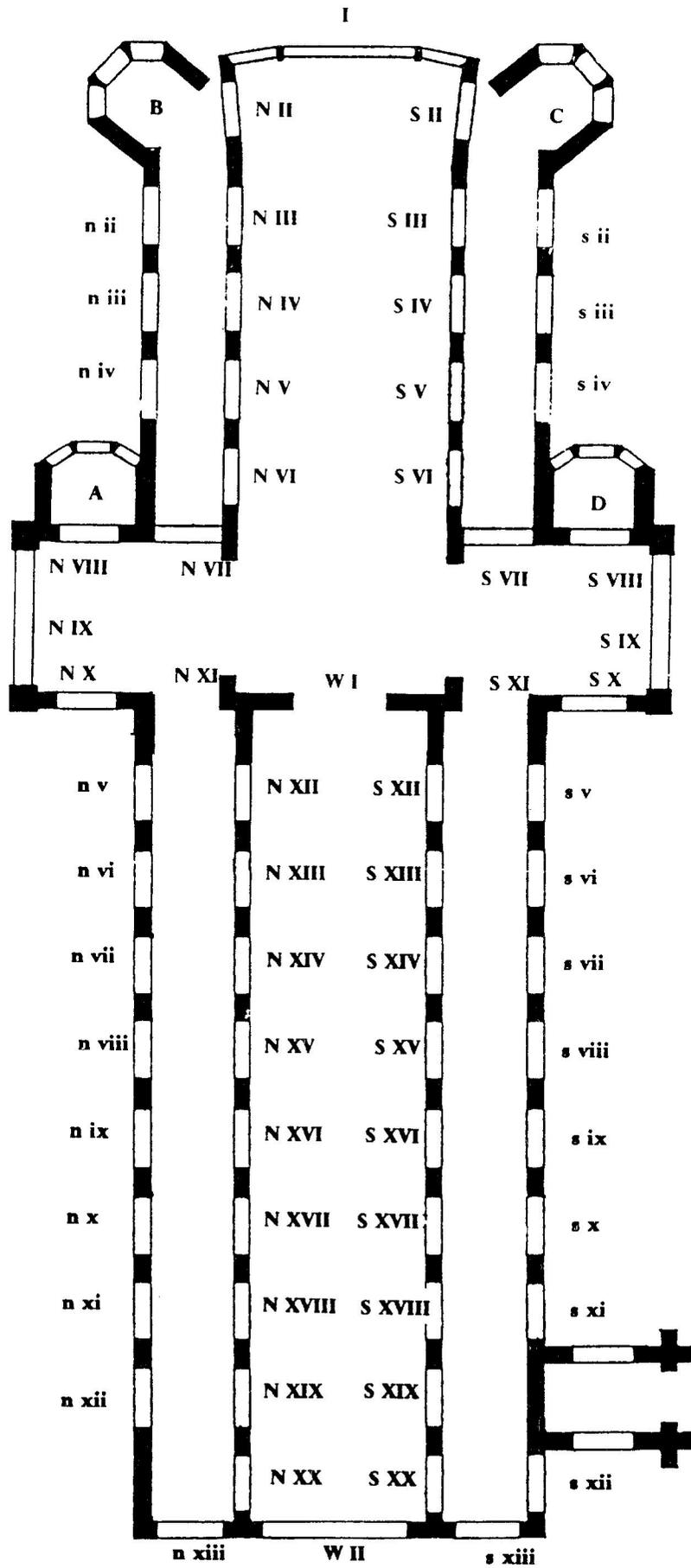
The glass was removed to safety in 1940 and is said to have been repaired by the Cheltenham firm of Wallace Beck, 1945–46. It was thought that this had involved a full re-leading of the window and cleaning that caused the loss of much back painting. This work is entirely undocumented. The most recent detailed examination, undertaken by Leonie Seliger of the Cathedral Studios, Canterbury, has questioned this, finding the glass still to be largely in the lead of 1863, with most of the back-painting intact.

Minor repairs were carried out in the 1970s by Cathedral Glazier, Edward Payne and in 1976 three panels were re-leaded by the York Glaziers Trust. The current conservation programme has been prompted by repairs to the masonry of the east window. The programme has consisted of *in situ* cleaning with only limited re-leading of weak panels. The glass has been found to be in surprisingly good condition. The unstable condition of some paint has, however, caused concern. Condensation is a serious problem although isothermal protection is not an option owing to the double-skin of tracery. The nature of the heating and ventilation of the choir is to be considered.

### **The Lady Chapel**

The east window now contains a considerable amount of medieval glass of different dates in an arrangement probably assembled c.1802–1803. Alien glass includes figures from the choir clerestory and panels from a mid-14<sup>th</sup>-century Tree of Jesse, possibly from the north transept.

*Date.* The prevalence of Yorkist badges suggests that the glazing may have been installed before the accession of Henry VII in 1485, although



Edward Compton, one of the donors, only died in 1493. Two workshops appear to have been involved, of which one has been identified as that of Richard Twygge and Thomas Woodshawe, best known as glaziers of Holy Trinity, Tattershall, Lincs. This workshop may have glazed the side windows.

*Iconography.* The original disposition of subjects and figures in the east and side windows is a matter of some uncertainty. Marian subjects in the east window can be safely assumed and surviving fragments of inscriptions ('*Sancta maria celesti lumine*' and '*Sca Maria Dei genitrix, regina celi et domina mundi*') suggest that she may have been represented in a number of different guises, rather as in a window in the chapel of Browne's Hospital in Stamford (Lincolnshire) of c.1475. She may have been accompanied by virgin saints, including St Apollonia and St Agatha). There are also fragmentary figures of Benedictine abbesses. Other identifiable subjects include a Christ of Pity and a Christ of the Precious Blood.

#### **Other Medieval Glass**

South Transept. Vine foliage and borders, c.1340. Very similar to glass at Tewkesbury.

North Transept. 14<sup>th</sup>-c quarries and borders.

Nave. Borders and quarry glazing survives in a number of clerestory windows. In the north nave aisle, 15<sup>th</sup>-c figures of St Catherine and an archbishop (nVIII).

Cloisters. In the south walk, twelve heraldic panels and roundels, c.1520–25, from Prinknash Park, made for Abbot William Parker (1514–38). Installed here in 1928.

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## **Great Malvern Priory**

A small and remote place in the middle ages, Malvern owed its subsequent development to the natural springs and wells which turned it into a popular spa and holiday resort in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. At its heart stands the Priory Church of St Mary the Virgin and St Michael, virtually all that remains of a minor Benedictine monastery suppressed in 1539. The building has survived because it was purchased as a replacement parish church in 1541.

The Benedictine Priory was founded as an offshoot of Westminster Abbey, in 1085. However, later medieval sources, including the Founders Window (NIV) in the choir, claim a slightly earlier foundation by St Wulstan, last Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Worcester. He is

supposed to have built the Priory on land granted by King Edward the Confessor, near to the site of an earlier chapel in which a hermit, St Werstan, had been martyred by the Danes.

