

THE
DISSEMINATION AND
REASSESSMENT OF
PRIVATE RELIGIOUS SPACE
IN EARLY MODERN
ENGLAND
1600-1660

An Examination of the
Cultural Contexts surrounding
Royal, Episcopal & Collegiate Chapels
from the Accession of
James I to the
Restoration



James Sherrington Jago

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between architecture and religion in seventeenth-century England is a problematic one. Despite the apparent ease with which separate theological positions can be allied to a preference or distrust of visual display, closer examination reveals several examples which do not reflect such a directly causal relationship. The conventional model offered by architectural history is still largely dominated by a polarization between two extremes. On one hand is advanced Protestantism, which distrusted architecture's potential deployment at the service of religion. On the other is a High-Church or Laudian position which attempted to recover visual richness and elaboration as a prerequisite for ecclesiastical architecture.

Building upon the recent advances made in historical scholarship of the early Stuart Church and in architectural history, this thesis explores the relationship between religion and architecture through three distinct types of chapel architecture. The first are the royal chapels of the Jacobean Court, which were renovated to give visual expression to current religious policies. The second are episcopal chapels, which are here presented within their cultural context and shown to carry significant meanings for the post-Reformation English episcopate. The third are the new college chapels built in Oxford, whose architecture responded to the immediate concerns over the reformed Church's identity and legitimacy.

What emerges from considering these three typologies are shared parameters of expectation and association. This consistency crosses not only separate types of chapel, but also opposing theological positions. Such apparent unity of purpose and message, embodied in inherited and newly-built chapel architecture, stands to challenge the assumed polarization of stylistic forms which has dominated the debates within architectural history. It also serves to illustrate architecture's validity as a potential source for early modern English Church history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS - VOLUME ONE

Abstract	2
Tables of Contents	3
List of Illustrations	6
Note on Transcription Conventions	14
Acknowledgements	15
Introduction: The Historiography of Post-Reformation Religious Architecture in England	16
i:- Interpretation & Meaning: The Case of Red House Chapel.....	17
ii:- Architectural History & the Re-assessment of Post-Reformation Religious Architecture	22
iii:- Early Stuart Church History & the Value of an Interdisciplinary Approach.....	31
iv:- ‘Dissemination’ & ‘Reassessment’: The Hypothesis & Structure	37
Chapter One: The Place & Significance of Royal Chapels in Early Stuart England.....	42
i:- Introduction.....	43
ii:- The Inherited Architecture of Royal Chapels	45
iii:- James I & Religious Policy: The Hampton Court Conference & the Chapel Royal.....	61
iv:- The Use of Royal Chapels by the Jacobean Court	70
v:- The Jacobean Royal Chapels: Hampton Court & Greenwich Palace Chapels.....	76
vii:- The Chapel Royal as Exponent of Royal Policy: A Caledonian Prologue	93
viii:- The Chapel Royal as Exponent of Royal Policy: Holyrood House Chapel	98
ix:- Conclusion: The Royal Chapel in Early Stuart England	111
Chapter Two: The Place & Significance of Episcopal Chapels in Early Stuart England	113
i:- Introduction.....	114
ii:- The Wider Cultural Environment: Hospitality & Diplomacy.....	117
iii:- The Immediate Episcopal Environment: Heraldry & Protestant Antiquarianism	136
iv:- Primitive Christianity & <i>Pastor Bonus</i> : The Case of Lancelot Andrewes	143
v:- Shared Episcopal Parameters: The Case of George Abbot.....	155
vi:- Apotheosis: The Archiepiscopal Chapel at Lambeth under William Laud.....	171
vii:- Conclusion: The Episcopal Chapel in Early Stuart England	187

TABLE OF CONTENTS - VOLUME TWO

Chapter Three: The Collegiate Chapel in Early Modern Oxford, c.1620-c.1660	193
i:- Introduction.....	194
ii:- Exeter College Chapel & the Reformed Architectural Position	197
iii:- The House of Prayer: Prideaux & the Exposition of Ecclesiastical Architecture	207
iv:- Richard Hooker & the Temple as Architectural Progenitor	216
v:- Episcopal Patronage & Identity: John Williams & the Immediate Context of Lincoln College....	225
vi:- <i>Meruerit Mecænatem</i> : The Decorum of Style & St John's College Library, Cambridge	229
vii:- Episcopal Lineage: Westminster Abbey & Buckden Palace	241
viii:- Episcopal Affirmation: Williams & the Collegiate Chapel	256
ix:- Brasenose College Chapel: Posthumous Intent & the Endurance of Association.....	280
x:- The Realization of Radcliffe's College Chapel	286
xi:- Symbolic Meaning? - Sacred Commemoration & Collegiate Rivalry	294
xii:- Conclusion: The Collegiate Chapel in Early Modern Oxford	305
Conclusion.....	310
List of Abbreviations.....	316
Bibliography	320
Primary Sources, Manuscript	320
Primary Sources, Printed	321
Secondary Sources, Unpublished.....	325
Secondary Sources, Printed.....	326
Secondary Sources, Electronic.....	338
Illustrations.....	339

For Abigail

Puella pulcherrima et iucundissima.

