SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST

There are three[1.] figures of Saint John the Baptist extant in stained glass in the Midlands. At Merevale[2.] and Mancetter[3.], Warwicks, the saint is depicted holding the Lamb, which is shown on a circular disk holding a cross staff and banner. At Haddon Hall, Derbys. dated 1427 the Lamb is carried on a closed book held in the saint's left hand.[4.] The Lamb is St. John's usual attribute and is a reference to his prophecy: Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi."[5.] The prophecy is sometimes included in representations of the saint.[6.] Figures of St. John holding the Lamb are extremely common in medieval art. The earliest known example occurs on the ivory throne of Maximian at Ravenna of the sixth century.[7.] In later medieval art the Lamb is carried on a book, as at Haddon Hall, instead of the earlier

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1. A fragmentary figure at Dronfield, Derbys. (Cat. No.89) may be a St. John Baptist, the lower half of the figure only remains.

2. Merevale, Warws. Cat. No.96. Incomplete.

3. Mancetter, Warws. Cat. No.14.

4. Haddon Hall, Derbys. Cat. No.18.

5. St. John's Gosple, Ch. 1. v. 29.

6. For example the fifteenth century figure at Great Malvern Priory, where the opening words of the prophecy ECCE ANGN(US) DEI: are painted above the banner held by the lamb, G. Rushforth Medieval Christian Imagery. (1936) p.234 fig. 122.

7. A Venturi. Storia dell' Arte italiana (1901-) Vol.1 fig. 283.

circular disk. The book has been explained as an allusion to the fulfillment of the saint's prophecies.[8] A less usual form of representation occurs in a late fifteenth century window at Norbury, Derbys. where the Saint was shown holding a honeycomb and locust, with the lamb at his feet.[9]

At Merevale and Mancetter St. John is shown wearing the tunic of camel's hair referred to in the Gospel.[10] At Haddon Hall the entire skin of the camel is represented, with its neck hanging down between the saint's legs and its head resting on the ground between his feet. This misrepresentation of the Gospel text is very common in Northern art, particularly in the fifteenth century,[11] and may have originated in religious drama.[12]

There are no remaining windows in the Midlands illustrating scenes from St. John's life. A very fine window of this type, of circa 1440 (?), was formerly at Battlefield, Salop. It contained six scenes, namely: St. John being placed in prison; the dance of

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8. C. Cahier. Characteristiques des Saints dans l'art populaire (II Vols. 1867) Vol. 1. p.23.
9. L.J. Bowyer The Ancient parish of Norbury (1953) p.71. The lamb honeycomb and locust are now mixed together in his hands.
10. St. Mark. Ch. 1. v.6.: 'vestitus pilis cameli'.
11. Rushforth op. cit. p.235 lists thirteen English examples of fourteenth to sixteenth century date.
12. ibid.

Salome; St. John led to execution; his execution; Salome receiving his head and the head being presented to Herod and Herodias.[13.] A few fragments from this window are now preserved at Prees, Salop.[14.] The copy of the panel of the Presentation of St. John's head to Herod and Herodias depicts the latter striking the head with a knife. A fragment of this scene, namely the head and the knife remain at Prees.[15.] There are other English examples illustrating this incident.[16.] It is derived from St. Jerome's account of how Herodias "made it her inhuman pastime to prick the sacred tongue with a bodkin."[17.] The fact that illustrations of

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13. A coloured pen drawing of the window, prior to its destruction c. 1790 can be found in the Salop collections of the Rev.Williams Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 21236 f. 344.

14. The glass was moved in part to Prees in 1861, see Shropshire Archaeol. Soc. Trans. 3rd. Ser. Vol.III (1903) pp.XIX-XXI.

15. ibid, wrongly described as "a fragment of the decollation of St. John the Baptist". W.Fletcher Battlefield Church (1889) simply refers to it as "a human head in a dish". See my photograph at the Courtauld Institute A.58/841. A full study of this and the other Battlefield windows is now in progress.

16. J. Le Couteur, letter to the Editor in The Antiquary. Vol.LI (1915) p.280 citing examples at Wells (Som.), Gresford (Denbigh) Winchester (Hants) and Clitheroe (Lancs).

17. St. Jerome. Apologia adversus Rufin. III. 42, (Migne Patrologia Latina Vol.XXIII. 1883). The identification of the source was noted in Butler's Lives of the Saints (1829) Vol.II. p.312 E. Mâle, L'Art Religieux du XIIIme siècle en France. p.320 states that there is no textual source.

the scene show Herodias striking the Saint's forehead has been attributed to the influence of the relic of the Saint's head, acquired by Amiens Cathedral in 1206, which has a hole in the forehead.[18.]

The figure of St. John the Baptist at Haddon Hall is associated with figures of the Crucified Christ and the Virgin Mary.[19.] It is possible that here the figure of St. John the Evangelist was omitted in favour of the Baptist. Representations of St. John the Baptist at the Crucifixion are quite rare. A comparable example is found in a German manuscript of circa 1300.[20.] A window given by John Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Albans, 1420-1465, to the Monks' College in Oxford, seems to have been of this type.[21.] In the small Bargello Diptych, school of Paris, circa 1390, St. John is represented with St. Catherine at the Crucifixion,[22.]

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18. Mâle op. cit. citing Du Cange Traite du chef de Saint Jean Baptiste (1665).

19. Haddon Hall, Cat. Nos. 16, 17, 18.

20. H. Swarzenski. Die Deutsche Buchmalerei des XIII Jahrhunderts fig. 1008.b.

21. "He built also a Chapell adioyning to the Librarie and in the principall window under the pictures of the Crucifix, the Virgin Mary, and St. John Baptist, he caused these deprecatory rimes to be put in glasse ...." J. Weever Ancient Funerall Monuments (1631) p.566 citing Gesta Paucula Abbatis Johannis Sexti in Sir Robert Cottons Library.

22. G. Ring. A Century of French Painting. 1400-1500. (1949) Cat. No. 15. fig. 27.

SAINT LAWRENCE

Saint Lawrence was a native of Spain and was taken to Rome by Saint Sixtus, who ordained him his archdeacon. He was martyred during the Decian persecution in 258 A.D. suffering various torments, culminating in being roasted on a gridiron, before being beheaded.(1)

Single figures of Saint Lawrence represented vested as a deacon and holding the gridiron of his martyrdom are extremely common. There are two examples in the stained glass in the Midlands of the period c. 1275-1430. These are both in Staffordshire at Church Leigh(2) and Broughton.(3) Similar examples in stained glass are found at Heydor, Lincs. mid fourteenth century(4) at Winchester Cathedral, Hants.(5) and Nettlestead, Kent,(6) the latter two of the fifteenth century. The earliest representation of the gridiron as a symbol of the saint's martyrdom occurs in a fifth century mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placida at Ravenna.(7)

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(1) Jacobus de Voragine Legenda Aurea (The Golden Legend, Temple Classics edition) Vol.IV. p.208 et seq.

(2) See sub. cat. Church Leigh. Staffs. (Catalogue No.13).

(3) See sub. cat. Broughton, Staffs. (Catalogue No.11).

(4) C. Woodforde in Lincolnshire Magazine. Vol.I. p.93 Photograph at the Courtauld Institute A 57/1831.

(5) J.D. Le Couteur. Ancient Glass in Winchester (1920) p.31. pl.x.

(6) Photograph at the Courtauld Institute.

(7) J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle. A History of Painting in Italy. (1923). Vol. I. pl. at p.20.

The most important window in England associated with the cult of Saint Lawrence is the east window of the choir of the parish church of Ludlow, Salop. The church is dedicated to Saint Lawrence and the window appears to have been the gift of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford 1421-1448. It has twenty-seven panels illustrating the life, martyrdom and miracles of the saint.(8) The window was restored between 1828 and 1882 and although little genuine glass remains the design probably copies the original.(9)

Figures of Saint Lawrence and Saint Stephen often occur together, as for example at Church Leigh, Staffs., where they are part of a larger series of Saints,(10) or at Nettlestead, Kent, as the main figures of one window.(11) This conjunction is natural as they are the two most eminent deacon saints and was doubtless inspired by the legend of the union of their bodies in the basilica of San Lorenzo-fuori-le mura at Rome, transmitted through the Golden Legend.(12)

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(8) T.Wright, History of Ludlow (1852) pp.456-462, listing the subjects.

