

Confidential-

59 Warwick Square,
London, S.W.1.

My dear Peter,

Many congratulations. We were all unanimous in our recommendation for the award of the degree of Ph.D. I was sorry not to be able to tell you at once, but it was necessary for us to compose the document for the Senate first. I am sure that you are glad that it is over.

Some of the introduction ought certainly to be printed and we must talk about this some time.

May I say how much we admired you at the ~~interview~~ viva which is always an ordeal.

With all good wishes,
yours ever,

Francis Newman.

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UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

SCHOOLS OF GLASS PAINTING

IN THE MIDLANDS

1275 - 1430

by

Peter Anthony Newton



- 1961 -

ABSTRACT

The history of English stained glass painting between the years c.1275-1430 remains to be written. This present thesis is but a small contribution towards the eventual realisation of a comprehensive history.

This is a thorough investigation of the glass remaining in ^{eight} nine counties in the Midlands: Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutland, Shropshire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire. The geographical limits are, to a certain extent, accidental. The original intention was to cover a wider area. However so much more material than was expected was located in the above ^{eight} nine counties that the material itself imposed its own limits. Much of the material was either completely unknown to historians or had been inadequately published.

The fragmentary nature of much of the glass and a lack of precise documentation prompted an investigation of the church notes made by the antiquarian scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly the notes of William Wyrley, William Burton and Sir William Dugdale. Their notes record a vast quantity of heraldic glass that was later, for the most part, either destroyed or lost. An attempt has been made to identify the bearers of the arms and to establish the reasons for their representation in the church by an investigation of the

manorial and family histories. These, in turn, have provided evidence for a more precise dating of the extant glass. The stylistic characteristics of the remaining material enables a division into groups that appear to indicate the existence of individual workshops or centres of production. In a number of cases it has been possible to indicate affinities with other centres of glass painting outside the Midlands. In addition stylistic similarities with contemporary manuscript painting have been noted. However, until all the English glass of this period has been thoroughly investigated the present conclusions must be regarded as very tentative.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my supervisor Professor Francis Wormald. If this work has any merits they are due to his teaching and inspiration. I wish to express my thanks to Sir Anthony Wagner, Garter King of Arms and Mr. T. Tremlett, F.S.A. for their permission to use the cards of the Armory and Ordinary for the New Papworth Dictionary of British Armorial. I am also indebted to Mr. Tremlett for introducing me to the exact science of heraldic studies.

However the views expressed in this thesis are my own and I am responsible for any errors that may be found.

CHAPTER I.

CHAPTER I. circa 1275-1320.

A number of dated or datable monuments of this period remain in the Midlands. The glass contained in these churches displays a variety of styles which suggests that several schools or centres of production may be involved.

It is necessary to deal first with the datable material in chronological order. This will then enable a provisional dating to be assigned to the other monuments for which there is no precise dating evidence.

NOSELEY: LEICESTERSHIRE.

The earliest datable glass of this period is in the chapel built by the Martival family in their manor at Noseley, Leicestershire. We know from documentary evidence that the chapel was complete and furnished by 1306.⁽¹⁾ It can be assumed that the glass is anterior to this date, this hypothesis is supported by the evidence of the armorial glass. The actual remains of glass are not very extensive and are very decayed. There are two complete figures, a St. Thomas (Noseley 18) and a St. Mark Evangelist (Noseley 17), a headless St. Margaret (?) (Noseley 16) and incomplete figures of two Evangelists (Noseley 19, 21) and a

(1) See sub. cat. Noseley, Leicestershire for a full account.

a St. James Major (Noseley 7). The figures of St. Thomas and St. Margaret are both drawn from similar cartoons, both have a slightly exaggerated swaying posture with restrained drapery folds. The figures seem to have originally been placed under canopies, the outline and parts of a trefoil arch and gable with Crochets remain above the figures of St. Margaret and two of the Evangelists (Noseley 16, 19, 21) and pieces of window tracery designs from canopies also remain (Noseley 2, 14). The figures and their canopies were probably placed against a trellis ground of white quarries painted with trails of oak leaves. Above and below the coloured bands of figures were probably placed the shields of arms, two complete ones now remain out of a series of at least twenty-three (Noseley 8, 20). Only one type of border design remains: a vertical stem with off-springing stalks each bearing three sprays of palmate leaves, these are either in white or pot-metal yellow glass. (Noseley 2).

STANFORD-ON-AVON. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Several years later in date is the glass in the chancel windows of Stanford-on-Avon, Northamptonshire. The armorial glass in situ in the east window suggests a dating of circa 1315 - circa 1326⁽²⁾. There are the remains of twelve figures of the

(2) See sub. cat. Stanford-on-Avon, Northamptonshire for a full account.

Apostles, each standing below an arch and gable with crockets, set against a geometric grisaille ground consisting of contiguous quatrefoils linked one to the other by diagonally turned squares. This grisaille is in white glass painted with free-running trails of oak and maple leaves. Each figure is set against a coloured ground diapered with trails of naturalistic foliage. Similar diapers are seen at Noseley against the figure of St. James Major (Noseley 7). The Stanford figures appear to be the work of one hand. The draperies are rather modelled with a tendency towards falling decorative folds, as in the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul (Stanford 53 and 31). There is quite a distinction between these figures and the Noseley St. Thomas which is more restrained in its drapery and has a more pronounced swaying posture. There are three types of borders at Stanford; serpentine trails of oak leaves, trails of ivy leaves and covered cups (e.g. Stanford 38, 40, 43).

CHECKLEY. STAFFORDSHIRE

Stylistically related to this glass at Stanford is the important series of figures and narrative scenes at Checkley, Staffordshire. The Checkley glass is not dated.⁽³⁾ The figures of bishops and archbishops in the east window (Checkley 11, 13, 15), could have been drawn from the same cartoons as the similar, but

(3) See sub. cat. Checkley, Staffordshire for a full account.

much smaller figures in the east window at Stanford (Stanford 4 and 6)⁽⁴⁾ The head of the Virgin from the crucifixion (Checkley 18) is quite close to the Virgin, in the east window at Stanford (Stanford 13), both have a full wide forehead, rather thin cheeks and narrow rounded chin. The head of St. Peter (Stanford 53) is similar to the head of Moses at Checkley (Checkley 17), both have thin faces with straggly hair and beards and wide mouths turning down at the corners.

There are, it seems, certain similarities between the Stanford and Checkley figures, there are also enormous differences between the two sets of glass. First the windows at Checkley are about twice the size of the Stanford windows, this itself could account for the more elaborate treatment of the general theme. At Stanford the figures stand below an arch and gable, whereas at Checkley they stand below tall elaborate canopies two or three stories high embellished with traceried windows and tiled roofs. The crockets of the gables and pinnacles are simple rounded ball crockets whereas at Stanford they are large foliated ones. This greater elaboration of the canopy design might be dependant, to some extent, on the size of the windows. This

(4) The features are too decayed to permit a close comparison: it should be stated, perhaps, that frontal figures of Bishops in benediction are inevitably alike.

* N.B. Edmund succeeds England - Eng 1171 a3
1
Clare.

• period 1307 succession of Edw. II

up to 1312 birth of Edw. III

is perhaps uneasy.

Query Woodstade's 1311 upper dating.

choir fabric to the years 1289-1296.⁽⁷⁾ There is no reason to suppose that the glazing of the windows is any later than 1296.⁽⁸⁾ The lateral windows have three main lights, and each light is divided into four compartments. The centre of each light is filled with a figure under an canopy and the other compartments are filled with geometric grisaille. The leading forms a complicated design of interwoven quatrefoils, in white glass painted with symmetrical trails of naturalistic leafage, oak, ivy and maple springing from a vertical stem at the centre of the light.⁽⁹⁾ The coloured borders of each light are either naturalistic trails of ivy leaves or castles alternating with fleur-de-lis.⁽¹⁰⁾ A similarity between the grisaille patterns at Merton and those in the Chapter House at York Minster and at

(7) W.H. Garrod. "Ancient Painted Glass in Merton College. Oxford." 1931. pp.12-14. The account rolls are incomplete. Garrod notes a falling off in expenditure in 1293-4 as compared with the preceeding years. The accounts for 1294-1296 are missing but the roll of 1296-97 shows the building operations on the church were then finished.

(8) Garrod is cautious as to their date. The accounts of 1304/5 mention alterations at the east end and the boarding up "of the windows of the choir" Garrod, p.25. This seems inexplicable if the windows were not then glazed. Woodforde "English Stained and Painted Glass." 1954, pp.16-17, dates the windows 1298-1311. *

(9) Engraved in Westlake. History of Design in Painted Glass. 1882. Volume II. Plate VII, Page 11.

(10) For reproductions see Royal Commission Historical Monuments. City of Oxford. Plates, 145, 148.