In general plan and broad outlines the architecture is similar to that of Gloucester. After major rebuilding during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it is the Perpendicular style that dominates the exterior, but, like Gloucester and Tewkesbury, remains of the earlier Romanesque church (completed c.1120) are revealed inside.

#### **THE STAINED GLASS**

Malvern's forty-one windows were glazed as the rebuilding moved from east to west between about 1420 and 1485. The north transept windows followed in around

1501–1502. Besides what is probably the finest collection of 15<sup>th</sup>-century glass outside York Minster, Malvern retains an unparalleled collection of medieval tiles, as well as choir stalls with 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>-century misericords.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century the church was dilapidated and its glass in a shocking state. The response, in 1802, was a plan to tidy up what remained by a wholesale movement of panels to fill the gaps, mainly from the nave to the eastern parts of the church. Despite vigorous protests, this misguided and disastrous scheme was set in motion in 1812. Further restoration took place under Gilbert Scott in 1861, before careful repairs were carried out from 1909 by Kempe & Co. Some glass has been releaded recently by Hardman and John Baker, but nothing has come of discussions on protective glazing.

Many panels have been lost or moved and an understanding of the original layout, patronage and dating depends on antiquarian sources, like Thomas Habington's 'Survey of Worcestershire' (c.1605–47) and William Thomas's *Antiquitates Prioratus Majoris Malverne* (1725). Conclusions were presented, along with a brilliant study of the iconography, by G. McN. Rushforth in his *Medieval Christian Imagery as illustrated by the Painted Windows in Great Malvern Priory Church, Worcestershire* (1936).

#### **East Window and Choir Clerestory (I, NII–NIV, SII–SIV)**

The iconography of the glazing followed a broadly definable scheme in which the east end of the choir was used for the early life of the Virgin, and Christ's Incarnation and Passion. A pair of windows (NII, SII) given by Prior John Malvern (fl.1435) and other monks, dealt with the first two themes, although nothing survives of the Nativity and Adoration once in SII, which now contains tracery panels from the nave.

The impressive **east window** (I) depicts the Passion and Resurrection, from Christ's Entry into Jerusalem to Pentecost. The tracery lights, with Apostles, saints and angels, are well preserved, but many main-light panels are broken or replaced by intruded glass from the choir aisles and clerestory, particularly on the right. Well preserved panels like the Entry into Jerusalem or the Last Supper confirm the quality of the glass, which is typical of English International Gothic in colour, style and design. Comparisons have been made with the St William Window at York (c.1415) and glass, closer to hand, from Hereford and Ross-on-Wye, windows perhaps to be associated

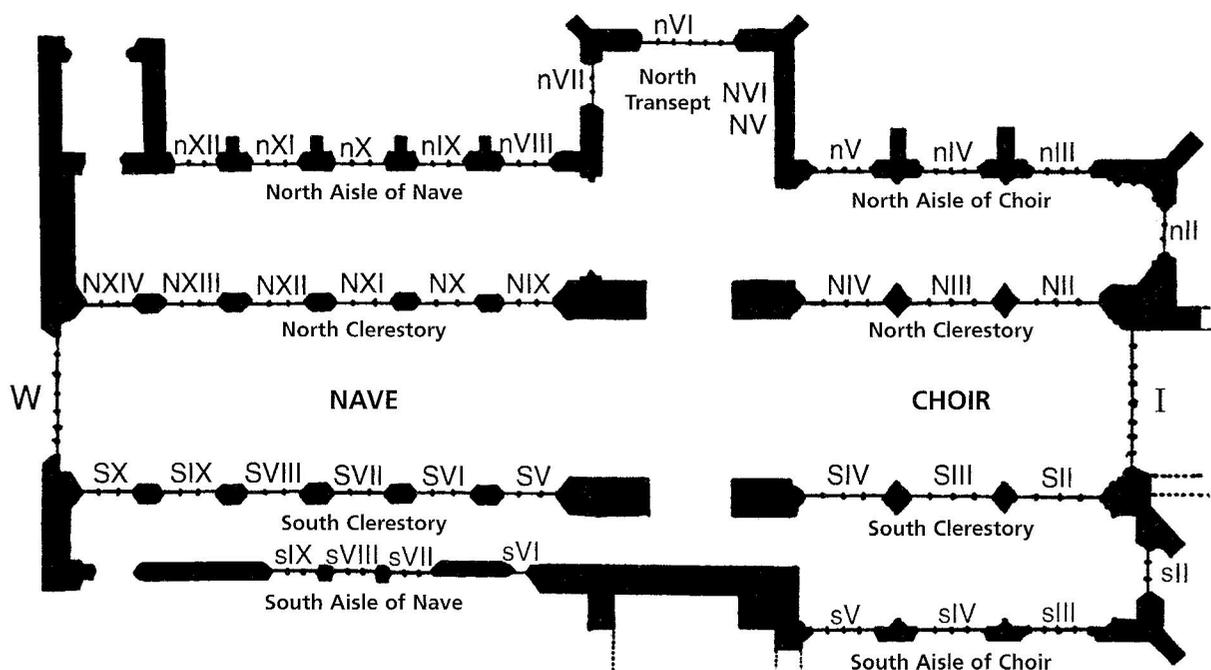
with John Thornton of Coventry, active in the Midlands and York at this time. Connections with manuscripts like the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen (c.1420–30) are tantalizing, as the latter was owned by the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick who were overlords of Malvern and benefactors of the Priory. Their arms, once carved at the apex of the window and dateable to 1423–39, may provide a dating for the glass.

The glazing of the other two windows in the **north choir clerestory** is still *in situ*. The first (NIII) proclaims bishop saints of the Worcester diocese, and includes Wulstan, the supposed founder of the Priory, along with St Anne and the Virgin, who regularly appear in the Malvern glass. Some donor panels of citizens of Worcester and monks (mentioned in documents of the 1420s and 1430s) are now in the east window. Continuing the historical theme and of particular interest is the **Founders Window** (NIV) of c.1440–50. This illustrates the founding of St Werstan's hermitage at Malvern, his martyrdom at the hands of the Danes, the founding of the Priory in the reign of Edward the Confessor and subsequent charters and donations granted by William the Conqueror and others. Armorials in the tracery stress Malvern's links with the Confessor and Westminster.

Two windows opposite (SIII, SIV) originally contained the Apostles Creed and saints, but little remains *in situ*. Note in the first window an extended Crucifixion and in both windows figures from a series of the Nine Orders of Angels, all originally in the north nave clerestory. St Michael was one of the patron saints of Malvern.