(9) ibid. p.456. Some of the modern panels now in the window can be shown to be copies of lost originals. The restoration was carried out by David Evans of Shrewsbury.

(10) Church Leigh, Staffs. Cat. Nos. 11 and 14. The St. Stephen has been extensively restored.

(11) XV.c. window South wall of chancel.

(12) Legenda Aurea. op. cit. IV. p.65. Invention of St. Stephen, August 3.

Relics of Saint Lawrence appear to have been commonplace in England in the later Middle Ages. The twelfth century list of relics at Reading Abbey mentions relics of his bones, blood and the coals used to roast him.(13) Canterbury claimed some of his bones and also part of the gridiron.(14) A rib, other bones and more of the coals were preserved at Durham,(15) part of his arm was at St. George's Windsor,(16) another rib was at Coventry Priory(17) and bones and teeth were at St. Mary's Warwick,(18) more bones were venerated at Lichfield.(19)

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(13) British Museum Egerton MS. 3031. f 7r. "De corpore et sanguine sancti laurencii cum carbonibus."

(14) Inventory of 1315-16. J.Wickham Legg and W.H. St.John Hope Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury (1902) p.82, "De ossibus sancti Laurencii. Item de Craticula ejusdem".

(15) 1383 Relics List, in Raine St. Cuthbert p.122. "Item a vial of crystal, containing a rib of St. Lawrence and other bones of the same with coals."

(16) 1410 Inventory. M. Bond, Inventories of St. George's Chapel, Windsor (1947) p.112. Item ꝑ brachium ... in cuius latere ponitur ꝑ os Sancti Laurencii.

(17) Dissolution Inventory. Brit. Mus. Egerton MS. 1603. f 26. 'A Ribbe of Saynt Lawrence in Sylver.'

(18) XV.c. Inventory. Public Record office E. 164. Misc. Bk. 22 f.cciv v "De dente et Ossibus Sancti laurencii martiris.

(19) J. Cox and W. H. St. John Hope. Sacrist's Roll of Lichfield Cathedral, 1345. Derbys. Arch. Soc. Vol.IV (1882) p.108. "Item de ossibus sancti Laurencii.

SAINT MARGARET OF ANTIOCH.

Saint Margaret was the daughter of Theodosius, a patriarch and prince of the idols of the paynims, and was born at Antioch in Pisidia. She was reared by a nurse away from home and in the course of time was baptised. At the age of fifteen, while keeping sheep with other maidens, she was seen by the provost Olybrius as he rode by. He immediately desired to marry her or make her his concubine if she was a slave. Margaret, however, on being brought before him rebuked him for having a knowledge of Christ and yet refusing to worship him. Olybrius committed her to prison and on the following day tried to persuade her to worship the pagan gods. She refused and was beaten with rods and her flesh rent with iron combs. That night her gaolers saw a strange brightness in her prison cell. The devil appeared to her in the form of a dragon and swallowed her whole. She made the sign of the cross "whereupon the belly brake asunder, and so she issued out all whole and sound." Another form of this incident simply states that she pierced the beast's stomache with a cross. The devil then appeared in human form, St. Margaret attacked him and threw him to the ground, after talking with her he sank into the ground and disappeared. The following day she was brought before a judge and subjected to further tortures. There was a noise like thunder and a dove descended from heaven and placed a golden crown on her head. This heavenly sign caused the conversion

of five thousand men whom Olybrius had executed. St. Margaret was then beheaded, to prevent further conversions, her executioner fell dead after completing his task.[1]

Representations of St. Margaret in later medieval art are quite common. There are six single figures extant in stained glass in the Midlands of circa 1275-1430. In each of these she is depicted trampling on the dragon and piercing it with a cross staff. These occur at Checkley, Staffs,[2] Mancetter, Warwicks,[3] Noseley[4] and Evington,[5] Leics., and Stanford-on-Avon[6] and Lowick, Northants[7]. Comparable figures are found in manuscript painting, for example as an initial decoration in the Stowe Breviary[8] and, in association with the Virgin and Child, in the De Lisle Psalter,[9] both of the fourteenth century. An unusual representation, not parallelled in stained glass, showing St. Margaret emerging from the belly of the dragon and scourging a devil, occurs

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(1) Jacobus de Voragine '<u>Legenda Aurea</u>'(Temple Classics ed. 'The Golden Legend') IV. pp.66-72.

(2) Checkley, Staffordshire, Catalogue Number 19.

(3) Mancetter, Warwickshire. Catalogue Number, 4.

(4) Noseley, Leicestershire, Catalogue Number 16. Incomplete.

(5) Evington, Leicestershire. Catalogue Number 4, Incomplete.

(6) Stanford-on-Avon, Northants. Catalogue Number 54. Incomplete.

(7) Lowick, Northants. Catalogue Number 26.

(8) Brit. Mus. Stowe MS. 12. O.Saunders '<u>English Illumination</u>' Vol.II. Pl.112.

(9) Brit. Mus. Arundel MS.83. f.131 v. E.G.Millar, <u>English Illuminated Manuscripts of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries</u>' Plate 10.

in a late thirteenth century English Psalter.[10]

Series of scenes illustrating the life and Martyrdom of St. Margaret are found in wall painting, manuscript illumination and stained glass. There are, however, no surviving examples in stained glass in the Midlands. Two sets of such scenes are known to have been painted for the royal palace at Clarendon, Wilts, in 1235-6 and 1246 respectively.[11] Three fragmentary murals in the south transept of Stotwell, Glos., painted in the twelfth century probably illustrate part of the saint's martyrdom.[12] Incomplete series of murals remain at Cliffe-at-Hoo, Kent,[13] Wiston, Suffolk[14] and East Wellow, Hants.,[15] all of thirteenth century. In the Midlands there are the remains of scenes at Ashby-St. Legers, Northants.[16] and Stoke Dry, Leics.,[17] both of the fourteenth century. A very comprehensive set of fourteen scenes occurs in the

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(10) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 38166.f.13. Probably executed in the diocese of Lincoln, post 1280. British Museum. Schools of Illumination. Part.II. Pl.12.

(11) E.Tristram. English Medieval Wall Paintings. XIII.c. volume. p.528 citing Pipe Roll. 20 Henry III (1235-6) and Cal.Liberate Rolls. 1245-51. p.63, (1246).

(12) E.Tristram. English Medieval Wall Paintings, XII.c. p.147-148.

(13) ibid. XIII.c. Vol. p.530-31. Pls. 138 and 141.

(14) ibid. p.627.

(15) ibid. p.607. Supplementary Pl. 26.

(16) ibid. XIV.c. Vol. p.136. Long, in Burlington Magazine. LVI. (1930) p.226.

(17) Tristram op. cit. p.253. probably St. Margaret but not fully certain.

lower margins of 'Queen Mary's Psalter' of the early fourteenth century.[18] In stained glass there are panels at North Tuddenham, Norfolk, and Combs, Suffolk, of the fifteenth century, which have been fully discussed by Dr. Woodforde.[19]

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(18) Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 2. B. VII. Facsimile edition ed. G.Warner, Plates. 307-314.

(19) C. Woodforde 'The Norwich School of Glass Painting in the fifteenth century (1950) pp.55 and 58.

SAINT MARY MAGDALENE

There are two figures of Saint Mary Magdalene found in the stained glass of the Midlands circa 1275-1430. At Broughton, Staffs. is a small figure, of mid fourteenth century date, originally forming part of the side shafting of a canopy.(1) The other is in a tracery light of the east window of the chancel at Tong, Shropshire, of the early fifteenth century.(2) In both cases she is represented holding a pot of either ointment or spices. St. Mary Magdalene was one of the three Maries who brought spices to Christ's sepulchre (Luke XXIV. v. 1-10). The ointment refers to the annointing of Christ in the house of Simon at Bethany. According to St. Matthew (XXVI. v.7) and St. Mark (XIV. v.3) Christ was annointed by an unnamed woman, but St. John (XII. v.3) states that she was Mary, sister of Lazarus. St. Luke (XII. v.37) narrates a similar but earlier annointing in Galilee by a woman, who was a sinner. St. Gregory the Great settled the belief of the Western church which identified the woman in all these narratives with the Magdalene.(3) Single figures of the saint holding the pot of

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(1) See sub. catalogue Broughton, Staffs. (Cat. No.12).