Exeter Cathedral has been noticed.⁽¹¹⁾ The pattern of the Checkley grisaille comes nearest to the Exeter panels, which also display a rosette pattern superimposed on a diamond shaped frame.⁽¹²⁾ The painted trails of foliage at Exeter, however, have conventionalised trefoil leaves instead of the naturalistic ones found at Merton, York and Checkley. However some of the Exeter windows of this type have naturalistic foliage, these are all believed to be of the early fourteenth century.⁽¹³⁾ The panels of grisaille at Checkley were crossed by bands of figures each under a canopy or by barbed quatrefoil medallions, each containing a narrative scene.⁽¹⁴⁾ The style of these figures has certain similarities with Merton College. The head of St. Stephen,

(11) Westlake. op. cit. Plate LXXXII. C. Exeter; Plate LXXXIV York Chapter and p.102. Winston "on the painted glass in the Cathedral of York" Proceedings Archaeological Institute York, 1846 dated the chapter house glass circa 1326. Harrison, "The Painted Glass of York" 1927, p.53-54, suggests 1300-1307 agreeing with Westlake op. cit. p.50 and p.99. See also Knowles, "York School of Glass Painting" 1936, p.151. An early dating, possibly pre 1300, seems possible on stylistic grounds.

(12) Westlake, op. cit. plate LXXXII. C. Checkley Number 22.

(13) Westlake, op. cit. see also F.M.Drake, The XIV.C. stained glass of Exeter Cathedral. Devonshire Assoc: Reports and Trans. XLIV. p.235-251, partic. 235-237.

(14) The York Chapter House windows each have twenty Medallions, containing narrative ~~windows each have twenty Medallions,~~ containing narrative scenes, set on the grisaille ground,

(Checkley 16) can be compared with the St. Stephen at Merton.⁽¹⁵⁾ They both have a full rounded chin, oval eyes with rounded eyebrows, the corners of the mouth are turned down and the hair depicted as a series of curly clumps. The head of Christ crucified (Checkley 18) has a close affinity with the head of St. Peter at Merton,⁽¹⁶⁾ the only distinct difference between the two is that at Merton the ears are bigger and more prominent. The figure of the Virgin from the crucifixion (Checkley 18) can be compared with the Merton St. Andrew.⁽¹⁷⁾ In both cases their cloaks are swathed across the upper part of the body with falling vertical folds framing the body on either side.

The similarities in drawing between the heads at Checkley and Merton College should not, perhaps, be over-emphasised. Related heads are found in the works of the Court School circe 1270-1308. The affinities between the heads in the Douce Apocalypse, the Westminster retable, and the paintings in the

(15) R.C.H.M. op. cit. Plate 148. This figure comes from the second window of the south wall, this is not one of the Mamesfield windows but is identical in style, and is the same date. see Garrod, op. cit. p.21, 22.

(16) R.C.H.M. op. cit. Plate 146.

(17) R.C.H.M. op. cit. Plate

south transept of Westminster Abbey, together with the heads of the ecclesiastics in the Coronation of Edward the Confessor in the Painted Chamber, all probably circa 1270 have long been recognised.⁽¹⁸⁾ They all display a high domed forehead, rather thin cheeks, long nose and down-turned mouth. The head of Christ (Checkley 18) should be compared with the Christ from the Doubting Thomas on the south wall of the south transept at Westminster.⁽¹⁹⁾ Similar heads are found on the Westminster Sedelia of circa 1308.⁽²⁰⁾ A pronounced distinguishing feature between these works of the Court School and the glass at Checkley and Merton is the difference between the proportions of the figures. The figures of the Court School are tall and elongated with sweeping gestures, the Checkley and Merton figures are by comparison much shorter and broader.

There is another piece of information, however, which suggests that the Checkley master drew some inspiration from the work of the Court School. One type of canopy design found at

(18) Tristram "English Medieval Wall Paintings" XIII.C. Volume, see Supplementary Plates, VI and VIII. F. Wormald, Paintings in Westminster Abbey. Proceedings of the British Academy, 1949, pp. 161-176.

(19) Tristram. op. cit. Pl.14, Wormald op. cit. Pl.4.

(20) Wormald. op. cit. p.175. M. Rickert "Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages. (1954). Plate 142.

Checkley (Checkley 12) is very close in its general design to representation of the Temple of Jerusalem in the Fall of Jerusalem in the Painted Chamber at Westminster. (21) Both display an arch cusped trefoil surmounted by a gable, with crockets and finial, set before a tower like structure with a domed and tiled roof. The Merton canopies are all one design and in their details show a marked advance on the Checkley ones. The Merton canopies each show an arch cusped trefoil surmounted by a gable with crockets and finial, set before a two storied structure pierced with traceried windows and surmounted by a domed roof. The crockets of the main gable are large foliated ones, whereas at Checkley only the simple ball crockets are used. The traceried windows are full bar tracery, at Checkley bar tracery occurs together with the earlier plate tracery forms (Checkley 18 and 34).

With these considerations in mind it rather appears that Checkley is certainly to be dated after 1270, on its affinities with the Court School, and before circa 1296, the date of the Merton College glass. It is, therefore, here tentatively suggested that Checkley is probably to be dated circa 1280-1290. (22)

(21) P. Tudor Craig, op. cit. Plate XXIIa and p. 98 where she compares it with a representation of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Douce Apocalypse Bodl. MS. 180; plate XXII b.

(22) Jeavons "Stained Glass in Staffordshire churches" Transactions Birmingham Archaeological Society. Vol. LXVIII. pp. 43-48. dates the glass circa 1300 on the grounds that no perspective is used in the canopies. Pape. "Armorial glass of Checkley church" North Staffs Field Club. 1923-24. Vol. LVIII. pp. 59-71. ascribes the building of the chancel to a post 1347 dating, without citing his reasons.

THORNTON. LEICESTERSHIRE.

The east window of the south aisle at Thornton contains some glass similar to that in the chancel at Stanford-on-Avon and may be the product of the same workshop.⁽²³⁾ The window contains an Adoration of the Magi and the Flight into Egypt (Thornton 4, 5 and 6). The general design of the Virgin and Child in the Adoration scene should be compared with the Stanford example (Stanford 13). The border design of a serpentine trail of oak leaves is almost identical with one at Stanford. (Thornton 5, Stanford 13). The fragments of canopy design, however, show a trefoil arch head, patterned with a wavy line and dots, surmounted by a gable with simple ball crockets; similar details are found at Checkley (Checkley 34). This suggests that the Thornton panels may be earlier than Stanford. Unfortunately these panels are badly damaged and the surface of the glass, particularly the heads, is very corroded. A detailed assessment is, therefore, impossible.

ALDWINKLE-ST.-PETERS. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

A south window of the chancel at Aldwinkle contains two large figures under canopies: a St. Christopher bearing the Christ child and a St. George (Aldwinkle 4 and 6)⁽²⁴⁾ The glass

(23) see sub. cat. Thornton, Leics. for a full account.

(24) see sub. cat. Aldwinkle-St. Peters, Northants for a full account.

has been restored, the general design of the canopies is suspect. However the drawing of the St. Christopher's face is close to the St. Paul at Stanford, particularly the drawing of the eyes (Stanford 31). The handling of the drapery folds of St. Christopher's cloak and the cascade of folds falling from the right hand are similar to the Stanford figures, for example the St. John Evangelist (Stanford 30). However the tight foliage diaper grounds at Aldwinkle and the border design of hare and hounds are not paralleled at Stanford. There is a strong general similarity suggesting a contemporary date i.e. c. 1315-1326, but that is all.

There are several other important windows of this period in the Midlands. The styles of drawing show certain affinities to the figures at Checkley and Stanford-on-Avon but there are particular details that suggest they are the products of different workshops.

NEWARK. NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

The most important series is at Newark.⁽²⁵⁾ This glass is the work of a single controlling hand. The present remains are but a small portion of an extensive series of narrative scenes. There are three old Testament subjects: The Creation of the World, the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden and

(25) See sub. cat. Newark (Notts.) for a full account.

Adam digging and Eve spinning (Newark 5, 7, 8). The other scenes are taken from the Life and Passion of Christ. His childhood is represented by the Adoration of the Magi and Christ in the Temple (Newark 11 and 14) followed by part of His Passion: The Agony in the Garden and the Mocking of Christ (Newark 10 and 12), with the Three Maries at the tomb and His appearance to the Magdalene (Newark 15 and 16). There are also fragments of other scenes, probably part of a Last Judgement (Newark 6), the Last Supper (Newark 9) and the Deposition of Christ (Newark 13).