#### **North Choir Aisle (nII–nV)**

The windows in this aisle were mainly given by local families during the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. They were used to reinforce orthodox Christian teaching and included subjects frequently found in parish churches: the Mass, Doctors of the Church, Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer. Little, apart from the canopies and tracery lights, remains in place, but Rushforth identified fragments from most of the windows in the great east window. The **Museum Window** (nV) retains its tracery lights with the Infancy of Mary and Christ. Originally this was a Creed window with prophets, Apostles and, perhaps under the influence of German block-books, pictorial representations of each article in the Creed. It now contains an interesting collection of fragments.



Great Malvern Priory

### South Choir Aisle

As in the north aisle little other than canopies and traceries survives *in situ*, although a few pieces from here can be seen in the Museum Window (nV) and elsewhere. The **east window** (sII) by Kempe (1897) once contained the Trinity and armorials of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Isabella Despenser (1423–1439). The three **south windows** (sIII–sV), donated by various families *c.*1450, formed a coherent series of saints standing above scenes of their martyrdom or miracles. The tracery lights, which are part of this scheme, contain arms of local families and remains of an *arma christi* series.

Occupying the three windows now are all that remains of the seventy-two Old Testament panels that once filled the south nave clerestory (SV–SX). The series was given by lay and monastic donors, *c.*1485. It began with the Creation and probably ended with the Death of Moses. In their present arrangement the scenes commence at the top of each window and read from left to right. The first window (sIII) contains the Creation and Fall; the second (sIV) the history of Noah, the Tower of Babel, and Abraham and Isaac; the third (sV) further Abraham and Isaac panels, and parts of the stories of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Architectural features, landscape settings and costume details can be easily appreciated from close up.

### Nave Clerestory (NIX–NXIV and SV–SX)

If the south nave clerestory was given over to small-scale scenes from the Old Testament, the windows opposite (NIX–NXIV), also *c.*1485 and probably by the same glaziers, moved to the New Dispensation, but on a more monumental scale. Much of the glass survives, but none of it *in situ*. Five of the six three-light windows contained groups of single figures, three below each transom and three above. An exception was the easternmost window (NIX), which contained the Crucifixion (now in SIII) above the Holy Kindred, consisting of the Three Marys with their children (now in W). Above the transom, in three of the windows (NX–NXII), was the Order of Angels series (now in SIII, SIV and W), as well as Apostles and saints, such as Laurence, George and Christopher (now in W), who had altars in the church.

### Nave Aisles and West Window (nVIII–XII, sVI–sIX and W)

The five windows in the nave north aisle were filled with narratives, beginning with the Early Life of the Virgin and ending with Pentecost. They appear to be by the same glaziers who produced the Old Testament scenes. What survives was gathered into one window (nIX) in 1919. Four of the windows retain tracery lights with seated figures of female saints and Evangelists. In the south aisle, above the cloister, were five small 15<sup>th</sup>-century windows

that were replaced by three larger windows (sVII-IX), c.1840. These were given by members of the community and contained angels and saints, including a St Sebastian now in the east window. Further east, in a small blocked Romanesque opening in the cloister door, the monks were reminded of their mortality. Rushforth interpreted the scene, known only from antiquarian sources, as an angel battling with demons for the soul of a dying monk, an image popular in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Books of Hours.

Architectural changes to the west window (W) have produced an eccentric design. Little original glass has survived because of the exposed position. Originally the main lights contained the Virgin, flanked by six female martyr saints. Appropriately, given the western location, the tracery contained an extensive Doom. A few scattered fragments remain, mainly in the east window. Two tracery lights (B1, B2) once contained the arms of Richard, Duke of Gloucester (the future Richard III) and his wife, Anne Neville (married 1474), who may have given the window shortly before Richard's coronation in 1483. His shield and other heraldic fragments are now in the choir (SIV and nV). Many of the ecclesiastics, female saints, martyrs and angels now occupying the window were moved from the north nave clerestory.

#### **North Transept (nVI and nVII)**

The glazing of Malvern Priory was completed at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century by one of the most spectacular windows in the church. Despite storm damage in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the **Magnificat Window** (nVI) in the north gable wall is the finest expression of the cult of the Virgin at Malvern. Its main subject, Eleven Joys of the Virgin, are represented by scenes illustrating verses from the Magnificat, which were accompanied by quotations from the canticle and *Gaude* inscriptions summarizing each scene. These commence with the Annunciation and end with a large Coronation, off-centre and, unusually for an English design, spread across three lights. The Coronation is largely reconstructed, but the flanking patriarchs are well preserved. The *Gaude* verses beneath the Virgin are taken from a work attributed to St Herman Joseph of Steinfeld, another example of continental inspiration.

Both of the Priory's patron saints were included, as St Michael and his fellow archangels, now much battered, frame the scenes. Female saints and angels fill the tracery. Across the base of the window are the remains of six donor figures, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir John Savage (largely lost), Sir Reginald Bray, Arthur Prince of Wales (d.1502), Queen Elizabeth of York (lost) and Henry VII. The inscription below, which mentions Katherine of Aragon who married Arthur in 1501, and the inclusion of Elizabeth, who died in 1502, suggests the glass can be dated very precisely to 1501-1502. The presence of the three local knights, rather than further royal children, may indicate that this was not a straightforward royal commission.

Richard Marks has attributed the window to the workshop of Richard Twygge and Thomas Wodshawe on the basis of their documented work at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, 1482. He has also identified these glaziers in Gloucestershire (including the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral), Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire and, above all, Worcestershire itself. Documents show Twygge working at Westminster Abbey in 1505-10 when a glazier from Malvern is also mentioned. It seems likely that the workshop had a Worcestershire base, possibly in Malvern itself, where it also executed the east window of Little Malvern Priory (1480-82).

At Malvern it is possible to trace the development of native glass-painting over a virtually continuous period of some seventy to eighty years, beginning with the International Gothic style in the east window and ending with the more pictorial style of the transept. Malvern was not a particularly wealthy or prestigious house, but its glazing was well served by a combination of monastic and local lay donors, reinforced by a few very prestigious national figures. The wholesale movement of panels disturbs any neat historical overview, but for a conference on lay piety it provides a wealth of images to admire and discuss.

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D. O'Connor

# Oxford, Merton College

This is one of the earlier colleges in the university. A statute was established in 1264 by Bishop Walter Merton, Chancellor to King Henry III. The hall may date from his time, with its splendid transomed windows (heavily restored) and original ironwork on the door. The chapel was begun later, in 1289, replacing an earlier church, and roofed in 1296–97. Only the eastern arm and part of the transept of a great cruciform church were completed. The resulting T-shape would become standard for Oxford college chapels. The windows of the eastern arm demonstrate an interest in tracery design that is characteristic of the English reception of Rayonnant architecture in the late thirteenth century.