(2) See sub. catalogue Tong, Shropshire, (Cat. No.31).

(3) See also the Legenda Aurea (The Golden Legend, Temple Classics edition) Vol.IV, p.76 seq.

ointment or spices are common. For example a thirteenth century figure at Himbleton, Worcs.,[4] fourteenth century figures at Grappenhall, Cheshire[5] and, New College, Oxford,[6] and of the fifteenth century, at All Souls, Oxford[7] and East Harling, Norfolk.[8] In the three later examples the saint holds forward a tress of her hair, as a sort of secondary emblem of the annointing and wiping of Christ's feet in the house of Simon.

Relics of St. Mary Magdalene were preserved at Reading Abbey,[9] Christ Church, Canterbury,[10] the Dominican Priory at

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(4) Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society. N.S. Vol.XVII p.1. seq.

(5) Photograph at Courtauld Institute. B 51/1253.

(6) C.Woodforde The Stained Glass of New College, Oxford. (1951) pp.86-87.

(7) F.E.Hutchinson Medieval Glass at All Souls College. (1949) p.30, pl. 15.

(8) C.Woodforde, The Norwich School of Glass Painting, (1950) p.49.

(9) XII.c. List of Relics. British Museum. Egerton MS.3031. f.8. "De costa Sancte Marie magdalene et de vestimento eius.

(10) 1315 List of Relics. "Item os Magdalene" J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope. Inventories of Christ Church Canterbury (1903) p.86.

York,[11] St. Mary's chapel, Warwick[12] and St. George's chapel, Windsor.[13] The cult of the saint was more pronounced on the continent, with particular pilgrimage centres at Vezelay and Aix-en-Provence.[14]

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(11) Relic of her hand, obtained in the XIV.c. W. Hinnebusch, The Early English Friars Preachers (1951) p.155. L.M. Goldthorpe Franciscans and Dominicans in Yorkshire. Yorks Archaeol. Journal Vol.XXXII, p.376.

(12) XV.c. List. Public Record Office, E.164 Misc. Bk. 22. f.cciv.v 'Reliquie de Sancta Margareta. Sancta Maria Magdalena.

(13) 1534 Inventory, "Item ii angells matches stondying apon rownde fote with lyons all gylt bearing in there honds relycks of Mary Magdalene", M.Bond Inventories of St. George's chapel Windsor (1947) p.173.

(14) The cult has been extensively investigated by V. Saxer Le culte de Marie Madelaine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge. Publications de la Societe des fouilles archeologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne (1959) 11 Vols. For a critical notice of this work see B. de Gaiffier Notes sur le culte de Sainte Marie Madelaine Analecta Bollandiana. Tomus LXXVIII. Fasc. 1-11 (1960) pp.161-168.

ST. MICHAEL, THE ARCHANGEL.

There are four representations extant of St. Michael in stained glass in the Midlands of circa 1275-1430. Three of these are of the XIV.c. at Peckleton, Leics,[1] Enville, Staffs[2] and Egmanton, Notts,[3] the fourth at Haddon Hall Chapel, Derbys. is datable circa 1427.[4] In each of these St. Michael is represented fighting the devil in the form of a dragon. This iconography is based on Chapter 12, verse 7, of the Apocalypse, "And there was a great battle in Heaven, Michael and his angels fought with the dragon."

The two main centres associated with the cult of St. Michael were Monte Gargano, Italy, and Mont-Saint-Michel, France. At Monte Gargano St. Michael is said to have appeared to shepherds in 492 and afterwards he revealed to the Bishop of Sipontum that he wished to be venerated there.[5] The shrine was an important pilgrimage centre.[6] A similar legend respecting the foundation of Mont-Saint-Michel is preserved, the traditional date of the dedication of the crypt there is 709.[7] It seems probable that

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(1) see sub. cat. Peckleton, Leics. Cat. No. 1.

(2) see sub. cat. Enville, Staffs. Cat. No.

(3) see sub. cat. Egmanton, Notts. Cat. No.

(4) see sub. cat. Haddon Hall, Derbys. Cat. No. 36.

(5) The oldest text containing this legend is VI.c. see E. Male L'Art Religieux du XII$^{eme.}$ Siecle en France. (1928.) p.257.

(6) ibid. p.258 with examples.

(7) ibid. p.259-60.

both these centres played an important part in popularising the image of St. Michael fighting the dragon. The XII-XIV.c. seals of the abbots of Mont-Saint-Michel bear this iconography, possibly based on an early prototype from Monte Gargano.(8) Such representations are extremely common throughout the Middle Ages. For example in England there is an XI.c. example on a tympanum at Southwell Minster, Notts.,(9) and a drawing in a Psalter of circa 1050.(10)

The figure at Haddon Hall is shown spearing the head of the dragon, the dragon's tail terminates in seven small dragon heads, possibly inspired by the seven heads of the dragon in the Apocalypse.(11) In the Haddon window St. Michael appears in association with St. George, flanking the figures of the Virgin and St. Anne. This association of SS. George and Michael with the Virgin was possibly inspired by a manuscript of the Miracles of the Virgin. One legend relates how the Virgin rescued a woman trapped by the tide at Mont-Saint-Michel. An illustrated

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(8) Male op. cit. p.259-60, fig. 172.

(9) A. Gardner. English Medieval Sculpture (1935). p.41, fig. 29.

(10) B.M. Cotton MS. Tiberius C.VI. F.Wormald. English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (1952). p.68, plate 32.

(11) e.g. compare the dragon in the Douce Apocalypse (XIII.c.) which has seven heads, on two necks, and its tail ends in another head. M.R. James. The Douce Apocalypse Roxburghe Club. 1922. Pl. 43.

version of this legend occurs in Queen Mary's Psalter of the early XIV.c.,[12] and in the late XV.c. wall paintings in the chapel of Eton College[13] and the slightly later paintings in the Lady Chapel at Winchester of circa 1498-1524.[14] St. Michael is directly involved in another legend of the Virgin, that of the abbot who robbed the convent treasury. This legend is illustrated with eleven scenes in the XIV.c. Carew-Poyntz Hours.[15]

St. Michael appears in three of these scenes:

237.f. 161 b. "C.n.d. commanda saint michel quil amenast le diable deuant qil auoit tempte son sergant".

238.f. 162 a. "C.n.d. hosta le moine hors de scep et mist le dyable en son lu et un grant piere en son col."

243.f. 164 a. " C. seint michel du commandment n.d. enchasa le dyable en enfer."

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(12) B.M. Royal MS. 2.B.VII. G. Warner facsimile edition p.44. plate 228.

(13) M.R. James and E.W. Tristram 'The Wall Paintings in Eton College Chapel and in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral.' Walpole Soc. Vol.XVII. p.1-46, partic. p.29 and Plate XIII.

(14) ibid p.29 and 34, and Plate XXIII.

(15) M.R. James. Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge. MS. 48. The scenes are, James's numbers, 233-244 excluding 241.