It has been stated above that these are all the work of a single controlling hand. In substantiation of this point it may be noticed that the heads of the adult Christ are identical (Newark 9, 10, 16) and the female heads conform to one type, compare, for example, the head of the Virgin with the head of the Magdalene (Newark 11 and 16). These heads give the figures an air of nervous uncertainty, with large prominent eyes and turned down mouths. Their general affinity with the heads at Merton College and Checkley, and the related works of the Court School circa 1270-1306 is at once clear. The Newark Master draws with a much border line and, in spirit, seems nearer the work of the Court School. In addition his handling of draperies is more plastic than at either Merton, Checkley, or Stanford. The figure of the pointing King from the Adoration of the Magi (Newark 11) should be contrasted with the Merton St. Andrew for

for example. His line is more fluid and the folds are modelled with thin washes of enamel. The figures are placed against a formal pattern diaper of contiguous squares, each enclosing a quatrefoil.⁽²⁶⁾ At the head of each panel is a depressed trefoil arch, the adjacent pieces of diaper are shaped to fit each of its cusps. A comparable arrangement is not found elsewhere in the Midlands.

The Newark glass is not precisely dated. We know that a chapel was built in the churchyard circa 1293 and that it was demolished in 1313 and the fabric and stained glass were reused in the rebuilding of the North aisle, which appears to have been finished in 1315. The glass may be associated with the earlier of these two building programmes. The evidence for this suggestion is slight. There is at SOUTHWELL, Nottinghamshire, in one of the Chapter House windows, a head of the Virgin obviously by the same hand as the Newark glass (Southwell 13) which can be compared with the Virgin from the Adoration of the Magi (Newark 11). The Chapter House is probably to be dated in the mid-1290s. There is no proof, however, that this head formed part of the original glazing scheme. This earlier dating

(26) This arrangement is original. The head of Christ in the Mocking of Christ (Newark 12) is painted on the same piece of glass as the adjacent diaper.

should not be over-emphasised. It is not wise to adapt the developments of one period to another but it might be pointed out that in the early fifteenth century there are remaining monuments that are firmly dated and show no appreciable change in style over a period of some twenty years.

The stained glass in two other churches in the Midlands displays a distinct contrast in details. At HOLDENBY, Northamptonshire is a single panel of early glass: a Coronation of the Virgin.⁽²⁷⁾ This is of extremely fine quality. The heads of the Virgin and Christ are drawn with considerable individuality, the eyes are large, the upper lid rounded and the lower straight, long heavy noses and small straight mouths. The head of the angel crowning the Virgin is more generalised by comparison. A point of detail is this artist's manner of drawing the hands. The fingers are long, with the finger nails represented and the ball of the thumb is prominently marked. These small distinguishing details are not found in any other work in the Midlands. This panel is probably of the late thirteenth century.

Equally individual in their own manner are the figures now in the chancel windows of CHURCH LEIGH, Staffordshire.⁽²⁸⁾ These

(27) see sub. cat. Holdenby, Northants for a full account.

(28) see sub. cat. Church Leigh, Staffs.

have been dated circa 1300.⁽²⁹⁾ The single figures of Saints are each set against plain ruby grounds, leaded to form a vesica shaped frame around the figure (e.g. Church Leigh 13, 14, 35). Much of the plain ruby glass used is modern and there is no proof that this was the original arrangement.⁽³⁰⁾ The hook and eye folds of the drapery, particularly in the crucifixion panel (Church Leigh 15) are much more linear than the figures at Checkley or Stanford-on-Avon. The Church Leigh figures appear, by comparison, to be somewhat old fashion. They are probably to be dated before 1300.⁽³¹⁾

All the glass discussed above is remarkable for the variety it displays in the handling of details. There is no single uniform order covering it all. The sum total of the differences suggests a number of rather individual workshops. The datings suggested for this glass are tentative, only when all the remaining glass in England has been studied will it be possible to assign a valid dating on considerations of style.

(29) Jeavons. op. cit. pp.56-59. He says the style of the figures "is more Byzantine than English". It is not certain what he means by this.

(30) The fabric of the church and the glass were extensively restored in the nineteenth century.

(31) As none of the glass remains in situ, all the masonry is modern, it is difficult to know the nature of the original scheme.

EVINGTON AND WITHERLEY. LEICESTERSHIRE.

A new development can be seen in the glass produced by one workshop for the churches of Evington⁽³²⁾ and Witherley.⁽³³⁾ This is the introduction of grotesque figures and naturalistic birds perched in trails of foliage in the borders of the lights. Evington retains the more extensive collection of glass. The east window of the north aisle of the nave has some glass in situ. In the smaller tracery lights are two censuring angels, and sprays of vine foliage (Evington 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 14). The six main tracery lights each contain a banner of arms (Evington 8-13). At the apex of each of the main lights are remains of canopy work and borders (Evington 15-18). The borders have serpentine trails of naturalistic leaves with, in each alternate lights, small sparrows and parakeets perched on the leaves. In the second window from the east of the same aisle are figures of two censuring angels and two seraphim in situ (Evington 20-23) and also a grotesque centaur playing the bagpipes, in a roundel (Evington 36).

This grotesque appears to be by the same hand as a similar grotesque centaur, also with bagpipes at Witherley (Witherley 12). Both wear a chaperon over their heads, with a piece of their tunic hanging over the front of the body, the technique is

(32) see sub. cat. Evington, Leics. for a full account.

(33) see sub. cat. Witherley, Leics.

identical: both are set against speckled black grounds. The one at Witherley is associated with a diaper of vine foliage, similar to that in the east window at Evington (Evington 3,6,7,14).

The banners of arms in the east window at Evington and some armorial glass no longer remaining are suggestive of a date after circa 1300 and before 1334. The banners and shields relate to the Greys of Codnor, lords of the manor, their relations and friends. A particular association with either Sir Henry de Grey, ob. 1308, or his son Sir Richard de Grey ob. 1334 has been demonstrated.⁽³⁴⁾ The problem, however, remains: namely is a closer dating than c. 1300-1334 possible? Two considerations provide a tentative answer, first the style of the glass itself and secondly there is the evidence of a related series of datable manuscripts, which throws some light upon the problem.

First the glass at Evington shows the work of possibly two hands. The censuring angels in the east window (Evington 3, 6) are represented with their heads in profile (only 6 is complete), and the chain of the thurible is shown as a series of small linked rings. The two in the north window (Evington 20,21) have their heads in three quarters view and the chain of the thurible consists of three solid plain bands. However they are all set against

(34) The identifications of the arms and their significance is fully set out under Evington, Leics.

plain ruby glass and there is no appreciable difference in the drawing of their draperies. The heads of the two in the north window (Evington 20. 21) provide a clue to the background of this workshop. The heads have rounded eyebrows, oval eyes and a firm straight mouth, the hair is arranged in a tight row of curls framing the forehead surmounted by a mass of looser curly hair. This type of head can be found in the Douce Apocalypse of circa 1270, ⁽³⁵⁾ compare, for example, the head of the angel with St. Joan on Patmos, on the first folio of the manuscript. The same convention was widely used by a group of manuscript illuminators working in the Midlands in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The most sumptuous manuscript produced by this group was the Tickhill Psalter, written by John Tickhill at the Augustinian Priory of Worksop, near Nottingham, probably between the years 1303-1313. ⁽³⁶⁾ The heads of the Evington angels can be compared with the head of Adam from the Temptation on folio 5 of this manuscript. ⁽³⁷⁾ The importance of this group of manuscripts is that one of them, the Grey-FitzRayn Hours, ⁽³⁸⁾ was

(35) M.R. James. The Douce Apocalypse (Bod. MS. 180). Roxburghe Club. Vol. 180.

(36) D. Egbert Drew. "The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts" 1940. Chapter 1 and Appendix 1. (NY)

(37) ibid. Plate III. Picture II, Folio 5.R.

(38) Cambridge. Fitzwilliam Museum. MS. 242.

executed circa 1300-1308 for the marriage of Sir Richard de Grey of Codnor and Evington to Isabel FitzPayn.⁽³⁹⁾ The naturalistic birds and grotesques inhabiting the margins of this manuscript are similar in kind to those at Evington.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The remains of canopy tops in the east window at Evington are incomplete (Evington 15 - 18). The upper parts display rather elaborate window tracery designs supported by traceried buttresses, all with crocked gables and pinnacles. The important point about these canopies is that all the component parts are parallel to the front plane of the picture surface. There is no attempt to employ perspective to create a sense of depth. This factor is not conclusive evidence for dating, it is suggestive, however, of a dating before circa 1330. A tentative interest in perspective has been seen in the Eleanor Cross at Charing Cross erected in 1291.⁽⁴¹⁾ This interest dominates the design of the second great seal of Edward III, in use 1327-1340⁽⁴²⁾ and the contemporary canopy of the tomb of Edward II in Gloucester Cathedral.⁽⁴³⁾ In

(39) Egbert Drew. op. cit. Chapter III. pp.90-92.