## The Chapel

The glazing of the **eastern arm** was underway in 1294. The glass has been restored at various dates, notably by Caldwell of Canterbury in the 1930s, but the original forms were maintained, as earlier drawings demonstrate. Only the main lights of the east window are completely unknown; the coloured tracery is largely original. The main lights of the fourteen side windows adopt the band window format, found at about the same date in the Chapter House and vestibule of York Minster, another building showing awareness of Rayonnant precedents. The grisaille grounds have naturalistic foliage throughout, as on the Chapter House stairs at Wells, c.1290, and are set with coloured and painted bosses. The coloured borders include pseudo-heraldic motifs.

Twelve of the three-light windows centre Apostles, flanked by kneeling figures of the donor Henry Mamesfield (d.1328), who appears no less than twenty-four times, in different attire. Inscriptions identify him repeatedly as donor. He was a fellow of Merton in 1288–96 and gave money for the chapel, later becoming Chancellor of the university and Dean of Lincoln Cathedral. This is an extreme example of the multiple commemoration that is a feature of the period, as for example in the string of crosses erected by Edward I for Queen Eleanor (d.1290), or the glass for Raoul de Senlis in an ambulatory chapel at Beauvais Cathedral, in the same decade. In the college chapel, the pattern is broken only in the pair of windows over the sedilia (now heavily restored), which contain representations of saints.

The tabernacles follow the latest architectural fashion, in the reception of French Rayonnant forms, and are among the earliest in England accurately to depict such forms in the two-dimensional medium of glass painting. The ogee arches in the central niches had been taken up only in the early 1290s, on the Eleanor Crosses and at St Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Palace. Microarchitectural forms in other media, metalwork for example, should not be discounted as an inspiration. There are several figure styles, but these, too, demonstrate the latest fashion, including draperies in the soft style, to be found in monumental sculpture and in northern French painting in this decade.

The Merton glass appears to be at the forefront of formal and stylistic developments during the 1290s, relating generally to the other great monument of stained glass in southern England at this period, Exeter Cathedral, and more closely to surviving fragments from the Chapter House at Wells. However, it also relates closely to glazing locally, in Oxford and Oxfordshire, over the following thirty years. There are similarities, for example, between the east window and that in the St Lucy Chapel, Oxford Cathedral (Christ Church), which probably dates from the 1320s.

In the main lights of the **east window** are figures and heraldry from elsewhere in the college and chapel. The magnificent Virgin and Child, and associated figures in the International Gothic style, are from the transepts, the northern of which was dedicated in 1425. They have been attributed to the workshop of Thomas of Oxford, who had earlier glazed New College Chapel for Bishop William Wykeham, c.1380–86. There is other glass in the region in a similar style, confirming that Oxford was a major centre for the production of glass in this period, as it had been in the earlier fourteenth century.

The present arrangement of the east window dates from the 1930s, and restoration by the Caldwells. Previously it had contained enamel-painted glass by William Price, Senior, depicting six scenes from the Life of Christ, 1702 – one of the most important painted windows in England of the first half of the eighteenth century. This has recently been reset in the **north transept** by Barley Studio.

### The Library

The present furnishings of the library were added to an earlier library building, in the west range, in the early seventeenth century. The remains of glass in this west range may be the earliest surviving English library glazing, although their original setting remains to be established for certain. Reading desks were probably set between the windows originally, as elsewhere, and the single fully glazed lancets were designed to allow in the maximum amount of light. Each now centres a boss showing the *agnus dei* against a quarry ground with ornamental borders. This glass dates certainly from the late 14<sup>th</sup> or early 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the windows of the later south range have been set many fragments from elsewhere, including tracery lights and blackletter

inscriptions, some of which imply scenes from the life of the patriarch Joseph, a subject recorded elsewhere in England in the later middle ages (Durham Cathedral).

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Tim Ayers

## Oxford, New College

The dual foundation of a grammar school (Winchester College, 1382) and a university college (New College, 1379) by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England, was unprecedented. Built to honour the names of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and to commemorate Wykeham himself, the colleges were also specifically intended to benefit the Church by bolstering the number of ordinands. The majority of New College's 70 scholars (a number equalling the total number of fellows in Oxford's six existing colleges) were drawn from Winchester College, and directed to study theology in order to prepare themselves for the parochial ministry. The concept of providing for both Latin teaching and university studies was not entirely new, but Wykeham, one of the greatest of England's late medieval patrons, was the first to give it formal and assured continuity by the generous endowment of two linked colleges.

Wykeham had been acquiring land for his college in Oxford in a piecemeal fashion since 1369, but it was not until 1380 that the foundation stone was laid. Building accounts for the early 1380s do not survive, but it is likely that the main quadrangle was substantially complete

by 1386, when the Warden and scholars took possession. There is evidence, however, that parts of the northern range (including, perhaps, elements of the chapel) were not completed until early in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Wykeham, whose career was effectively launched by his successful tenure as surveyor of Edward III's buildings works at Windsor (1356–61), brought together a team of the finest craftsmen to carry out his work at Oxford, Winchester and his episcopal palace at Highclere. The master mason at New College was William Wynford, architect of Winchester College and of the nave of Winchester Cathedral.

The college, the first substantial building in Oxford to be built entirely in dressed stone and probably the largest erected in the city since the 12<sup>th</sup> century, was of a scale unprecedented in university architecture. Its integrated composition – quadrangular plan, hall and chapel aligned together on the north side (a feature probably derived from Windsor Castle), and cloister to the west – was to have a profound influence on subsequent collegiate architecture in Oxford.

The chapel's distinctive T-plan – a liturgical choir with antechapel – may have derived from Merton College, though it is possible that a longer nave was originally intended but abandoned because the necessary extra land could not be acquired. The west wall masonry is not bonded in with the north and south walls, suggesting that work came to a halt here and that the west wall was built at a slightly later stage. Although Perpendicular tracery first appeared in Oxford in 1364 (at Canterbury College, now lost), elsewhere in the city Decorated forms were still commonly employed. Wynford introduced a 'gridiron' pattern on a large scale for the first time.

#### THE STAINED GLASS

The glazing was executed by the workshop of Thomas Glazier, who is known to have dined at New College regularly from 1386 to 1398, and more sporadically thereafter until his death in 1422. Although attempts have been made to show that Thomas worked at St Stephen's Chapel and St George's Windsor, nothing is known for certain about his work before c.1380, when it is assumed that he began the New College scheme. Wykeham appears to have commissioned work from him on a more or less continuous basis throughout the 1380s and 1390s. He is known to have worked at Winchester College, where he is commemorated in the east window, and at Highclere, Hants. It is probable that he also provided glazing for the nave of Winchester Cathedral after Wykeham's death (1404), paid for by a substantial bequest in the Bishop's will.

*Date.* The chapel was glazed in two campaigns, the first (c.1380–86) comprising all but the west window which, as has been indicated, may not have been constructed until it became clear that a nave was not viable. Stylistically, the west window glazing (no longer at New College) appears to date from the 1390s, having much in common with that at Winchester College (executed between 1393 and 1396).