SAINT SITHA OF LUCCA

There are three unidentified figures of female saints in the Midlands which may have been intended as representations of Saint Sitha. These figures are all of fifteenth century date and are found at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, Newark Nottinghamshire and Broughton Astley, Leicestershire. These figures are not particularly alike, however they all wear secular clothes and have an attribute in common: a bunch of keys. Each figure has a nimbus. The Haddon Hall figure, datable 1427, has a bunch of keys hanging from her waist, she also appears to be holding something, whatever it is, however, is hidden by an iron tie bar in front of the glass. (Catalogue Number 11). At Newark the figure holds a rosary and two keys in her right hand (Catalogue Number 45). The Broughton-Astley figure holds a bunch of four keys (Catalogue Number 11). The identification of these three figures as St. Sitha is suggested by representations of this saint which depict her holding keys. In the fifteenth century glass at Mells, Somerset, she is shown holding three loaves of bread in one hand and two keys in the other. Below her feet is a label:- "S(anc(t)a sitha".[1] On the rood screen at Barton Turf, Norfolk, also of the fifteenth century, she holds a rosary in one

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(1) C. Winston communication to the Archaeol. Journal. Vol.II. (1847). p.202. C. Woodforde. Stained Glass in Somerset. (1946) p.181.

hand and a bunch of keys and a bag, attached to her girdle, in the other. She is named: "S(ancta) Citha".[2]

Saint Sitha was born early in the thirteenth century near Lucca, Italy, and died in 1272. She was a serving woman in the household of the Fatinelli family. Her piety and exactitude together with her meekness and humble self-restraint overthrew her employers abuse and the malice of the other servants, and she was placed in charge of the domestic household affairs.[3] After her death her tomb was visited by ecclesiastics and secular magnates.[4] She was venerated locally as a saint[5] and Dante in the Inferno mentions a senator of St. Zita.[6] She was canonised by Innocent XII in 1696.[7] Her cult in the fifteenth century was widespread, despite the fact that she had not been canonised by the Pope, and chapels in her honour are found as far apart as Ely and Palermo.[8]

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(2) J. Gum. The Rood Screen at Barton Turf. (1869).

(3) Butler. Lives of the Saints (11 Vols. 1836) Vol.1. pp.526-527. Acta Sanctorum. April III. p.497 ff.

(4) Acta SS. op. cit. p.508. E.W.Kemp. Canonisation and Authority in the Western Church. (1948) p.124.

(5) Kemp. op.cit. p.125 citing XIV.c. commentary by Guy of Pisa, on the line in Dante (see note 6). Commentary also given in Anal. Boll. XIVIII. p.229.

(6) Inforno Canto XXI line 38. "ecco un degli anzian di santa Zita".

(7) Kemp. op.cit. p.125. A. Dunbar A Dictionary of Saintly Women. (1905) Vol.II. pp.309-10.

(8) Kemp. op. cit. p.125.

SAINT STEPHEN PROTOMARTYR.

Saint Stephen was the chief of the seven deacons appointed by the Apostles to assist them in their daily ministrations and to attend to the relief of widows. He clashed with the Jews who, on account of his defence of the supremacy of the Gosples, accused him of blasphemy against Moses and against God. He was brought before the Sanhedrin, his reprimands in reply to the latter so outraged his accusers that they took him outside the city and stoned him to death.(1)

Single figures of Saint Stephen, represented vested as a deacon and holding the stones of his martyrdom, are quite common in medieval art. For example, in a mid fourteenth century window at Heydor, Lincs.(2) and a late fifteenth century window at Papplewick, Notts.(3) A figure at Church Leigh, Staffs. prabably of the late thirteenth century, may belong to this type: it has, however, been extensively restored.(4)

The east window of Checkley church, Staffordshire, contains a late thirteenth century medallion of the Stoning of St. Stephen.

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(1) Acts of the Apostles. Chapter VI. v.5, 8-15. Chapter VII v 1-60.

(2) C. Woodforde in The Lincolnshire Magazine. Vol.I. p.93.

(3) Photograph at the Courtauld Institute.

(4) See Sub. cat. Church Leigh, Staffs. (Catalogue No.14). The figure is vested as a deacon and holds a book, the stones are missing. The drapery is mostly modern.

Two Jews are shown, with stones in their raised hands, assaulting the saint who kneels in prayer with the hand of God above him.(5) This iconography is first found in Carollingian art. The earliest examples occur in the Drogo Sacramentary, written for Drogo, Bishop of Metz, 826-855(6) and in the frescoes of the crypt of the abbey of Saint Germain d'Auxeire, which have been dated c.870-877.(7) The earliest English example is in the Benedictional of Saint Ethelwold of 963-84.(8)

Relics of Saint Stephen were preserved at Reading Abbey,(9) Canterbury alone had ten relics associated with him, including two relics of the stones of his martyrdom.(10) St. George's chapel, Windsor,(11) St. Mary's chapel, Warwick(12) and Leominster Priory(13)

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(6) Bibliotheque National Paris. MS. lat.9428 V. Leroquais. Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliotheques publiques de France. 1 pp.16-18.

(7) E.S. King. The Carolingian frescoes of the Abbey of Saint Germain d'Auxerre. Art Bulletin XI (1929) pp.359-375.

(8) British Museum. Add.MS. 49598.f 17.b. Facsimile edition ed. G.F. Warner and M.A. Wilson. Roxburghe Club (1910).

(9) British Museum. Egerton MS. 3031 f 7 R. XII.c. "De sancto Stephano prothomatre in quinque locis".

(10) J.Wickham Legg and W.H.St.J. Hope 'Inventories of Christ Church Canterbury (1902) pp.82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 93. Inventory of 1315/16. The most important were: "Dens et digitus sancti Stephani. Item de ossibus ejusdem. Item de lapidibus quibus fuit lapidatus".

(11) M.Bond. Inventories of St. George's Windsor (1947) p.60. 1384 Inventory Item j lapis cum quo Beatus Stephanus lapidatus fuit.

(12) Public Record Office E.164 Misc. Bk. 22 f CCV.R. XV.C. 'De facie Sancti Stephani.

(13) Register of Bishop Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford. Cantalupe Society (1909) p.124-5 dated 1286 "Unus lapis unde Stephanus fuit lapidatus".

also claimed various relics. He was the patron Saint of a royal chapel in the Palace of Westminster but does not seem to have inspired a particular veneration in court circles.(14)

There remains no evidence of an extensive series of narrative scenes, associated with St. Stephen, in stained glass in England, this type of window is found on the continent, for example in the thirteenth century glass at Chartres.(15)

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(14) A painted table with an image of St. Stephen was ordered for the chapel in 1231 and again in 1233. Cal. Close Rolls. Henry III 1231-4. pp. 9 and 207.

(15) Y. Delaporte and E. Houvet 'Les Vitraux de la Cathedrale de Chartres (1926). Bay. XLI. Text p.331. Plates CXIX-CXII.

SAINT THOMAS BECKET

Saint Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the most venerated saints of the later Middle Ages. His career in both secular and ecclesiastical matters was extensive and varied and is sufficiently well known to justify only the inclusion of the more important events in this present enquiry.(1)

Thomas Becket was born circa 1118. He was ordained deacon in 1142 and later became Archdeacon of Canterbury, in 1154, and Chancellor of England in the following year. At this time he was in high favour with Henry II and took part in his military campaigns and carried out diplomatic missions. Becket was enthroned as Archbishop of Canterbury on the third of June 1162. His refusal to verify the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164 alienated his good relations with Henry II and in November of the same year Becket fled abroad. He remained in exile, mostly at Pontigny until 1166 and then at Sens, until 1170. Shortly after his return to England Becket suspended the Archbishop of York and renewed his edict of excommunication, of 1166, on the Bishops of London and Salisbury. These two events precipitated his death. Henry II's exasperated remarks at Becket's action resulted in

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(1) For a detailed treatment of Becket's life and career see E.A. Abbot. Saint Thomas of Canterbury. His Life and Miracles. II Vols. 1898. The contemporary evidence is gathered in Materials for a History of Saint Thomas Becket III Vols. 1875-1885 Rolls Series.

four of his knights crossing over to England. They met with Becket in the episcopal palace at Canterbury on the twenty eight day of December 1170 and, after a violent quarrel, followed him into the cathedral and murdered him in the north transept.(2) The Christian world recoiled with horror at this deed. Henry II in expiation had to yield over the disputed points in the constitutions of Clarendon and submitted himself to an extensive programme of expiation, culminating in a solemn act of penance at Canterbury in July 1174, one year after the canonisation of Thomas Becket.

The cult of the Saint spread over Europe with astonishing rapidity. Canterbury quickly becoming one of the principal centres of pilgrimage of the western world. This rapid extension and popularity of the cult of St. Thomas Becket was reflected in the visual arts. The iconography of St. Thomas Becket has been investigated by Professor T. Borenius.(3) His survey of the extensive extant material, both in England and abroad, divided the representations of the Saint into three main groups; single representations of a figure of the saint, with or without an

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(2) A detailed comparative analysis of the various contemporary accounts of the murder is found in E.Abbot op. cit. Volume 1. The most authoritative account is that of Edward Grim. (Materials etc. op. cit. Rolls Series, Vol.II. p.430-438).