(40) ibid. Plates XCV-XCVIIIa. The grotesques in this group of manuscripts are drawn from a common pattern book. The Evington centaur figure, however, does not appear.

(41) Hastings. St. Stephen's Chapel, 1955. Chapter III, pp.21-24.

(42) Wyon. Great Seal of England.

(43) Generally ascribed to the early 1330s: L.Stone. Sculpture in England in the Middle Ages. pp.160-161.

stained glass in the Midlands perspective is first found in the canopies in the nave windows of Stanford-on-Avon, of the 1330s.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The affinities between the Evington glass, on one hand, and the Tickhill Psalter group of manuscripts on the other, together with an absence of the perspective element are suggestive of a dating for the glass in the first quarter of the century. However this evidence is by no means conclusive. There is a slight piece of evidence to substantiate this dating. The east window of Wolverton church, Warwickshire contains a fragment of a Resurrection of the Dead. This window is probably to be dated 1315 when the High Altar was consecrated.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Two complete heads of figures remain (Wolverton). They both show a marked affinity with the Tickhill Psalter group of manuscripts and the Evington figures.

GEOMETRIC GRISAILLE GLASS

Geometric grisaille glass is found in a number of churches in the Midlands. None of it is precisely dated. Some of this glass can be associated ^With the grisaille at Checkley and Stanford-on-Avon discussed above. WROXALL ABBEY, Warwickshire contains geometric grisaille glass of three types.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Two of

(44) See below. Stanford is the first datable example: not necessarily the earliest.

(45) See sub. cat. Wolverton, Warwickshire.

(46) See sub. cat. Wroxall, Warwicks. for a full account.

these are of the thirteenth century. The leading in one forms a design of contiguous diamond shaped frames overlaid with large contiguous oval frames (Wroxall 4). The other consists of contiguous diamond frames with a smaller diagonally turned squares beneath each junction and a large circular frame on top occupying the full width of the light. (Wroxall 3). Both are in white glass painted with symmetric trails of tendrils ending in tight bud forms. This foliage is a simplification of a type found at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, which has been ascribed to the first half of the thirteenth century.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The Wroxall panels are probably the same date. The third type at Wroxall is a much simpler pattern of contiguous quatrefoils linked by diagonally turned squares (Wroxall 23). This is in white glass painted with symmetrical trails of oak leaves and acorns springing from a vertical stem. This is exactly the same type as occurs at Stanford, except that in the latter the geometric frames have beaded borders (Stanford). It should be noted, however, that this pattern at Wroxall is mostly restoration and may not be exactly true to the original.

This same type occurs again at CHURCH LEIGH, Staffordshire,⁽⁴⁸⁾ with one difference, the foliage trails are of ivy leaves. (Church

(47) Woodforde op. cit. p.6. Plate 3.

(48) see sub. cat. Church Leigh, Staffs. for a full account.

Leigh). At the centre of each quatrefoil is a foliated roundel. This practice is commonplace, similar ones occur at Stanford etc. The importance of the Church Leigh ones lies in the fact that two of the designs employed are repeated in the chancel windows at BLITHFIELD, Staffordshire⁽⁴⁹⁾ in association with a different geometric pattern.

The six windows of the chancel at Blithfield have identical tracery designs, four of these are filled with the geometric grisaille, the two other windows each have a trellis of white quarries, painted with trails of oak leaves, in each main light.⁽⁵⁰⁾ There is no reason to suppose that these two windows are any later in date than the others. The tracery lights, containing the Annunciation, of the east window of Merton College chapel each have a trellis of white quarries and each quarry is painted with a single leaf design.⁽⁵¹⁾ The figures of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary appear to be by the same hand, and of the same date, as the side windows.⁽⁵²⁾ The first appearance of a trellis design of white quarries painted with running trails of naturalistic foliage, is not known. The first datable example

(49) see Sub. cat. Blithfield, Staffs.

(50) First window from the east, south side; second from the east north side.

(51) R.C.H.M. Oxford. op. cit. Plate

(52) This type of quarry background is a prominent feature of the early XIV.c. glass in Herefordshire, particularly the thick lattice work of coloured glass.

that I am aware of is found, in situ, in one of the windows of the Chapter House at Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire, of circa 1293 (Southwell 65: 66: 67).⁽⁵³⁾

The Blithfield windows have been considerably restored. Enough of the original glass remains however to show that the patterns and trellis designs are genuine. The original design seems to have consisted of either grisaille patterns or trellis quarries with a shield of arms at the head of each light. The present shields in these windows are sixteenth century insertions, it is probable that they replaced an original series of the fourteenth century. A similar arrangement of grisaille patterns with a shield at the head of each light remains intact at Norbury, Derbyshire, datable before 1306.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The east window of EGGINGTON Church, Derbyshire, appears to have been filled with a geometric pattern grisaille, crossed by a band of figures below canopies.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The pattern is the same type as found in the chancel windows at Stanford. Only one panel remains fairly complete. If this glass is contemporary with the stonework a mid-thirteenth century dating seems possible.⁽⁵⁶⁾

(53) See sub. cat. Southwell, Notts. for a full account.

(54) See sub. cat. Norbury, Derbyshire.

(55) See sub. cat. Eggington, Derbyshire for a full account.

(56) The glass is very incomplete and decayed, and is inaccessible for close study.

It has been noticed above that the geometric grisaille glass at Checkley and Merton College is painted with trails of naturalistic foliage, and a thirteenth century dating was proposed for this glass. Winston thought that naturalistic foliage was first introduced into glass painting circa 1280.⁽⁵⁷⁾ This introduction of naturalistic leaves and flowers is paralleled in the other visual arts from the middle of the thirteenth century. The introduction of naturalistic foliage sculpture into this country occurred at Westminster Abbey and Windsor and has been firmly dated to the year 1245.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In manuscript painting trees with naturalistic foliage appear in the miniatures of the 'Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei' associated with the circle of Mathew Paris and usually dated circa 1245.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The development and extension of this form of decoration can be traced in manuscripts and sculpture of the second half of the thirteenth century. For example vine leaves and grapes can be seen in the miniature of the Vine Press in the Douce Apocalypse, probably circa 1270.⁽⁶⁰⁾ A variety of naturalistic leaves and flowers

(57) C. Winston. Hints on Glass Painting (2. Ed. 1867) Vol. 1. p. 73.

(58) Pamela Wynn-Reeves. 'English Stiff Leaf Sculpture' p. 246. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of London, 1952.

(59) M. R. James. Facsimile edition for the Roxburghe Club. 1920. P. Tudor-Craig. op. cit. p. 96, n. 4. Richard Vaughn 'Mathew Paris' (1958) pp. 42-8, 189-194.

(60) Oxford Bodleian Douce MS. 180. facsimile edition by M. R. James, op. cit.

together with birds and animals are also found in such manuscripts as the Petrus Comestor of c. 1283⁽⁶¹⁾ and the Psalter of Alphonso of 1284.⁽⁶²⁾ In the Midlands the most important monument in this context is the sculpture in the Chapter House at Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire, probably of the mid 1290s.⁽⁶³⁾ The interest in naturalistic plant life and forms is here highly developed. The sculptured capitals display a wide variety of leaf forms, the most prominent are maple, oak, hawthorn, ranunculus, vine, ivy and hop leaves.⁽⁶⁴⁾ One of the windows of the Chapter retains some contemporary glass in situ: a trellis of white quarries painted with trails of buttercup leaves.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Geometric pattern glass lost favour after the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Its place was taken by the simpler trellis of quarries, which was easier to execute, used less lead and was therefore probably cheaper. There is one piece of evidence to suggest that the geometric patterns perhaps

(61) B.M. Royal MS. 3. D. VI. E.G. Millar. *English Illuminated MSS. X-XIII.c.* Plate 95.

(62) B.M. Add. MS. 24686, the first quire only. Millar. *op. cit.* plate 96 and coloured frontespiece.

(63) N. Pevesner. 'Leaves of Southwell' (King Penguin Books 1945) gives many excellent plates of the sculpture.

(64) For identification of the plants and leaves see A.C. Seward in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.* XXXV. pp. 1-32 (1935).

(65) Southwell. Cat. Nos. 65. 66. 67.

retained their popularity for somewhat longer than is usually believed. The evidence is the lost wall painting of the "Adoration of the Magi", on the north side of the High Altar of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, executed in 1350-1351.⁽⁶⁵⁾ The original is known from Robert Smirk's watercolour copy and tracings in the library of the Society of Antiquaries.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Below the Adoration of the Magi were represented the kneeling figures of St. George, Edward III and five of his sons. They were shown kneeling in three vaulted chapels, the tiled floors were in perspective and the back and side walls of each chapel had simple lancet windows. There were twelve windows, seven had a trellis of white quarries, each quarry painted with a single leaf or quatrefoil. One window was shown as plain glass, the leading forming an interlaced strap-work pattern, similar patterns are found in the nave clearstorey windows of York Minster.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The remaining four windows contained geometric patterns painted with quatrefoil or foliage designs. The significance of this

(65) Tristram. *English Wall Paintings*, XIV.C. Plate II. p 206-9.