*Iconography.* The majority of the extant medieval glazing is now to be found in the antechapel and consisted almost entirely of standing figures in niches. The **antechapel aisle windows**, containing a series of patriarchs and prophets, embodied the Old Law. The New Law was represented in the two **antechapel east windows** by no fewer than four depictions of the Crucifixion and, in the upper lights, a series of Apostles. Flanking the entrance to the choir, in the tracery lights, were a Coronation of the Virgin (sVI) and an image of Wykeham

kneeling before Christ (nVI). A Jesse Tree and Doom in the **west window** made explicit the link between the Old and New Testaments. Appropriately, given the Founder's purpose, the Life of the Church was represented in the **choir** with an extensive series of saints, including many clerics and monarchs. The choir and antechapel programmes were linked by a series of the Nine Order of Angels in the tracery lights.

Wykeham dedicated both of his colleges to the Virgin Mary, and although she appears in sculpture at New College, there seems to have been no emphasis on Marian iconography in the glazing. The 'back to back' layout of the chapel and hall deprives the chapel of its east window. There was instead a great reredos, which played a critical role in the overall iconographic programme. The 14<sup>th</sup>-century reredos is lost but the present structure by Sir George Gilbert Scott gives some sense of the scale of the original. Surviving fragments of sculpture from Wykeham's reredos include an Annunciation, Nativity and Coronation of the Virgin, suggesting that it provided the narrative and Marian elements which are absent from the stained glass.

The coherent iconographic scheme must have been determined by Wykeham and bears similarities to that at Winchester College, where a Jesse Tree and standing figures of prophets, Apostles and saints predominate. Across the base of each window is an inscription, more or less complete: '*Orate pro Willelmo de Wykeham episco Wyntoniensis fundatore Collegii*'.

*Style.* Given Wykeham's status, wealth and connections with the Court it is likely that the surviving glass at New College represents the best of English glass painting in the 1380s. It is highly accomplished work, which employs, within the framework of a fairly simple overall design, a rich and varied register of decorative detail, from the intricate motifs ornamenting the draperies to the inventive roofscapes of the canopywork. Its technical sophistication is evident throughout, in the expert handling of silver stain, for example and in the 3-dimensional effects created through the application of stipple shading and washes to the figures and the architectural framework.

Despite the high quality of the work, it is clear that Thomas Glazier was – at this stage – operating within the mainstream of contemporary English painting. The decorative motifs and architectural framework are, as Richard Marks has shown, paralleled in smaller

glazing schemes elsewhere. The figure style is still, despite the application of washes and shading, predominantly linear, bearing comparison with the missal made for Abbot Lytlington of Westminster, 1383–84. Thomas's ability as an innovator is not apparent until the 1390s, when his work at Winchester College and in the west window of New College demonstrates, in its sculptural figural modelling, a familiarity with the International Gothic style.

*History of the Glass.* Although some repairs were recorded in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the glass seems – with the exception of the crucifix images – to have escaped iconoclasm. Severe losses were sustained in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the College invested in reglazing the choir and the west window. William Price, who 'repaired' the south choir glazing between 1736 and 1740, retained the overall design of the original scheme and possibly even the identity of some of the saints but, with the exception of some tracery lights and portions of canopywork, replaced the medieval glass. In 1775 the north choir windows were replaced, with less regard for the originals, by William Peckitt. Some of the medieval fragments were set in the antechapel (sVI, sVII and sVIII).

In 1765 Peckitt removed the Jesse and Doom from the west window, accepting them as part payment for a new window, itself replaced twenty years later by the Reynolds/Jervais window now *in situ*. Substantial remains of the

Jesse and Doom can be seen at York Minster and South Melton (South Yorkshire) respectively.

*Conservation.* The antechapel glass was resealed and the east windows rearranged by James Powell, 1895–1900. At the start of the Second World War it was removed and placed in safe storage. Between 1945 and 1948 Joan Howson undertook a major restoration programme which included rearrangement of the position of some of the upper figures in the antechapel. Between 1991 and 1999 York Glaziers Trust conserved the north aisle windows of the antechapel.

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Anna Eavis

## Handlist

### Antechapel

#### nVI

Main lights (upper)

- a St Peter
- b St Andrew
- c St James Major
- d St John
- e St Thomas
- f St James Minor

Main lights (lower)

- a Fragments (replacing the Virgin)
- b Remains of Crucifixion panel
- c St John Evangelist
- d Virgin Mary
- e Remains of Crucifixion panel
- f St John Evangelist

Tracery: Archangels, Wykeham kneeling before Christ

#### nVII

Main lights (upper)

- a Daniel 'Et post hebdomadas sexaginta duas occidetur Christus' (Daniel ix.26)
- b Ezekiel 'Visitabo oues meas & liberabo eas' (Ezekiel xxxiv.12)
- c Obadiah 'Et erit Domino regnum' (Obadiah 21)

- d Habbakuk 'Domine, audivi auditionem tuam, et timui' (Habakkuk iii.2)

Main lights (lower)

- a Jacob
- b Judah
- c Moses
- d Nahum (and lower half of Aaron)

Tracery: Dominations

#### nVIII

Main lights (upper)

- a Amos 'Qui aedificat in caelo ascensionem suam' (Amos ix.6)
- b Joel 'Consurgant, et ascendant gentes in vallem Josaphat; quia ibi sedebit ut iudicem omnes gentes in circuitu' (Joel iii.12)
- c Micah: 'de Sion egreietur lex, et verbum Domini de Jerusalem' (Micah iv.2)
- d Zephaniah: 'Haec est civitas gloriosa habitans in confidentia quae dicebat: Ego sum, et extra me non est alia amplius' (Zephaniah ii.15)

Main lights (lower)

- a Methusaleh
- b Noah
- c Abraham
- d Isaac

Tracery: Principalities

**nIX**

Main lights (upper)

- a Jeremiah *'Patrem vocabis me dicit dominus'*  
(Jeremiah iii.19–20)
- b Isaiah *'Ecce virgo concipiet & pariet filium'*  
(Isaiah vii.14)
- c Samuel?
- d Hosea *'O mors ero mors tua morsus tuus ero inferne'*  
(Hosea xiii.14)

Main lights (lower)

- a Adam
- b Eve
- c Seth
- d Enoch

Tracery: Thrones

**sVI**

Main lights (upper)

- a St Philip
- b St Bartholomew
- c St Matthew
- d St Simon
- e St Matthias
- f St Jude

Main lights (lower)

- a Virgin Mary? Female saint?
- b Remains of Crucifixion panel; inserted female saint
- c St John Evangelist
- d Virgin Mary
- e Remains of Crucifixion panel; inserted female saint
- f St John Evangelist

Tracery: Angels, Coronation of the Virgin

**sVII**

Main lights (upper)

- a bishop
- b pope
- c St Alphege
- d St Germanus

Main lights (lower)

- a St Athanasius
- b St Bernard
- c Bishop
- d Bishop

Tracery: Cherubim

**sVIII**

Main lights (upper)

- a St Mary of Egypt
- b Baruch
- c Jonah
- d Mary Magdalene?