(3) T. Borenius "St. Thomas in Art" (1932).

* This is a St. Peter Martyr. not Becket.
examined. Summer. 1963.

depicted with his skull cleft by the sword of his martyrdom.(8) One of these, a fifteenth century glass panel in the Library of Trinity College, Oxford, he believed to be unique, it shows the sword piercing the mitred head of the saint.(9) There is, however, a second example of this type, a glass panel in the east window of the south aisle at Ayston in Rutland of circa 1440.(10)

There are no series of narrative scenes from the Saint's life and miracles extant in the stained glass of the Midlands. Two scenes at Checkley are listed by Borenius as fragments of such a series: the Martyrdom of St. Thomas and the Penance of Henry II.(11) The latter scene, however, is an erroneous identification, the panel in fact represents the Martyrdom of St. Stephen (Checkley Catalogue Number 16).(12) These two panels

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(8) Borenius. op. cit. p.32. At Trinity College, Oxford, St. Mary Redcliffe Bristol, Minster Lovell church, Oxon c.1430 and a late XV.c. glass panel belonging to Professor Borenius.

(9) ibid. Plate XIII, fig. 3.

(10) The upper part of the window contains a Christ crucified with the Virgin and St. John, in base are a canonised Bishop (St. Thomas Cantelupe?), the Virgin adoring the Christ Child and St. Thomas Becket. The Bishop and the St. Thomas have been wrongly described as "the heads of two bishops" in the Victoria County History, Rutland. Vol.II, p.61.

(11) Borenius. op. cit. p.44.

(12) This mistaken identification was made by P. Nelson. Ancient Painted Glass in England" (1913) p.189.

are identical in shape and size and are of the same date. The association of these two scenes was probably deliberate. Borenius notes a tendency to bracket these two martyrs whose feasts are near to each other, St. Stephen's being the twenty fifth of December and St. Thomas three days later.(13)

The panel of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas at Checkley, referred to above, is the only extant example of this scene in stained glass in the Midlands. (Checkley Catalogue Number 20). In the Checkley panel the four knights are represented standing on the right, striking the head of the kneeling archbishop with their swords. The more usual representation is to have the knights standing on the left.(14) However, many of the examples

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(13) Borenius op. cit. p.50, notes two mitres, each embroidered with the martyrdoms of St. Stephen and St. Thomas Becket respectively, one at Sens, the other at Munich. It is to be noted that Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury (1185-1190) proposed to erect a collegiate church, to house St. Thomas's body, dedicated to St. Thomas Becket and St. Stephen. (see R. Foreville. 'Le Jubile de Saint Thomas Becket du XIII au XV siecle' Bibliotheque Generale de l'ecole pratique des hautes etudes. (1958) pp.5-6.

(14) For example on the seals of the Archbishop of Canterbury: counter seal of Hubert Walter, Archb. 1193-1205 (Birch Catalogue of Seals. 1187); counter seal of Stephen Langton Archb. 1207-1228 (Birch 1196), counter seal of Richard Grant of Wethershed Archbp. 1229-31 (Birch 1201); seal of Edmund Rich, Archbp. 1233-1240 (Birch 1202), and also the third seal of the cathedral Priory of Canterbury of 1233 (Birch 1373).

of the martyrdom discussed by Borenius show a considerable variety in the details.[15]

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(15) In some cases the number of the knights is reduced. A conspicious feature often represented is the inclusion of an altar and a chalice, as if the archbishop was disturbed at Mass. In actual fact Becket was proceeding to Vespers and was attacked in the North transept: at no time was he praying at an altar or saying Mass. See Borenius. op. cit. p.73.

THOMAS OF LANCASTER WINDOWS

Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (circa 1278-1322), as leader of the Ordainers was in violent opposition to his cousin, King Edward II, for much of theperiod from 1309-10 until his death in 1322. There was a reconciliation between them in 1318 which lasted until 1321 when hostilities were revived culminating in a short period of open rebellion which terminated in the defeat of the Eal's forces at Burton-on-Trent and the subsequent capture of the Earl at Boroughbridge oh March 16th, 1321/22. Thomas was Taken to his castle of Pontefract and was beheaded on March 22nd in the presence of Edward II.(1) After his death popular idealism made him a Saint and Martyr. In June 1323 Edward II censured the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's and ordered them "to prevent the people going to a certain tablet (tabula) in St. Paul's London, whereon are depicted statues, sculpture or images of divers persons, and amongst others the effigy of Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster .... as the King hears with displeasure that many of the people go to the said tablet and worship it as a holy thing without the authority of the church of Rome."(2)

In October of the same year Archbishop Melton issued a mandate addressed to the official of the Archdeacon of York ordering him to prevent any worship being paid to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster "populus utriusque sexus ad tumulum, quondam Thomae comitis Lancastriae, devotionis causa publicum et solomnem habens concussum, ipsum publice venerantur ut Sanctum."(3)

After the deposition and murder of Edward II in 1327, the cult was officially recognised and encouraged to foster the public's memory of Edward II's reign of despotic injustice and his 'murder', of the Earl of Lancaster. On the 3rd February 1326/7 Thomas was rehabilitated and the sentences against him were annulled(4), and Edward III, within a month of his accession, wrote to the Pope, at the instance of the commons, and requested the canonisation of Thomas of Lancaster.(5)

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(1) See Complete Peerage, Vol.VII p387-396. Chronicles Edw.I and Edw.II (Rolls Series) Vol.1, p.302,3.(Annales Paulini).Vol.II p.76-7 (Auctore Bridlingtoniensi)

(2) Complete Peerage, op.cit.p396.Cal.Close Rolls. 1318-1323, p.723

(3) Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers, (Rolls Series,) pp. 325-326.

(4) G.E.C. op.cit. Rolls Parl.II, p.5.

(5) ibid. p.11

A similar letter was also sent by William Melton, Archbishop of York, at the instance of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, the brother of Thomas.(6) The request was never granted though it was repeated in 1330 and 1331. Although his canonisation was not effected, an office was composed for his feast day.(7) Edward III authorised the erection of a chapel, on the site of his execution, in June 1327.(8) The cult continued well into the second half of the century. In 1361 Humphrey De Bohun, Earl of Hereford made provision in his will for "a good and loyal man to be sent to Canterbury, and to offer there XLs. for us, and another such man to Pomfret to offer at the tomb of Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster XL.s "(9) The list of relics at Durham, drawn up in 1383, mentions "a pair of beads belonging to Saint Thomas, Earl of Lancaster."(10) Among a set of vestments given to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, by Henry IV, was an orphery "broidata cum vita Thome Lancastrie"(11).

There is only one extant object that can, beyong all doubt, be associated with the cult of Thomas of Lancaster. This is a large lead plaque in the British Museum (B.M. Dept. British and Medieval Antiquities 1954. 5-2.1.) It takes the form and general design of a window with curvilinear tracery. The 'Main lights' have six narrative scenes framed, left and right vertical sides by saints in niches. The 'tracery' contains an incomplete Crucifixion of Christ, Christ in Majesty with angels censing and the figures of SS. Peter and Paul.

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(6) Letters from Northern Registers, pp.339-40. Letter from Henry E. of Lancaster to Melton, dated February 15, 1327, ibid. pp.340-42, letter from Melton to Pope, dated February 24th, 1327.

(7) B.M. Royal MS. 12.C.XII. Transcribed and translated in 'Political Songs of England, ed. T. Wright. Camden Society, Vol.VI, pp.268-72.

(8) G.E.C. op.cit. Cal.Patent Rolls, 1327-1330, p. 26.

(9) J. Nichols, Testamenta Vetusta, Vol.I, pp. 66-88. see p.66

(10) J. Raine's 'St. Cuthbert' (1828) p.121.

(11) A cancelled addition to the 1384 Inventory, see "Inventories of St. George's chapel, Windsor, ed. Bond, p.44/45 (1947).