(66) Society of Antiquaries. *Tracings: Red Portfolio*. St. Stephen's. The watercolour copy hangs on the back staircase.

(67) Knowles. "*York School of Glass Painting*." (1936) page 143. diagrams, all of the first half of the fourteenth century.

painting should not be over emphasised. It is possible that the artist was using an old pattern book for part of his design, however, it is equally possible that he was copying the contemporary glazing of the lower chapel of St. Stephens's. (68)

(68) Rather than the more important windows of the upper chapel, which are known to have contained figures. The original painting was only twenty-five inches high. This small scale probably precluded the representation of windows containing figures as they would have detracted the eye away from the figures of Edward III and his sons.

CHAPTER II.

CHAPTER II

Circa 1325 - 1340.

In contrast to the extensive variety of styles observable in the earlier period it is possible to trace the existence of reasonably coherent groups between the years circa 1325 to 1340. The grotesque motif and naturalistic birds, animals and figures in the borders of the lights are a prominent feature of this period and they provide a means of grouping together related series of glass.

STANFORD-ON-AVON (Northants.)

The most extensive single collection of glass is found in the aisle windows of the nave of Stanford-on-Avon, Northamptonshire.¹ The glass is not precisely dated; however the nave was built by the masons who erected the nave of HARLESTON church, Northamptonshire in 1326.² The curvilinear window tracery, the mouldings of the nave, piers and capitals are all identical. The one remaining piece of glass at Harleston is in a small tracery light; it is a small twist of foliage almost identical in design with that in a similar light in the east window of the north aisle at Stanford (Stanford 76 and 80). It is here suggested that Stanford is of about the same date, circa 1325 - 1330.³

1 See sub. cat. Stanford-on-Avon, Northants.

2 See sub. cat. Harleston, Northants.

3 Winston (in Poole's Architectural Notices of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton. (1849), p.218) dated Stanford c. 1340-1360. This dating has never been challenged.

The tracery lights of the east window of the south aisle are virtually complete and in situ. The more important of these lights contain figures of St. Denis (?), two ceasing angels, both damaged, and the Crucifixion of Christ (Stanford 91, 95, 96, 99,-101). In the smaller tracery lights are naturalistic figures of birds, two cranes and a hawk, and two fishes (Stanford 92,-94, 97, 98, 102). The main ¹lights each originally contained a figure below a canopy. The heads of the canopies are complete and in situ. (Stanford 107-110). The two standing female saints in the centre lights are not necessarily in situ (Stanford 111 and 112).⁴ The borders of the lights have, in alternate lights, busts of crowned figures and a rosette pattern, at the apex of three of the lights is a bird displayed against vine foliage, the fourth has a grotesque playing a viol.

The east window of the north aisle shows some similarities and differences to that of the south aisle. There are no naturalistic animals in the tracery lights, their place is taken by a more extensive iconographic scene of a Resurrection of the Dead, angels blowing trumpets or holding the emblems of Christ's passion, with Christ in Judgment in the apex light and the crucifixion in the lowest range of the lights (Stanford 69-80). The heads of the main lights each retain a

4 The names of three female saints now all lost, were recorded recorded in two windows of the north aisle, see sub. cat. Stanford, Antiquarian sources. B.M. Lansdown MS.1042.

canopy top, three of the four are in situ. The borders of the lights have alternately lions statant and grotesques, with a grotesque at the apex of each light (Stanford 81-86). In the two central lights are the Virgin with St. Anne and a Bishop, probably St. Germanus, respectively (Stanford 89, 90).

There are a number of differences in the details in the two windows which suggest that possibly there were two main artists responsible for the designs and working together. Compare, for example, the St. John in the north window with the St. John in the south (Stanford 79 and 101). The North one is taller and broader, the folds of his cloak are flatter and simpler. There is a more intensive sense of pathos, the Saint turns his head away from the Christ and buries his face in his raised hands. In the South window the gesture is more conventional, the Saint simply rests his bowed head on his raised right hand.

The most pronounced difference between the two windows can be seen in the designs of the canopies. In the south window each canopy has a traceried window, surmounted by an arch and pinnacle with crockets and finial, joined by a flying buttress to the head of a traceried and gabled shaft on either side, (Stanford 107-110). In the north window the window tracery at the centre is replaced by a full length standing figure, respectively, a seraphim, St. Paul and St. Peter, each surmounted by a crocketed arch and pinnacle, with diagonally placed side shafts, each with a traceried head and crocketed pinnacle, joined by two series of flying buttresses to

two similar shafts on either side (Stanford 85-87). It does not seem that these differences are indicative of a different dating. The one alien canopy in the north window (Stanford 88) is an amalgamation of the two types. The general design, including the traceried window at the centre, is as the south window, with diagonally placed side shafts and hood mouldings as the other three in the north window.

The other windows in the north and south sides retain a considerable amount of glass of the same period. It is, however, more damaged and patched with alien insertions than that in the two east windows. Four of these windows contain naturalistic birds, cranes and cormorants, fishes and crocodiles (?), all are in situ in the smaller tracery lights, similar to those in the east window of the south aisle (Stanford 114-116, 119-121, 125, 126).

This glass in the windows of the nave aisles at Stanford seems to mark an important stage in the development of fourteenth century glass painting in the Midlands. First there is an elaboration of the grotesque motif together with the portrayal of naturalistic birds and animals, neither is an entirely new departure, they represent an elaboration of the stylistic traits found in the slightly earlier glass at Evington, discussed in the first chapter. Second, and representing a new development in glass painting in the Midlands, there is a tentative use of perspective in the design of some of the canopies.

A number of observations that have been made about the

glass in the aisle windows at Stanford are in need of clarification. The displayed birds each in the apex of the main lights of the east window of the south aisle (Stanford 104, 105, 106) were described by Mr. F.S. Eden as eagles.⁵ He compared them with two eagles from a window of the collegiate church of Howden, Yorkshire and saw:- "so close a resemblance as to warrant the suggestion that they were all painted in the same workshop".⁶ The Stanford birds have nothing in common with the Howden eagles. The latter are thin elongated creatures, standing erect and in profile with heavy hooked beaks. The Stanford birds have round heads with thin pointed beaks and their wings are displayed, as if flying upwards.⁷

5. F.S. Eden. Ancient stained and painted glass. (2nd Ed. 1932) pp. 76-77.

6. *ibid.* The Howden glass had been removed to the chapel of Forest school, Walthamstow.

7 F.S. Eden in a short paper on the Stanford glass, in Brit. Soc. Master Glass Painters, Journal 111 (1930) p. 156, suggested that the Stanford birds were "eagles teaching their young to gaze on the sun", a Bestiary subject. The beaks of the Stanford birds preclude this identification and Eden's suggestion is not supported by the usual illustration of this subject as found in the Bestaries which shows the eagle holding one of its young in its claw. e.g. Bestiary section. Queen Mary Psalter, f. 93, early XIV th. C. (Facsimile edition ed. G. Warner (1912) Plate 152d).

Professor Hamilton Thompson and G.McN.Rushforth thought that the earlier Apostles in the chancel window at Stanford were similar to figures in the nave windows at York, no particular figures were cited however.⁸ The figure of a Bishop holding a head (Stanford 91) was, they suggested, "either St.Cuthbert or St.Denis, if the former it would be another example of northern influence"⁹. The figure is more probably St.Denis,¹⁰ but even if it was St.Cuthbert this alone could hardly be taken as an example of direct northern influence. The main centre of St.Cuthbert's cult was at Durham, where his shrine and important relics associated with him were preserved.¹¹ The veneration of the saint, however, was not confined to the north of England. An important relic, part of the saint's hair shirt, was preserved at Lichfield¹² and at Peterborough Abbey was the arm of St.Oswald who was particularly associated with St.Cuthbert.¹³

The reasons so far produced for associating the Stanford

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- 8 Royal Archaeological Institute, Journal Vol.XC. p.377-379.
- 9 ibid p.378.
- 10 The head held by the bishop is tonsured, this precludes its identification as St.Cuthbert holding the head of King Oswald.
- 11 The relics at Durham are extensively dealt with in "The Relics of St.Cuthbert" (Oxford 1956).
- 12 "De cilicio sancti Cuthberti" se W.St.John Hope and C.Cox "A Lichfield Sacrist's Roll of 1345" in Journal of Derbyshire Archeol. Soc. Vol.IV. p.109.
- 13 "The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus", ed.W.Mellows (1949) pp.52, 105-107.

glaziers with a northern school of glaziers are, therefore, without secure foundation. The glass at York Minster, so far as I am at present aware,¹⁴ does not display a particular affinity with the Stanford glass. Some of the windows of the nave aisles at York contain naturalistic birds, falcons, eagles and cormorants, in their borders¹⁵, and grotesque motifs are widely used.¹⁶ However, until the dates and chronology of the York windows have been thoroughly investigated and established,¹⁷ to say nothing of the variety of particular styles they display, it would be unwise to postulate the existence of an influence, this, of course, is not to deny the possibility of the York glaziers having influenced the Midlands.