Main lights (lower)

- a St Martha
- b
- c Queen
- d Queen

Tracery: Seraphim

**W1**

Painted 1778–85 by Thomas Jervais from the designs of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Upper: The Nativity

Lower: The Virtues (Temperance, Fortitude, Faith, Charity, Hope, Justice, Prudence)

**The Choir**

South windows: Figures of saints, patriarchs and bishops by William Price Jun., 1735–40, but incorporating some C14 glass in the canopywork and tracery lights.

North windows: Figures of apostles and prophets by William Peckitt, 1765 and 1774, incorporating some C14 glass in the tracery lights.

**Hall Staircase**

The following shields of arms were removed from the hall windows in 1865:

See of Winchester; Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, C16; France and England quarterly, C14; Edward VI as Prince of Wales, C16; France and England quarterly for Henry VIII; Ireland, C14; Wykeham, C14; Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, C16; St George, C14

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## Tewkesbury Abbey

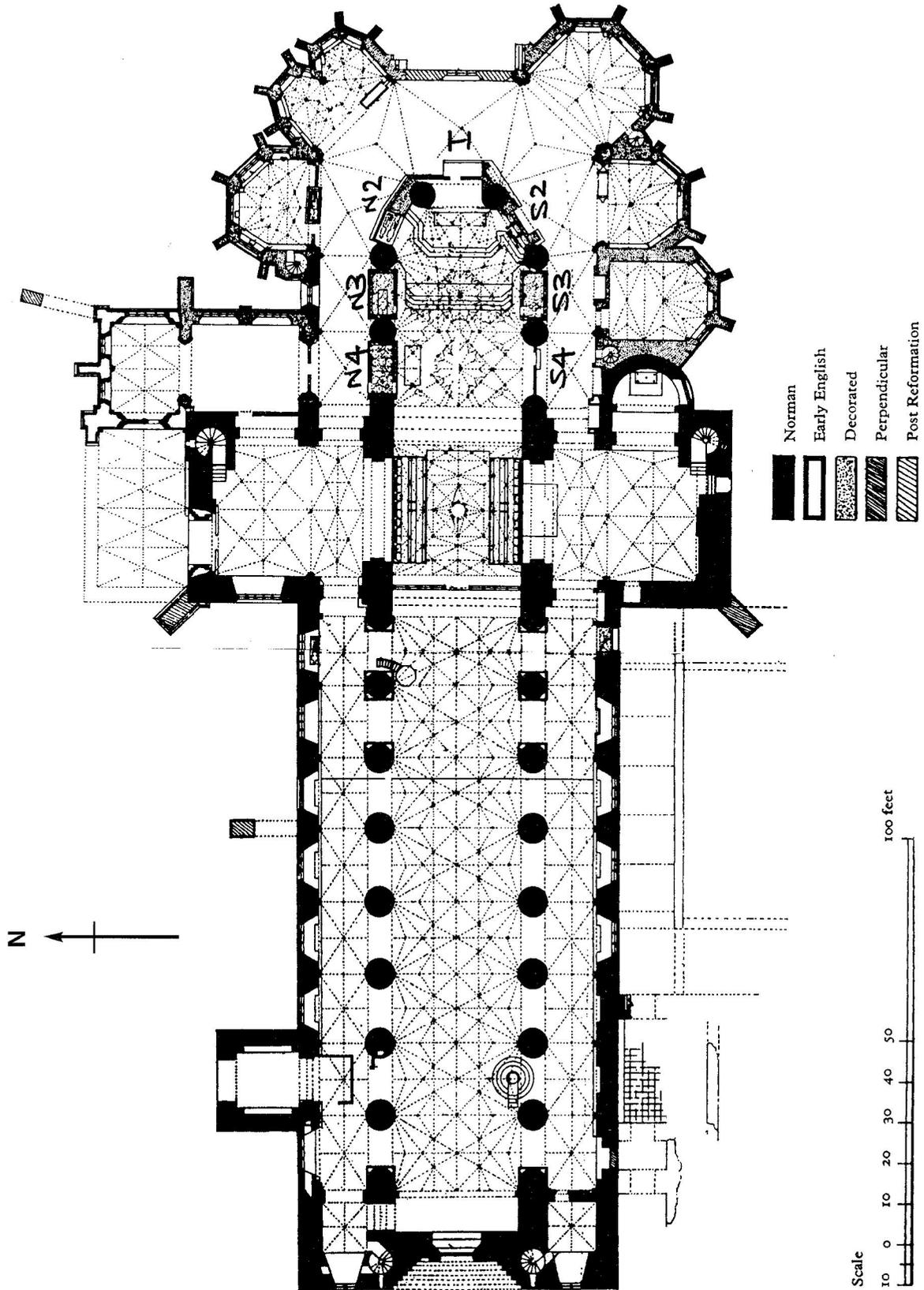
A Benedictine abbey was founded here, 15 km north-east of Gloucester, by Robert Fitzhamon, Lord of Creully in Calvados (d.1107). The church was dedicated in 1121, although the building was probably not complete by this time. Work continued under the patronage of Fitzhamon's son-in-law, Robert FitzRoy, a bastard son of King Henry I. In the early 13<sup>th</sup> century the honor of Tewkesbury passed through marriage to the Clare family, Earls of Gloucester and Hertford. The Clares had become

one of the most powerful families in England, with extensive lands on the Welsh borders, and Tewkesbury Abbey became their burial church.

In 1314 Gilbert de Clare was killed at the battle of Bannockburn in Scotland. His heirs were his three sisters. Tewkesbury fell to the share of Eleanor de Clare, wife of Hugh Despencer the Younger, the powerful and hated favourite of King Edward II. Under Despencer the abbey church was remodelled in the English Decorated

style, in a programme designed to turn the church into a Despencer mausoleum. The new work was strongly influenced by royal projects, particularly Westminster Abbey and nearby Cistercian Hailes Abbey, founded by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, younger brother of King Henry III.

The Romanesque church, built in the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, had been modified in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by the addition of chapels to the north transept. The 14<sup>th</sup>-century work was far more ambitious, adding a Lady Chapel to the east of the chancel and a series of radiating



chapels around the choir. The upper parts of the choir elevation were rebuilt, with large Decorated traceried windows, and an elaborate lierne vault was inserted. Decorated windows were also introduced into the older parts of the church. This work progressed rapidly, thanks to Hugh Despencer's prodigious wealth, and can probably be assigned to the period between his acquisition of the Clare inheritance in 1317 and his fall from power and execution in 1326. Thereafter building works must either have ceased or drastically slowed down as the monks lost the financial support of their principal patron.