The six narrative scenes illustrate incidents from the life and death of Thomas of Lancaster. They were first recognised and published by Mr. H. Tait.(12) The scenes represented are 1. The reconciliation between Edward II and Lancaster in 1318(?)(13), 2.The Battle of Boroughbridge, 3.His trial at Pontefract 5.Being lead away to execution, 6.His execution by beheading. Tait suggested that it was probably a poor man's devotional plaque, being too large to be worn, and that originally it was perhaps sewn onto a cloth ground with a wooden backing.(14) He also recognised its similarity with stained glass windows, but "the odd relationship of the niches to the central panel which is never quite paralleled in stained glass or contemporary minature painting"(15), prevented him from accepting it as a copy of a window. As the proportions generally, particularly the size of the figure's heads to their bodies are very simplified I am rather inclined to think that this could be a simplified copy of a painted window.(16) There is, however, no documentary evidence that such a window ever existed.

Tait stated that there is no other known set of scenes illustrating the life and death of Thomas of Lancaster.(17) There is, however, an execution scene painted on the wall of the north aisle at South Newington, Oxon, that has been identified by Tristram as the execution of Thomas of Lancaster.(18) There is no inscription or heraldry to prove this interpretation. Tristram may be correct for this painting has as a companion piece a Martyrdom of Saint Thomas àBecket. This seems

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(12) H. Tait "Pilgrim Signs and Thomas Earl of Lancaster" British Museum Quarterly Vol.XX, Number 2. pp.39-47.

(13) Or the confering of his father's earldom on him in 1298(Tait).

(14) Tait, p.46 citing the leaded triptych at Kings Lynn and another fragment in the London Museum

(15) Tait, p.41

(16) The difference between the levels of the main scenes and the side niches is, to some extent, comparable with the two vertical shafts, each containing six figures below niches on each side of the monumental brass of Lewis de Beaumont (1318-1333) Bishop of Durham, where the levels also do not coincide. Matrix engraved in Soc.Antiq.Proc.2 Ser.XIII, p.36.

(17) Tait, op.cit. p.44 also pointing out an execution scene labelled 'Lancastres' in the Luttrel Psalter f.56. The inscription might be later.

(18) ~~The inscription, however, might be later.~~ Tristram, Eglish wall Paintings XIV.C. p.228.

significant for the anthem composed for the proposed office of Thomas of Lancaster commences:-

"Gaude Thoma, ducum decus, lucerna Lancastriae
Qui per necem imitaris Thomam Cantuariae." (19)

The only evidence of the existence of the cult of Thomas of Lancaster relating directly to the Midlands is the fact that in 1325 his brother and heir Henry, Earl of Lancaster, was accused of treason because he had set up a cross near Leicester to induce passers by to pray for his brother.(20) There is some evidence to suggest that there were formerly in existence two painted windows which may, not improbably, have been related to this cult. The first, and most important, was on the north side of the church at Bulkington, Warwickshire. This is known from two secondary scources. Dugdale has an engraving of it in his account of Bulkington(21) and there is an unpublished drawing in Burton's church notes, dated 1623.(22) The engraving shows a schematic representation of the three main lights of the window. In the upper part are three figures, left to right, the Earl of Lancaster, William de Bois and S. Catherine; in the lower part William La Zouche of Haringworth and his wife Maud both kneel in prayer, with three shields of arms below them.(23)

Burton's drawing is identical in so far as the placing of the figures and shields are concerned. In detail, however, there are considerable differences. The most important one being that the Dugdale engraving shows William de Bois kneeling before S. Catherine, whereas Burton depicts him facing the Earl of Lancaster who raises his right hand in salutation.

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(19) Camden Soc. op.cit.

(20) ~~Warwickshire~~ Chronicles Edward I and Edward II, Rolls series. Vol.II, p. 280; Vita Edwardi Secundi, modern translation with notes by Denholm-Young. p.137-138.

(21) Dugdale Antiquities of Warwickshire.

(22) B.M. Egerton MS. 3510, p. 25.

(23) The arms and documentary evidence, etc., are given under Bulkington, Warws.

We know that William de Bois, lord of the manor of Bulkington, settled this, and other properties in Leicestershire, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, on his niece Maud and her husband William La Zouche in 1300(24) William de Bois died in 1313 (25) and in the same year William La Zouche and Maud his wife had a grant of Free Warren for their lands in Weston, Bulkington, Ryton, Bramcote, Wolvershill and Foleshill.(26) In 1345 he had licence to found a chantry in the Chapel of St. Mary within his manor of Weston in Arden.(27) He died in 1351/2 (28). William La Zouche and his wife were represented in the lower part of the window. It seems not unreasonable to infer that they were the actual donors of the window. They both kneel in prayer as does William de Bois above them, whereas St. Catherine and the Earl of Lancaster are both represented standing, in a sense, therefore, they are represented as equals. If Burton's drawing is the more correct version of the original the fact that William de Bois is depicted praying to the Earl of Lancaster suggests that the latter was regarded as a saint and can, therefore, be identified as Thomas of Lancaster. If this was so the window must be dated after 1326/27 when Lancaster was rehabilitated and his canonisation requested and probably before 1351/2 when William La Zouche died. The Dugdale engraving, however, depicts William de Bois in prayer to S.Catherine, but even so the Earl of Lancaster stands behind him as his sponsor, a position usually reserved for the patron saint.(29) The engraving is unreliable, it is obvious that the engraver has assimilated the original sketch to his own conception of how the figures should appear, particularly in the controposto position of St. Catherine.

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(24) Warwickshire Feet of Fines.II.pp.40-41. (Dugdale Soc.Vol. xv).

(25) Cal.Fine Rolls, Vol.II, 1307-1319, p. 164

(26) Cal.Charter Rolls, III, p. 225.

(27) Cal.Patent Rolls, 1343-45, p. 455, 1345-48, p. 25-8. Weston is a hamlet of Bulkington. The chapel was ruinous and was rebuilt by William La Zouche. Dugdale op.cit, p.61.

(28) Cal.Inq.Post Mortem, X, 42, 142.

(29) e.g. The Wilton Diptych where the three standing figures of SS. John the Baptist, Edward and Edmund present the kneeling figure of Richard II to the Virgin and Child.

Moreover, the representation of the Earl of Lancaster is difficult to explain, in either case, if this window is not to be connected with the cult of Thomas of Lancaster. The De Bois-Zouche holdings in Bulkington were not held of that Earl in chief, but of the Earl of Buchan, in 1299(30), and, in 1352, of Henry, heir of John de Beaumont.(31)

It is, therefore, here submitted that the Bulkington window is most probably to be associated with the cult of Thomas of Lancaster and is to be dated c.1326-1351.

The second window to be considered was originally on the south side of the church of Netherseale, Leicestershire.(32) It is known from Burton's drawing dated 1608.(33) This drawing shows a kneeling figure wearing chain mail with a surcoat of the arms of Lancaster and holding a spear in his right hand. There can be no question of the fact that this represents the Earl of Lancaster, there is, however, no proof to enable a precise identification to be made. The overlordship of the manor was granted to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster in 1266 and descended in the male line until 1361. During this period, therefore, it would be quite proper to commemorate the Earl of Lancaster in a window simply by virtue of his status as overlord of the manor.

A window formerly in the church of Walton on Trent, Derbyshire, is interesting in this context. Again the original has been lost and is known from the description written by William Wyrley in 1590(34): "There is in a window curiously wrought the pitture of the Duke of Lancaster, in the arms of England, a label of France/ and on his head in the helmet Beauchampe and Clare g'tered houlding the banner of his owne armes in his hand."(35) The arms of Beauchamp and Clare on the helmet provide a clue to the identity of this figure. None of the Plantagenet Earls of Lancaster were entitled to bear a quarterly coat of Beauchamp and Clare. However, Henry, Earl of Lancaster ob.1345

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(30) Cal.Inq.Post Mortem, Vol.III, 539.

(31) ibid. Vol. X, 42.

(32) The antiquarian sources etc., and manorial history are fully set out under Netherseale, Leics.

(33) Egerton MS. 3510. p.62.