It has been suggested above that the glass in the aisle windows at Stanford seems important in two main respects: the elaboration of the grotesque motif and the tentative introduction of perspective. It is necessary to try to relate these two

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- 14 I have not seen the Great West window of the nave nor some of the Chapter House and Vestibule windows, which were removed during the war and still (1960) await replacement.
 - 15 e.g. South aisle of nave, second window from the east has falcons and cormorants in oak foliage.
 - 16 e.g. The Pilgrimage window, north aisle second from the east: roundels in grotesques, monks at a funeral etc.
 - 17 Only one window has been studied in detail, i.e. the Peter de Dene window in the north aisle, see C.Winston and W.Walford "On an heraldic window in the north aisle of York Minster" Royal Archaeological Institute Journal, Volume XVII. pp.22-34, 132-148.

developments in glass painting to analogous developments within the general context of the other visual arts in England at this time. The extensive display of grotesque beasts, hybrid animals and naturalistic birds and animals in the aisle windows at Stanford can be related to analogous representations in illuminated manuscripts. The history of the grotesque motif in medieval art remains to be written. The appearance of grotesque figures in the margins of the page, as distinct from the use of grotesque beasts in the decoration of initial letters, can be seen in two mid-thirteenth century manuscripts, the Bible of William of Devon of circa 1250¹⁸ and the Rutland Psalter which was executed before 1258.¹⁹ In two later manuscripts the grotesques are accompanied by naturalistic birds and beasts hopping about in the borders of the pages. These are the copy of the *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comnestor which can be dated about 1283²⁰ and the Psalter of Alphonso, son of Edward I, of about 1284.²¹ In both of these manuscripts the grotesques and animals etc. play a rather unimportant part in the decoration of the whole page. On folio 234 of the '*Historia Scholastica*' for example, are four small grotesques in the margins of the page, a dragon with displayed

18 E.G. Miller "English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century (1926) Plate 77, British Museum Royal MS.1.D.1.

19 Library of the Duke of Rutland. Facsimile edition ed. E.G. Miller Roxburghe Club (1937)

20 Miller "Eng. Illuminated MSS. op.cit. Plate 95, Brit. Museum Royal 3.D.VI.

21 ibid. Plate 96 and frontispiece. Brit. Museum. Add. MS. 24686. The first quire only.

wings, a squirrel, a hare blowing a trumpet and a creature with a bearded human head set on a bird's body.²² Slightly later than these two manuscripts is the important charter of Free ^{Warren} Women, dated 1291, granted by King Edward I, to Roger de Pilkington and his heirs in their demesne lands of Pilkington and elsewhere in the county of Lancaster.²³ The text of the charter is surrounded by thirty-two figures of birds and animals. The birds include a peacock, a woodcock, an owl, a hawk, finches and a quail, the animals shown are a fox, a wild bear, a squirrel, two rabbits, and varieties of deer. The drawing of the animals is rather static by comparison with the animals found in the Alphonso Psalter,²⁴ which are obviously the work of an extremely talented artist.

The grotesque and naturalistic birds and animals are a prominent feature of manuscript illumination of the first half of the fourteenth century. The Tickhill Psalter group of manuscripts, which are particularly associated with the Midlands, contain a restricted series of grotesques.²⁵ The East Anglian manuscripts²⁶

22 Millar. op.cit. Plate 95.

23 G.Clay. "An Illuminated Charter of Free ^{Warren} Women, dated 1291," The Antiquaries Journal 1931, Volume XI. pp.129-132, Plate XVIII.

24 e.g. f.12.R a stag fighting a dragon; f.13.v. a stag-hunt

25 D.Egbert-Drew "The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts" op.cit.

26 See particularly S.C.Cockerell "The Gorleston Psalter (1907); M.R.James and S.C.Cockerell "The Ormesby and Bromholme Psalters" Roxburghe Club (1926).

are more lavish in their use of them, this tendency culminates in the ^Λ large grotesques of the Luttrell Psalter, circa 1330-1340,²⁷ which make a vivid contrast to the minute grotesques in the earlier Alphonso Psalter.

Set against this background it can be seen that in the display of grotesques and naturalistic animals the glass at Stanford participates in the main stream of contemporary English art. It has been necessary to dwell on this point at some length because it has been stated that the introduction of grotesque figures in the nave windows at York was the sign of a "continental influence."²⁸ Knowles saw a connection with the Flemish school of brass engravers. The brasses that he cites are probably all later than the actual glass he discusses.²⁹ The probability of a continental influence, however, cannot be disregarded. Grotesques form an important part of the decoration of Flemish manuscripts for example the Breviary of Renaud de Bar at Verdun, begun about 1302³⁰ and the Romance of Alexander of 1338-1339.³¹

27 ²¹ British Museum. Add.MS.41230. Facsimile edition by E.G.Millar "The Luttrell Psalter" (1932).

28 Knowles. op.cit. Chapt.10. "Continental Influence"

29 ibid. particularly p.122, and Append. pp.134-136. Knowles makes no consideration of English and Continental manuscripts.

30 V.Leroquais. Les breviaries manuscrits des bibliothèques de France. Volume IV. pp.300-309. Plates XXI-XXV.

31 Bodleian Library, Oxford. MS. Bodley 264. Facsimile edition by M.R.James. "The Romance of Alexander".

A comprehensive survey of the extent and nature of the grotesque motif in English and Continental painting of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is required before it will be possible to adequately solve this problem.³²

The grotesques, naturalistic birds and animals at Stanford are not precisely identical in style to anything found in illuminated manuscripts. A general comparison can be made between the Stanford cranes (Stanford 92, 93) and the same birds in the Bestiary section of the Queen Mary Psalter.³³ Somewhat similar, but on a much larger scale, are the birds incorporated in the mural decoration of Longthorpe Tower, near Peterborough, which have also been compared with the birds in the Queen Mary Psalter.³⁴ The Longthorpe paintings have been dated circa 1330.³⁵ The Stanford birds should also be compared with the birds inhabiting the vine of the Tree of Jesse at Merevale, Warwicks and Ludlow, Salop.³⁶ which are probably contemporary in date. In all

32 The general stylistic relationships between English and continental manuscripts need clarification. The style of the Tickhill Psalter group of manuscripts has a general similarity to the Breviary of Renaud de Bar; see Egbert op.cit. p.89. citing F.Wormald.

33 Fassimile Edition ed. G.Warner 1912. Plate 169.c.

34 E.C.Rouse and A.Baker "The wall paintings at Longthorpe Tower" Archaeologia XCVI.1955. 21-22. Plate 3 a, and b.

35 ibid. p.32. There is no precise documentary evidence for the dating.

36 See sub. catalogue. Merevale (Warws) and Ludlow (Salop) and Chapter "A Group of Jesse Trees in the Midlands" below.

three cases the feathers of the birds are reduced to a series of squiggley lines. Compare, for example, the falcon at Stanford (Stanford 97) with the one at Merevale (Merevale 49). A point of detail distinguishing the two sets is the drawing of the eyes; at Stanford they are oval in shape, rather like human eyes, at Merevale and Ludlow they are circular, rather beady in appearance, the latter are closer to nature. Another link between the workshop responsible for the Stanford glass and that responsible for the Merevale and Ludlow Jesses is the uncommon border design of a rosette in a diamond shaped frame, the top and bottom corners of which are each cusped a trefoil. This is found in the east window of the south aisle at Stanford (Stanford 108, 110) and in the centre main light of the east window at Merevale. (Merevale 77).

In the Stanford window this design occurs in each alternate light. The borders of the other lights contain the crowned heads of men and women. This feature is not otherwise found in glass in the Midlands. There is no evidence to suggest that these figures were intended to represent actual persons. Similar figures, but without crowns are used to decorate the smaller initials in the Gray - Fitzpayne Hours⁽³⁷⁾ and in the Greenfield (or 'Welles') Apocalypse.⁽³⁸⁾

37 Fitzwilliam Museum. MS.242. f.23 and f.27. circa 1300-1308. see Egbert. 'The Tickhill Psalter' etc. op.cit. Chapter III and Plate XGVII.