## THE STAINED GLASS

### The Choir Clerestory

Nothing is known of the glazing of the demolished Lady Chapel. The surviving medieval stained glass is concentrated in the seven choir clerestory windows (I, NII–NIV and SII–SIV), with a window in the sacristy containing *ex situ* medieval fragments, assembled in 1924.

*Date and Patronage.* Detailed antiquarian descriptions of the lost heraldry in the glass allow the planning of the glazing scheme to be placed in the period c.1338–40. The arms of England in the ancient form (*Gules three lions passant guardant Or*) place the scheme before 1340, when King Edward III adopted the arms of England quartered with those of France. The inclusion of the arms of Montague and Grandison (formerly in SIII) referred to the marriage of Hugh Despencer (son of Eleanor de Clare and Hugh Despencer) to Elizabeth Montague, daughter of William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury, and Katherine de Grandison. The exact date of this marriage is not known, but cannot have been earlier than the late summer of 1338, following the death of Elizabeth's first husband. The arms of Hastings (*Or a maunch Gules*, formerly in SII) were changed to a quartered form after Laurence Hastings was created Earl of Pembroke in February 1339. This makes the scheme a close contemporary of the choir clerestory glazing of Wells Cathedral and the west window of York Minster.

The inclusion of figures of both of Eleanor de Clare's husbands, Hugh Despencer (NIV) and William la Zouche (SIV), has long supported the suggestion that the windows were her gift. She has been identified as the kneeling female figure in the base of the east window (right side). There are, however, grounds for questioning this interpretation. Eleanor died in June 1337 (William had died in February of the same year) and the heraldry suggests that the

scheme was not planned until the following year. There is also reason to believe that the figure of the female 'donor' may not have been made for its present location.

*Iconography. East Window.* The scheme is dominated by the depiction of the Last Judgement in the east window. The figure of Christ the Judge (3c–4c) displaying his wounds is accompanied by the Virgin Mary (3b–4b) on his right hand. She bares her breasts to her son in a gesture of intercession. St John the Baptist, commonly represented on Christ's left hand, is included in a group of Apostles in panels 3a–4a. This position is occupied rather by the restored figure of St Michael. It is clear from antiquarian descriptions and pre-restoration drawings that this figure originally held the *arma christi*, an extremely early example of this subject in English monumental painting. The general resurrection and the separation of the Blessed and the Damned occupies the base of the window. Panel 2e contains the kneeling figure of a naked woman, traditionally identified as Eleanor de Clare. Panels 1a–1e contain restored shields of arms (Tewkesbury Abbey, Despencer, England, D'Amory and Munchesni). The emphasis on the display of Christ's wounds in this window may have been suggested by the presence of an attested relic of the Holy Blood at nearby Hailes Abbey, which was also a source of architectural inspiration. The tracery contains the Coronation of the Virgin Mary, surrounded by angel musicians.

**NII, NIII, SII, SIII.** Each window contains a figure of a king in the centre light, flanked by four figures of prophets. Each one was originally identified by a label in Lombardic script, of which very few have survived. Each figure stands under a canopy. Shields of arms once filled panels 1a–1e in each window. The tracery is filled with foliage.

**NIV and SIV.** These are the best known of the Tewkesbury windows, depicting eight figures of knights in full armour. They represent the principal secular benefactors of the abbey and can be identified from their heraldic surcoats. In NIV – Robert FitzRoy first Earl of Gloucester (d.1147), Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford (d.1230), Hugh Despencer the Younger (d.1326) and Robert FitzHamon (d.1107). In SIV, Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford (d.1262), William la Zouche, Lord of Richard's Castle (d.1337), Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford (d.1295), and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford (d.1314).

The scheme thus links Christ's ancestors and precursors with the descent of the honor of Tewkesbury, whose lords were the abbey's principal benefactors. The shields of arms that occupied the base panels in each window recorded the prestigious and aristocratic connections of the Despencer family, but may also have recorded gifts to the fabric from less exalted local knights. The windows reflect the abbey matyrology, which was formalized in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the manuscript 'Founder's Book'.

*Condition and Restoration.* The abbey church was threatened with demolition following the dissolution of the monastery in January 1539. In 1542 the parishioners paid the king £483 and secured the whole church for parochial use, having long had use of the nave. The Lady Chapel, liturgically redundant, did not survive. The ambulatory chapels on the north side were soon walled off from the church for use as a school and in 1593 the stained glass was replaced. The earliest recorded post-medieval restoration of the choir clerestory windows dates from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, although nothing is known of its extent. Small-scale repairs continued through the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A major restoration was undertaken 1819–20, the work of local glazier Thomas Hodges. The poor condition of the shields was especially cited. The windows were re-leaded and carelessly reassembled. Some new glass was painted. In

1828 the London glass-painter William Collins supplied new heads for Christ, the Virgin Mary and St Michael in the east window.

In 1924 a major restoration, involving reordering and re-leading, was undertaken by the London firm of Kempe & Co., with art-historical advice from stained glass scholar G. Mc Neil Rushforth. While this was a sensitive and fairly conservative restoration, with no new painted glass inserted, it is now clear that the re-ordering in some instances obscured medieval cut-lines. All post-medieval insertions were removed. In 1974 further work was undertaken by G. King & Son of Norwich. The windows were cleaned and re-leaded, with some external plating. New heads were painted for two of the knights in NIV.

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*Sarah Brown*

## Wells Cathedral

Wells was established as the seat of the bishopric for Somerset in the early 10<sup>th</sup>-c, but lost this status to the Benedictine Abbey of Bath after the Norman Conquest. The church regained cathedral status only in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, jointly with Bath. The present building was begun probably in the 1180s and consecrated in 1239 by Bishop Jocelin, who had directed much of the project. To his rule belongs the west front and its sculpture. Almost all of the 13<sup>th</sup>-c window openings were later remodelled, but a few fragments of grisaille survive from their original filling (patches in tracery on the Chapter House Stairs).

The majority of the surviving glass is in the east end, which was remodelled from the early 1320s until about 1340, demonstrating the wealth and authority of this community and its bishops. The promoter was Dean John Godley (d.1333) and he and Bishop Droxford (d.1329) were buried in the new retrochoir. In the centre of this it was probably intended to enshrine Bishop March (d.1302), whom they were trying (unsuccessfully) to canonize. To the east was erected an astonishing irregularly octagonal chapel in honour of the Virgin, which once centered the bronze effigy of another earlier bishop. Three new bays were added to the choir



itself. Other English cathedrals were rebuilding their eastern arms at this time (Exeter, Lichfield), and creating magnificent Lady Chapels (Ely, Lichfield).