(34) British Museum, Harley MS. 6592, f.70

(35) Published by Cox. Churches of Derbyshire, III, p.512-13.

married Maud, daughter and heiress of Sir Patrick de Chaworth of Kidwelly by Isabel daughter of William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.(36) The arms of Chaworth of Kidwelly were barry argent and gules, an orle of martlets sable.(37)

A junior branch of the Chaworth family, however, bore azure two chevrons or.(38) It seems possible that the artist's original intention was to represent a quarterly coat of the arms of Chaworth of Kidwelly and Beauchamp for Maud, wife of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, the arms of Beauchamp being given precedence over Chaworth as a more important family,(39) but by error depicted the wrong coat for Chaworth. Wyrley's identification of the Chaworth arms as Clare, who bore 'Gules three chevrons or'(40) could easily have happened if the tinctures in the original glass were represented in black lines on yellow stain, a not uncommon convention.(41) This interpretation, although relying upon two mistakes by two different people, makes sense of an otherwise inexplicable coat of arms. Neither Henry, Earl of Lancaster, nor his wife, had any direct contact with Walton. The manor was held of the King beingheld by Emma, widow of Robert de Monte Alto in 1330, with reversion to Queen Isabella. On her death in 1357 it reverted to Edward III who later, in 1369, granted it to Isabella, widow of Sir John Delves.(42)

The evidence of this window suggests that to identify the Netherseale figure as Thomas, Earl of Lancaster would be hasty and unwise. In conclusion, therefore, it appears that the only window in the Midlands which might be connected with the cult of Thomas of Lancaster is the one formerly at Bulkington.

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36 Complete Peerage, Vol. VI, p. 400

37 Roll of Arms, Edward II, ed. Nicolas, p. 91.

38 Roll Edward II, p. 11.

39 See the shield of Beauchamp quartering Astley for Elizabeth daughter of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, wife of Thomas, Lord Astley, at Broughton Astley, Leics.

40 Roll Edward II, p. 1

41 See sub.cat. Lockington, Leics.

42. Cox, op.cit., pp. 505-6.

ST. WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

William Fitzherbert is said to have been the son of Herbert of Winchester, treasurer to Henry I, and his wife Emma, sister to King Stephen. He was a canon and treasurer of York circa 1130 and in 1142, on the death of Archbishop Thurstan, he was elected archbishop of York. His election was contested on alleged grounds of simony and royal influence, he was, however, consecrated at Winchester on September 26, 1143. He neglected to obtain the pallium however and this factor was used against him, later, by the newly elected cistercian Pope Eugenius III, who deposed William in 1147 and appointed Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fountains, in his stead. Murdac and Eugenius III both died in 1153 and the new Pope Anastasius IV was prevailed upon to restore William, who received the pallium at Rome in December of that year. His second tenure was brief as he died in the following year. Miracles were reported at his tomb in York Minster and his canonisation was secured in 1227. His relics were translated to a new and sumptuous shrine in 1283. (1)

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(1) W.H. Dixon 'Fasti Eboracenses, Lives of the Archbishops of York.' ed. J.Raine. Vol.1, p.220-233. The earliest biography 'Vita Sancti Willelmi Auctore Anoymo' is printed in J.Raine 'Historians of the Church of York'. Rolls Series (1886) II, p.270-278, followed by the 'Miracula' ibid p.278-291. The lections for the feast of his translation, from the York Breviary, are also given ibid p.544-546.

There are no extant representations of St. William Fitzherbert in the stained glass in the Midlands of the XIII.c. and XIV.c. A single inscription, in Lombardic script: S' : WILELM' : EBOR remains in a window at Austrey, Warks, suggesting that originally a figure of the saint, at least, was represented here.(2) The earliest recorded representation in the Midlands was the altar frontal painted with "a picture of the story of Saint William of York" which was ordered for the King's chapel at Nottingham castle in 1251.(3) A single figure only remains in the Midlands. This is found in a window at Morley, Derbyshire, together with a companion figure of St. John of Bridlington, probably circa 1460-1480.(4) The most important monument extant relating to the cult of St. William is the large window in the north wall of the eastern transept at York Minster. The main lights contain ninety six scenes of the life and miracles of the saint.(5) It is datable circa 1413-1421 on the evidence of the donor figures, all members of the Ros family of

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(2) see sub. cat. Austrey, Warwickshire, Catalogue Number 8.

(3) Cal. Liberate Rolls. Vol.IV. 1251-1260. p.11.

(4) St. William holds a scroll inscribed: WILLMS ARCHIEPS, he is represented nimbed wearing eucharistic vestments. St. John of Bridlington's scroll reads: SCS JOHIS PRIOR BRIDLINTONE.

(5) J. Fowler, "On a window representing the Life and Miracles of St. William of York" Yorks Archaeological Journal, Vol.III pp.198-348 (1874.

Hamlake.[6] There is nothing else comparable to this window. Elsewhere the remaining representations of the Saint are restricted to a single standing figure represented nimbed wearing the eucharistic vestments of an archbishop and sometimes blessing. This type occurs in a wall painting at St. Alban's Abbey (Herts) circa 1330,[7] at Morley, noticed above, in the west window at Cirencester (Glos.) of the late XV.c.[8] and in a tracery light of the east window of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, also of the XV.c.[9] There are also records of figures, now lost, at Muchelney (Somerset)[10], Durham cathedral,[11] Walpole St. Peter's (Norfolk)[12] and St. John's church Stamford (Lincs.)[13]

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(6) ibid. pp.214-217. J. Knowles "Additional Notes on the St.William Window". Proceedings of the Yorks Architect. and Yorks Archaeol. Soc. Vol.1, No.2 (1934). A closer dating of 1421-1423 has been suggested by the Very Rev.E.Milner-White (Friends of York Minster Report.1955), the evidence, however, is not conclusive.

(7) see Archaeologia LVIII p.289 (1902) and E.Tristram 'English Wall Painting of the XIV.c.' p.132.

(8) W.T.Beeby 'Ancient Stained Glass in the parish church of St. John, Cirencester' Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, Vol.XXXIX, pp.207 and 210-11.

(9) C.Woodforde. 'The Norwich school of glass painting in the XV.c.' (1950) pp. 20.

(10) C.Woodforde 'The Somerset school of glass painting ~~in the XV.c.~~' p.50-51, a scroll remains invoking the saint. Woodforde also lists two existing figures one representing St. William, one at Edington (Wilts) and the other at Trinity College, Oxford. The Edington figure I have not seen. The Oxford figure's name label is suspect (see Royal Commission on Historical Monuments Oxford.p.112).

(11) Window given by Thomas Rome, Sacrist 1405-1425. '<u>Rites of Durham</u>' Surtees Soc. Vol.107, p.118.

(12) Woodforde 'Norwich' op. cit. p.179. Bloomfield '<u>History of Norfolk</u>'. Vol.IX. p.117.

(13) F. Peck '<u>Academia tercia Anglicana</u>' p.36 (1727), original dated, by inscription, 1451.

<u>Addenda</u>.

<u>EDINGTON</u> <u>Wilts</u>.

North clearstorey window: c.1380.

Numbed, in bened. holds cross staff, eucharistic vestments.

Label. Sc̄s Willī E/benac'

THE TREE OF JESSE

A survey of the extensive material relating to the iconography of the Tree of Jesse is outside the scope of this present work. The subject has been considered by several authorities. The most extensive account is Mr. A. Watson's 'The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse'.[1] His thesis, however, does not extend beyond the end of the twelfth century. A comprehensive account of representations of the subject in the later Middle Ages seems to be called for.

In its fully developed form the Tree of Jesse is an illustrated Genealogy of Christ. The figure of Jesse is shown with a tree springing from his lions. On the vertical axis of the tree are represented the Kings of Judah, the ancestors of Christ, ascending to the Virgin Mary and Christ himself at the apex. In the side branches of the tree are the prophets of the Old Testament, the spiritual ancestors of Christ who foretold the Incarnation and His coming. The textual sources are taken from the Old and New Testaments: the prophecy of Isaiah and the genealogy of Christ as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke. The tree itself is a literal interpretation of the prophecy of Isaiah, Chapter XI verses 1-3:

Et egredietur uirga de radice Iesse, et flos de radice

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1. A.Watson. The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse (1934).

eius ascendet. Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini: ~~spiritus Domini~~: spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis; et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini.