38 British Museum. Royal MS. 15. D.11 f.7. Drawn from the same pattern book as the two cited in the Gray-Fitzpayne Hours. Egbert ibid. Chapter IV. Plate XCIX. He ascribes its execution to the second decade of the fourteenth century.

This feature is also found in some manuscripts of the East Anglian school.⁽³⁹⁾ A much earlier example of this type of decoration occurred in the King's chambers at Clarendon Palace, Wiltshire. An entry in the Liberate Roll of 1246 contains an order to wainscot the King's lower chamber, to paint the wainscot green and to border it, painting on the borders the heads of Kings and Queens. To paint on the walls of the King's upper chamber the history of Saint Margaret the Virgin and the Four Evangelists, and to paint the wainscot green spotted with gold and heads of men and women thereon"⁽⁴⁰⁾

The main lights of the windows of the nave aisles at Stanford have suffered more damage, and replacement by plain white glass than the tracery lights which are comparatively complete. The east window of the north aisle retains a large composition in one light of St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read (Stanford 89). In the east window of the south aisle are two female saints, each carrying a palm branch (Stanford 111, 112). The four heads are very close to each other in the style of drawing. The faces are rather full, with prominent eyes, long broad noses, firm straight mouths with squared corners. The two female saints although different in size are evidently drawn from the same cartoon. The head of St. Anne is slightly different, the hair is arranged in a crisp net on either side of the

39 e.g. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS.53. ff. 189c, 193a, 195c, etc: Facsimile edition, M.R. James 'A Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary'. Roxburghe Club. Volume 178.

40 Tristram. English Medieval Wall Painting. Thirteenth Century page 528 citing Liberate Roll.

face and the iris of the eye is marked. The figures of St. Anne and the Virgin can be compared with the representation of the same subject on the north wall of the Lady Chapel at Croughton, Northamptonshire. (41) In both examples Saint Anne holds her cloak around the Virgin's shoulders in a protective gesture. (42) The Croughton wall painting is damaged. (43)

The figure of a Bishop now in the east window of the north aisle at Stanford (Stanford 90) may originally have been in one of the windows of the chancel. The figure, probably St. Germanus, patron Saint of Selby Abbey, (44) is incomplete. The head is missing and most of the eucharistic vestments have been replaced by alien fragments. (45) The outline, however, is clear. The figure is set against a white

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41. E. Tristram and M. R. James. "Wall Paintings in Croughton church." *Archaeologia* LXXVI. 1927. pp. 179 - 204. Plate XLVI. Tristram suggested a dating circa 1300 or slightly later, *ibid.* p. 179. James however suggested an earlier dating circa 1280-1300. *ibid.* p. 185.
 42. See also the full page illumination in the Hours of the Virgin associated with Edmund Earl of Lancaster ob. 1296. Bodleian Library. MS. Douce. 231. p. 3.
 43. Tristram's copies of all the paintings are unreliable in the details.
 44. There was an altar dedicated to this Saint at Stanford.
see sub 'Iconography' St. Germanus.
 45. Including part of the Eagle of St. John, inserted sometimes in the nineteenth century. see sub. cat. Stanford.

ground diapered with a trail of rounded trefoil leaves reserved on a black enamel ground. Above the figure is part of an arch cusped trefoil surmounted by a gable with large vine leaf crockets. An identical white foliage diaper ground and the apex of an identical gable remain in situ in the right hand main light of the westernmost window on the north side of the chancel (Stanford 52).⁴⁶ The general design in this window of a large arch and gable set against a foliage diaper is a marked contrast to the other windows of the chancel which contained a band (or bands) of figures set against panels of geometric grisaille. These differences in style may be indicative of a difference in dating. The figures of the apostles (Stanford 29, 31, 41-43, 53, 63, 65) are each set against a coloured foliage diaper, as are the Bishops and Abbots from the tracery lights of the chancel windows. (Stanford 4, 6, 60, 62). Similar diapers remain in situ in the tracery lights of the nave windows. For example the figure of an abbot from a tracery light in the chancel⁽⁴⁷⁾ (Stanford 62) is set against a diaper of oak leaves very similar to that behind the incomplete figure of a Knight (St. George? Stanford 113) in the apex light of the first window from the east of the south aisle of the nave. In this respect there is some continuity between the glass in the chancel and that in the nave aisles although in particular characteristics each series is quite distinct. There are two details which suggest that

46 This association of figure and canopy was first made by C. Winston in his paper on Stanford op.cit.

47 No longer in situ.

the westernmost window of the north wall of the chancel might be later than the other chancel windows and contemporary with the glass in the nave. The border design of its main lights consists of an incomplete stem with off-springing roses and birds (Stanford 50, 52).⁴⁸ This contrasts to the plain serpentine foliage stems and covered cups in the borders of the other chancel windows. This border, however, was not used in the nave windows, so far as we know, so that it cannot be viewed as conclusive evidence. Somewhat more substantial is the figure of the virgin from a Coronation of the Virgin (Stanford 61) which possibly came from the upper range of tracery lights of this window.⁴⁹ The drawing of the head is extremely close to the female Saints in the east windows of the north and south aisles (Stanford 89 and 111, 112). It has the same broad features, squared mouth, and the nimbus also is identical. The head of the Virgin in the east window of the chancel is quite different (Stanford 13). The chin is more pointed and the left eyebrow joins the line of the eye instead of being continued down parallel to the main line of the nose. The differences are slight but telling. It might also be noted that the Virgin in the east window is seated on a throne which bears a design of simple trefoil lights on its front, whereas the other Virgin's throne (Stanford 61) bears a curvilinear window tracery design, identical with the traceried heads of the buttresses to the canopies in the east

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- ⁴⁹ This hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the figure is set against a white foliage ground, identical with that to the spire and the Bishop (Stanford 52 & 90). This white foliage does not occur elsewhere at Stanford.

window of the north aisle (Stanford 85, 86, 87). It seems possible, therefore, that the westernmost window on the north side of the chancel is later in date than the other chancel windows and is to be associated with the glaziers responsible for the windows of the nave aisles.

BROUGHTON ASTLEY (LEICS.)

The remaining glass in the north aisle windows of the church at Broughton Astley appears to be related to the glass in the nave aisles at Stanford.⁵⁰ Two windows at Broughton Astley each contain two censuring angels in situ in their tracery lights (Broughton Astley 1. 2. 4. 5). These figures are all incomplete and have been disarranged. Their heads are all drawn from a single cartoon. They can be compared with a similar censuring angel at Stanford (Stanford 118). The drawing of the features particularly the broad nose and firm straight mouth is very close. The hair of the Broughton figures is somewhat different, having two parallel rolls of curls on either side of the face. Two of the Broughton figures (Broughton 4. 5.) are set against a white diaper ground enclosed in a beaded border design, similar grounds and borders are found at Stanford (e.g. Stanford 77 - 79, crucifixion panels east window, north side). The heads of the main aisle lights of the same window at Broughton are each filled with a trellis of white quarries painted with trails of oak leaves springing from a vertical stem. Their borders contain lions rampant, covered cups

50 See sub. catalogue: Broughton Astley, Leics.

and fleur-de-lis (Broughton Astley 6. 7. 8.). The Broughton glass is not precisely dated. The tracery design of each of these two north windows is identical with the north window at Evington, Leicestershire. It has been suggested that the Evington glass is to be dated in the first quarter of the fourteenth century and its style has been related to the Tickhill Psalter group of manuscripts.⁽⁵¹⁾ There is a general stylistic similarity between the Evington glass and that at Broughton Astley and the nave windows of Stanford. A line of continuity can be traced between the naturalistic birds and grotesques at Evington and those at Stanford, although the actual motifs are not identical. On the other hand, however, there is little continuity between the glass in the chancel at Stanford of circa 1313 - 1326,⁽⁵²⁾ and that in the nave aisles of circa 1325 - 1330. It has been suggested that the chancel windows at Stanford are to be related to the glass at Checkley, Staffordshire, and at Merton College Chapel, Oxford, which have been dated circa 1290 and 1296 respectively. Therefore, to a certain extent the chancel glass at Stanford can be considered old fashioned. The Evington glass, which is probably contemporary in date with the glass in the chancel at Stanford, anticipated the style of the nave windows at Stanford, which, as will be demonstrated, is part of the main stream of development of circa 1320 - 1340.

51 See above, Chapter I.

52 This dating is suggested by the evidence of the armorial shields in the east window, a pre 1313 dating seems most unlikely, see sub. catalogue Stanford-on-Avon.