#### Glazing of the 'New Work', early 1320s to c.1340

The surviving glass is fragmentary but still the most complete of its period in England, after York Minster, roughly contemporary with the new eastern arm of Saint-Ouen in Rouen. The glazing of the new parts (eI, nII–XI, sII–XI, eI, NII–III, SII–III) was carefully planned and may have been paid for by the Dean and Chapter. There were band windows in the aisles (nIX–XI, sIX–XI; main-light panels survive in sII 2d, nIII 2d), with coloured tracery lights. Some of these are *in situ* and the figurative subjects were apparently made in pairs, to fill windows on either side of the central axis (nIX, sIX). In the retrochoir, the four chapels were probably glazed in full colour with standing figures under canopies and, in the larger windows of the Lady Chapel, two tiers of these. The clerestory was in full colour. This contrasts with the greater use of grisaille at Saint-Ouen, perhaps in keeping with the ornamental richness of the English Curvilinear Decorated style. Throughout, the colours used are ruby, green, yellow, blue, murrey and a flesh pink. The glass illustrates the introduction and use of silver stain, sparingly in the Lady Chapel and commonly towards the west. Work proceeded in this direction, following the architecture: Lady Chapel, built by 1326; north and south retrochoir chapels, by 1329. Several styles can be found, but that in the Lady Chapel tracery is found also in the choir aisles, indicating some continuity in the workforce.

The **Lady Chapel** glass was probably conceived as an entity iconographically. In the east window (eI), as elsewhere in the chapel, the canopies are 14<sup>th</sup>-c. The figures are an intelligent restoration by Thomas Willement (1845), pioneer of the revival of medieval glass techniques in England. An antiquarian source records inscriptions naming types of Christ originally, including Adam, with Eve and the serpent (part remains of this in 2b), all prefiguring the Incarnation. In the tracery is the Second Coming, partly original. This window is the centrepiece of a composition that still includes the four Evangelistic symbols at the top of nII–III and sII–III, and busts: nII, nine patriarchs of the twelve tribes of Israel; sII, the Church, with prelates including saints with local connections (Cuthbert, Dunstan). The side windows are filled with fragments moved from

other windows in the cathedral in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In the **retrochoir chapels**, each east window (nIV, nVI, sIV, sVI) contained a Crucifixion originally – part survives in the tracery of sVI. In the ten main lights of the southernmost chapel, inscriptions (nII 3–4d, sII 1c) reveal that there were originally Virgin martyrs and the Magdalene, reflecting the dedication to St Katherine, Margaret, Mary Magdalene and all the virgin martyrs, which was also spelt out in an inscription (now sII 1c–e). The traceries of nV and sV include prelates beneath Christ. In the **eastern aisle traceries** (nIX–XI, sIX–XI) are figures of St Michael (nIX, sIX), St John the Baptist (nXI) and a Crucifixion (nX), representing three of the great quarterly feasts of the liturgical year. Some tracery panels in the lower windows have been moved: at the top of sIV is a Christ from a Coronation of the Virgin; the Virgin and Child in sX were once in sVIII.

The five eastern windows of the **clerestory** are the best preserved in the cathedral, from a set of seven in the three new bays of the choir. They are substantially complete and unrestored (SII–III were conserved by York Glaziers Trust, 1990s). The **east window** shows the Tree of Jesse in the main lights, with the Crucifixion at the top, and the Last Judgement in the tracery (Christ lost). An inscription at the foot of the window may be reconstructed: '*Sic Deus ex lesse vitam ... adesse*', the context implying an analogy between the Tree of Jesse, Christ's cross and the Tree of Life. The architectural surrounds to the main-light figures, both in the Jesse and the side windows, should be related to the ornate niches that are a feature of the architecture and to the development of the screen reredos in this region. The main lights of the **side windows** show standing saints, martyrs in NII (Blaise, George, Pope) and SII (Clement, King, Ethelbert of Hereford), confessors in NIII (Gregory, Giles, Richard of Chichester) and SIII (Brice, Ambrose, Bishop). Several styles are detectable and there are general similarities with other glass in the region, at Bristol and Tewkesbury, although none is obviously by the same glaziers. Documented fund-raising in 1337 and 1338 may be related to a drive to complete the clerestory, probably by the early 1340s.

#### Nave and Transepts, late 14<sup>th</sup>/early 15<sup>th</sup>-c

The 13<sup>th</sup>-c lancets in these parts were remodelled in the late 14<sup>th</sup>/early 15<sup>th</sup>-c, but the glass of this period has been very thoroughly destroyed, the greatest loss in the cathedral.

There are slight remains in the International Gothic style in the tracery of sXVIII–XIX, sXXII.

### **Rouen Glass**

Several fine panels of glass removed from Rouen churches in the early nineteenth century were acquired for the west window of the cathedral in 1812 (imported by J. C. Hampp). A *Beheading of St John the Baptist*, dated 1507, attributed convincingly by Jean Lafond to Arnoult of Nijmeguen, is now in the **clerestory of the north transept** (NVIII). Five scenes from the *Life of St John the Evangelist* and part of an Apocalypse subject, c.1520, are in **St Katherine's Chapel** (sVI–VII).

### **Chapter House, c.1290 and 1300–1305**

The polygonal Chapter House is a feature of English architecture in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>-c. That at Wells was completed before 1307 and the **main chamber** was probably glazed c.1300–1305. The most complete English Chapter House glazing is at York Minster and that recorded at Salisbury, but Wells retains tracery lights of the Dead Rising for the Last Judgement (conserved York Glaziers Trust, late 1980s/early 1990s) and many fragments in the Lady Chapel (nIII, sIII) are from the main lights. It is of particular interest that these probably include the names of canons of Wells. At this date, English architecture and stained glass were particularly receptive to Rayonnant models, so the coloured tracery may have had band windows below, as in the choir clerestory of Sées and Cologne cathedrals, or the nave of York Minster. There are similarities with the glazing of Merton College Chapel, Oxford (underway 1294), which we shall also be visiting. The grisaille tracery lights on the **Chapter House stairs** are slightly earlier (c.1290) and an early

instance of naturalistic foliage in English glass (see also Merton Chapel).

### **Library, after 1424**

Wells retains one of the most complete collections of medieval buildings in any English cathedral close. Above the east walk of the cloister is the Library, funded in Bishop Bubwith's will (d.1424). Of the many cathedral libraries built in the fifteenth century, this is the only one to retain medieval glass. The grisaille and heraldry would have allowed in the maximum amount of light. Such reading rooms may have been inspired by libraries at the universities, such as that at Merton College, which retains glass of the late 14<sup>th</sup>/ early 15<sup>th</sup>-c.

### **Vicars Close, 1340s and later**

The long and picturesque Vicars' Close, to house the vicars' choral who stood in for the canons at services, was established to the north of the cathedral by Bishop Shrewsbury in 1348 and connected to it by a bridge in 1459–60, by Bishop Beckington, a local man but also Chancellor to Henry VI. There is some of the earliest surviving English figurative domestic glazing, of the late 1340s, in the **Vicars' Hall**, over the gateway. Slight remains also in the **Vicars Chapel**, at the north end.

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