The genealogy of Christ as given by St. Matthew, Chapter 1, verses 1-17 contains twenty six names between David, son of Jesse, and Christ. St. Luke, Chapter 3 verses 23-28 lists fourty two names. St. Matthew's list seems to have been preferred.

The 'uirga' and 'flos' of Isaiah's prophecy were interpreted as representing the Virgin and Christ respectively from the beginning of the third century at least.[2.] The prophecy, however, was not given visusl expression until the end of the eleventh century. The earliest examples simply show the tree rising from Jesse and terminating in the Seven Gifts of the Spirit.[3.] The chronology of the succeeding examples is not precisely known. Figures of the Virgin and Christ are then incorporated[4.], followed

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2. Tertullian, De Carne Christi, see Watson, op. cit. pp.1 and 3

3. Codex Vysehradenis, Bohemian end of the XI.c. Prague University Library MS. XIV. A.13. Watson. op. cit. pp.82-83. pl.1.
Brit. Museum. Harley. 2889. Early XII.c. Cologne area)?) Watson op. cit. pp.85-86. Pl.II.
Dijon. Bibliotheque MS. 2. Bible de Saint-Benigne. XI-XII.c. Watson, op. cit. p.87. Pl.III.

4. Dijon Bibliotheque MS. 129. c.1125. Warson, op. cit. pp.89-90, Pl.V. Dijon MS. 641. Citeaux MS. c.1111-120. Watson. pp.90-91, Pl.VI. For other example see Watson pp.90 seq.

by a gradual extension of the genealogical motif.[5.]

The earliest known representation in stained glass is the magnificent, but now incomplete, wihdow in the Abbey of St. Denis near Paris, given by the Abbot Suger in 1144.[6.] This was soon followed by a related example at Chartres, circa 1150.[7.] Mâle has overstressed the importance of the St. Denis window.[8.] However, it does seem probable that the extended genealogy allowed by the window space was an important exemplar. The extent of the St. Denis window is uncertain, it included at least two kings, the Virgin and Christ and probably eight, or more, prophets.[9.]

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5. e.g. British Mus. Nero. C.IV. from Winchester Cathedral Priory, mid XII.c. Watson p.103-4, Pl.XVII, one king and two prophets, Morgan MS. 724 early XII.c. English, fourteen Kings, Watson. op. cit. pp.127-128. Pl.XXVIII. The development of the more extended type does not appear to have followed a strictly chronological sequence.

6. See Watson. op. cit. Chapter VII. Suger and the First Tree of Jesse, with notes on earlier bibliography, and Pls. XXIV, XXV.

7. ibid. pp.122-125. Pl. XXVI.

8. Mâle stated at first that the St. Denis window was the first Jesse Tree "digne de ce nom". He subsequently altered this to the view that St. Denis was the very first Jesse: "Il ne subsiste aujourd'hui aucun arbre de Jesse qui soit anterieur au vitrail de St. Denis." See Watson, Ch. VII. op.cit. and also pp.166-7 for earlier modifications of Mâle's views.

9. The window was restored in 1848 "ab antiquis frag:" It is doubtful if the modern parts are more than the restorer's invention, see Watson, op. cit. p.112-120.

The Chartres window shows four Kings, the Virgin and Christ and fourteen prophets in addition to Jesse.[10.] A figure of a King from a Jesse Tree at York Minster is stylistically related to the St. Denis - Chartres windows.[11.]

There are the remains of five Trees of Jesse in stained glass in the Midlands. These are found at Lowick, Northants,[12.] Merevale[13.] and Mancetter,[14.] Warwicks, and Ludlow[15.] and Shrewsbury,[16.] Salop. Unfortunately these are all incomplete, the overall designs of the original windows are therefore unknown, the Shrewsbury one has also been extensively restored.[17.]

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10. The window is heavily restored in parts, the general outline is trustworthy.

11. N.H.J.Westake. A History of Design in Painted Glass (1881-) Vol.1.pp.28, 41. Unfortunately this panel is in the nave clear-storey and is not accessible for close examination.

12. See sub. cat. Lowick, Northants. for a full account.

13. ibid. Merevale, Warws.

14. ibid. Mancetter, Warws.

15. ibid. Ludlow, Salop.

16. ibid. Shrewsbury, Salop.

17. The restoration is extremely well done, it is difficult to be absolutely certain as to how much is a/ genuine. b/ a modern copy of a lost original or c/ a completely modern invention.

A concordance of the original figures is given at the end of this account. They are all of the fourteenth century, that at Lowick is probably the earliest, of circa 1320-1340.[18] In each case the Kings are represented seated with the branches of the tree forming regular frames around them, the Prophets are shown standing with the branches, which they sometimes grasp, coiling around and about them. They generally hold scrolls bearing their names, except for David who is identified by his harp. At Lowick, however, the names of the Kings are painted on the branches near their heads and some of the prophets hold a book inscribed with their name.

A feature not paralleled elsewhere in this group is that at Lowick two of the figures hold scrolls bearing prophecies. The patriarch Jacob's scroll reads "Iac(ob), (Non) auferet(ur) sceptrum (de Iuda)" from Genesis Chapter 49, verse 10. (Lowick, Cat. No.13). The prophet Daniel's scroll bears "Daniet: Oriet(ur) stella (ex Jacob)." (Cat. No. 21). This is the prophecy of Balaam in Numbers Chapter 24, verse 17. Jacob is not commonly included in a Tree of Jesse.[19] Baalam, however, is represented

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18. See sub. Chapter "A group of Jesse Trees in the Midlands".

19. Watson. op.cit. p.51 cites one example, Trier MS. 141.A.126 XII-XIII.c. identification not certain and the illumination, of Jesse and Jacob (?), is not a proper Tree. Jacob is included with other non-canonical prophets in a description of Christ's Descent into Hell, by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Watson, op. cit. p.23, and as Israel in the XII.c. Prophet Drama (B.N. latin 1139) Watson, op. cit. p.24, 156.

bearing his prophecy in the twelfth century Jesse Tree, painted on the nave ceiling, of St. Michael's, Hildenheim[20.] and in the mosaic of the Tree of Jesse in the church of Bethlehem, also of the twelfth century.[21.]

As stated above the overall designs of these Jesse Trees in the Midlands is not known. It seems possible that the tracery lights of each window may have contained a Christ in Majesty of the Last Judgement, with the dead rising from their graves. This scheme is found in the Jesse of the East window at Wells, Somerset, circa 1328-1334[22.] and also appeared at New College, Oxford, c. 1383-1386[23.] and Winchester College, circa 1393.[24.]

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20. Watson. op. cit. pp.125-127 and Pl.XXVII.

21. ibid. pp.18-19.

22. J.Armitage Robinson. The Fourteenth century Glass at Wells. Archaeologia. Vol.LXXXI (1931) pp.85-118, see pp.86-88 and Pls.XLIII and XLVIII.

23. C. Woodforde The Stained Glass of New College, Oxford. (1951) pp.20-21, 102-103.

24. J.D. Le Couteur. Ancient Glass in Winchester. (1929) pp.72-83.

CONCORDANCE OF REMAINING FIGURES

Figures of dubious authenticity are excluded.

The number reference is to the Catalogue.

	LOWICK	LUDLOW	MEREVALE	MANCETTER	SHREWSBURY.
KINGS					
David	6		31	10	28
Solomon	7		32		20
Roboam	5				12
Abias					27
Asa	8		39		19
Josophat					29
Joram		30			30
Ozias					11
Achaz					21
Ezechias			33		6
Manasses		25			3
Josias			28		5
Jechonias				15	
Zororabel					4
Eliacim					13 ?
Matham					14 ?
PROPHETS & PATRIARCHS					
Daniel	21				
Elias	15				
Ezechiel	22		33		
Habbakuk	16				
Isaiah	14		29		
Isaac	24				
Jacob	13				
Jeremiah	23				26
Joseph	29				
Malachai			30		7
Micah	31				
Moses			34		
Zacharias	30				2
Zephaniah			25		

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