ENVILLE (Staffordshire)

The glass in the east window of the south aisle of the nave at Enville, Staffordshire, appears to be the product of a distinct workshop more or less contemporary with the nave windows at Stanford.⁵³ The four figures remaining in this window are all original: they are SS. Michael, James Mayor and Thomas and the Virgin and child, (Enville 12. 15. 16. 17). All the other glass in the window is a nineteenth century imitation of fourteenth century design. A chantry chapel was founded in the church in 1333 and these figures, together with the armorial glass now in the windows of the chancel, may be of this date.⁵⁴ The figures are of particular interest. The St. James Mayor is represented standing full length holding his staff and a book with his pilgrim's wallet hanging from his left shoulder. He wears a plain tunic and cloak, the latter is swarthed around the lower part of his body, with heavy sagging v-shaped folds, obscuring the position of his body beneath the drapery. A comparable arrangement of drapery folds is found in some of the figures in the Luttrell Psalter of circa 1330 - 1340.⁵⁵ For example the St. James can be compared with the marginal figure of St. Catherine on folio 30 b, of the manuscript: the latter figure has a similar accentuated sway of posture with

53 See sub. cat. Enville (Staffs.)

54 See sub. cat. for full details.

55 ed. E.G. Millar. "The Luttrell Psalter" (1932) op. cit.

hanging v-shaped folds of the cloak around the body.⁵⁶ Also very similar is the figure of St. John Evangelist in the Ascension of Christ on folio 96.⁵⁷

MANCETTER (Warwicks.) WOODBOROUGH (Notts.)

The work of another distinct workshop is found at Mancetter, Warwickshire⁵⁸ and Woodborough, Nottinghamshire.⁵⁹ The glass at Mancetter was originally placed in the east window of the north aisle: it is now inserted with other fragments in the east window of the chancel. Four complete tracery lights remain, each contains a single figure of a Saint, SS James Mayor, Paul, John the Baptist and Bartholomew, respectively (Mancetter 9. 11. 14. 16). There are also four incomplete figure of angels censing, probably from the tracery lights of the same window (Mancetter 3. 5. 8. 12). Originally the main lights of the window contained two kneeling figures of Knights, one bearing the arms of the Mancetter family, the other the arms of the Crophull family. These figures suggest that the window is to be dated between the years 1320 - 1340.⁶⁰ The four saints and the censing angels are each set against a white ground diapered with a

56 *ibid.* Plate 2 d.

57 *ibid.* Plate 32 e.

58 See sub. catalogue Mancetter, Warwickshire.

59 See sub. catalogue Woodborough, Nottinghamshire.

60 See sub. catalogue Mancetter, Antiquarian sources. The Mancetters were lords of the manor, the Crophulls had no lands in the manor but Ralph de Crophull was rector of Mancetter church from 1329 until 1340.

foliage design reserved on a ground of black enamel. There are three main types of foliage diaper, a trail of palmate leaves (Mancetter 12), a trail of ivy leaves (Mancetter 14) and a trail of furry trefoil and kidney shaped leaves (Mancetter 9, 16). The disposition of figure and ground is original: the feet of SS. James Mayor and Paul are painted on the same glass as the adjacent diaper and the outer edge of the latter has a plain border parallel to the border proper of the light (Mancetter 9, 11.).

The east window of the chancel at Mancetter also contains three large figures of King David. King Jeconiah and King Abias (? or Abiud) from a Tree of Jesse (Mancetter 10, 15 and 20). It has been stated that these figures came from the nearby abbey of Merevale, but no documentary evidence was produced in support of this statement.⁶¹ The heads of these three Kings are very similar to the Saints noticed above. The heads of SS James Mayor and Paul can be compared with any of the three Kings. They have similar wiry, out-jutting beards, small straight mouths and rather small narrow eyes. There are other features in common. The stance of St. James Mayor (Mancetter 9) with his staff held parallel to his body in his right hand and a book in his raised left hand, with a cascade of drapery falling from his left arm, is identical in reverse to the King Abias (? Abiud) (Mancetter 20), except that the latter holds a sword and a scroll. The *nimbus* of St. James Mayor has a patterned edge: the same pattern is repeated on the hems of the drapery of the Kings Jeconiah and Abias (Abiud)

61 Victoria county History. Warwickshire, Vol. IV. p. 124.

(Mancetter 15 and 20). There are certain differences between the two sets of figures. The general proportions of the figures are distinctly different. The Saints are short and thickset, the Kings are much more attenuated and angular, standing in slight dancing poses. The two series of figures may not have come from the same window, but it seems quite probable that they were produced in the same workshop.

The glass in the chancel windows at Woodborough, Nottinghamshire, also appears to be a product of this workshop. Two windows on the south side of the chancel each retain two tracery lights containing a Doubting Thomas, Noli Me Tangere, the Agony in the Garden and The Sleeping Apostles (?) (Woodborough 1. 2. 3. 4.) The heads of the figures have the same slightly wooden features as the Mancetter Saints, the head of Christ from the Agony in the Garden (Woodborough 1) can be compared with the Mancetter St. James (Mancetter 9). In the Noli Me Tangere, Christ and the Magdalene stand in front of a stylised tree, (Woodborough 4) similar to that behind the Mancetter St. John Baptist (Mancetter 14). The most particular similarity between the two sets of glass is to be seen in the diaper foliage grounds to the figures. At Mancetter the foliage grounds are white, at Woodborough they are either a very pale pink or blue colour. The kidney leaf diaper found at Mancetter is used at Woodborough in the Noli Me Tangere panel (Woodborough 4). The light trails of small spikey trefoil leaves found in the Sleeping Disciples and St. Catherine panels (Woodborough 2. 11) are identical to the diaper associated with the Kings at Mancetter (Mancetter 10, 15, 20).

These foliage diapers do not represent an innovation. The use of foliage diaper grounds has been noted at Merton College, Oxford of circa 1296, and in the windows of the chancel and nave aisles of Stanford-on-Avon of circa 1315 - 1326 and circa 1326 - 1330 respectively, to give but two examples. Even so, to a certain extent, the diapers at Mancetter and Woodborough seem to represent a new departure. The leaves, by comparison with Merton and Stanford, are smaller in relation to the size of the panel and there are more of them. The result is a rather more fluid movement arabesque. The peculiar kidney shaped leaves found at Mancetter and Woodborough have been said to be reminiscent of "certain german forms of foliage".⁶² It is perhaps worth noting other examples of this type of foliage in English painting. It occurs once more in the Midlands, in the east window of Okeover church Staffordshire, (Okeover 41), probably pre 1338 in date.⁶³ A similar example at York is given by Knowles but the date is unspecified.⁶⁴ The windows of St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, of 1350-1352, also had this type of foliage.⁶⁵ A similar arabesque foliage trail with kidney shaped leaves occurs in one illumination, the Visitation, in a

St Omer Psalter for Visitation

62 B. Rackham "The glass paintings of Coventry and its neighbourhood" Walpole Society, Vol. XIX. p.93.

63 See sub. catalogue: Okeover, Staffs.

64 Knowles, op.cit. p.59, Fig.10.B. from North aisle St. Martin-cum-Gregory.

65 J.T. Smith Antiquities of Westminster (1807). Plate. opp. p.232.

mid fourteenth century English ^{Horae} House, British Museum, Egerton MS.2781, p.63R. This manuscript contains the work of several artists and it has been connected with one of the hands in the Luttrell Psalter.⁶⁶ Other miniatures in the Egerton *Horae* have background arabesques of spikey trefoil leaves, similar to the diapers at Mancetter and Woodborough (Mancetter 10, 15, 20, Woodborough 2. 11.)⁶⁷ In the manuscript the foliage is more sparse than in the glass, in this respect it is closer to French illumination.⁶⁸

The figure styles of the Egerton *Horae* are not very close to the Mancetter and Woodborough figures. There are slight similarities, for example the head of King Abias (? Abiud) (Mancetter 20) can be compared with the head of the High Priest in the Presentation of Christ in the temple (Egerton MS 2781, p.14) The wiry jutting beards and small eyes of the Mancetter and Woodborough figures are rather similar to the more modelled heads in the Luttrell Psalter, a related manuscript to the Egerton *Horae*, but their drapery is quite dissimilar to that in the manuscripts.

66 See F.Wormald. "The Fitzwain Psalter and its allies" Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. Vol.VI. 1943, pp.71-79; p.73 and plate 25 d.

67 e.g. Adoration of the Magi, p.73. Wormald, op.cit. plate 25.d. Pentecost, p.71 v.

68 e.g. Breviary of Philippe Le Belle. Paris. Bibl. Nat.Lab.1023 p.7v, executed before 1297 and the related 'Somme Le Roy' in the library of Dr.E.G.Millar, See E.G.Millar Somme Le Roy, Roxburghe Club, Vol.219. Plates I. II. VI. XV. etc.