CONSIDERATE lilia, quomodo, crescunt non laborant non nent, dico
autem vobis nec Salomon in omni gloria sua vestiebatur sicut unum
ex istis.

Lucas, xii: xxvii.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1:- Red House Chapel, Moor Monkton, North Yorkshire, built second decade of the seventeenth century, exterior from the east.
- Figure 2:- Red House Chapel, Moor Monkton, North Yorkshire, built second decade of the seventeenth century, interior from the east.
- Figure 3:- All Saints, Bishop Burton, North Yorkshire. Archbishop William Laud, C.E. Kempe & Co., 1904. Window nIX. (Reproduced from Gordon Plumb/Flickr.)
- Figure 4:- Anthonis van de Wyngaerde. Detail of a Panorama Richmond Palace from the north, c.1558-62, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Pen & wash on paper. (Reproduced from HKW, iv: plate 19.)
- Figure 5:- Anthonis van de Wyngaerde. Richmond Palace, from the Outer Gate of the Great Court, 1558, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Pen & wash on paper. (Reproduced from HKW, iv: plate 18.)
- Figure 6:- Anthonis van der Wyngaerde. Detail of a Panorama of Greenwich Palace from the South, 1558, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Pen & wash on paper. (Reproduced from Bold, 2000: plate 55.)
- Figure 7:- Anthonis van der Wyngaerde. Detail of a Panorama of Greenwich Palace from the North, 1558, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Pen & wash on paper. (Reproduced from Bold, 2000: plate 56.)
- Figure 8:- James Basire (after seventeenth-century drawing). Greenwich Palace from the north. Engraving in *Vetusta Monumenta* (London, 1789) ii: plate 25.
- Figure 9:- Leonard Knyff. Detail of Aerial Panorama of Whitehall from the east, dated to c.1695-97. Westminster City Archives. Ink on paper, 31" × 21¾". (Reproduced from Thurley, 1999: figure 130.)
- Figure 10:- The Chapel Screen, King's College chapel, Cambridge, dated to c.1532-36, view from the antechapel looking northeast. (Reproduced from RCHM Cantab: plate 182.)
- Figure 11:- Detail of lunette containing the Tudor Royal Arms, The Chapel Screen, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, dated to c.1532-36. (Reproduced from RCHM Cantab: plate 184.)
- Figure 12:- Detail of the panelling behind the Provost's stall, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, dated to c.1532-36. (Reproduced from RCHM Cantab: plate 183.)

- Figure 13:- Unknown artist. *The Children of Henry VIII*, dated to c.1545. Oil on canvas, 6³/₄"×14¹/₈". The Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace. (The Royal Collection © 2012, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.)
- Figure 14:- Reynald Elstrack. Frontispiece Titlepage to James I's *Workes*, dated 1616. (Reproduced from Hart, 2011: figure 115.)
- Figure 15:- Reconstruction of the East Wall of Hampton Court Chapel, c.1527-29. The section uncovered in 1981 indicated in grey. Drawing by Daphne Ford. (Reproduced from Curnow, 1984: figure 1.)
- Figure 16:- Composite Reconstruction of the East Window Glazing of Hampton Court Chapel, as seen from the interior, c.1529-1645. (Details reproduced from Curnow, 1983: plate 1 & Wayment, 1986: plates 5; 6a; 7; 16a-17c.)
- Figure 17:- Wooden ceiling vault of Hampton Court Chapel, erected c.1533-36, looking east. (Reproduced from Thurley, 2003: plate 67.)
- Figure 18:- Jacob Faber, after Hans Holbein (attributed). *Henry VIII in Council*, 1548. Woodcut, reused in the second edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1570). (Reproduced from HKW, iv: figure 1.)
- Figure 19:- Inigo Jones. Study for a section of a polychrome coffered ceiling, for the Marquis of Buckingham's chapel closet at New Hall, c.1622-23, Worcester College, Oxford. Ink & colour wash over graphite and scoring, 15²/₈"×12". (Reproduced from Harris & Higgott, 1990: 159.)
- Figure 20:- Inigo Jones. Elevation for a Chimneypiece and Overmantel for the Queen's Chapel, St. James's Palace, c.1624-25, Royal Institute of British Architects, London. Ink & wash over graphite and scoring, 16"×11¹/₃". (Reproduced from Harris & Higgott, 1990: 185.)
- Figure 21:- Inigo Jones. Detail of a Proposed Elevation for the West Façade of Old St Pauls, c.1633-34, Royal Institute of British Architects, London. Ink & washes over graphite and scoring, 18"×19⁴/₅". (Reproduced from Gerbino & Jonhston, 2009: figure 40.)
- Figure 22:- Peter Paul Rubens. Ceiling Panels depicting *The Apotheosis of the Reign of James I*, Banqueting House, Whitehall, completed 1635. Oil on canvas, various dimensions. Compartment frames designed by Inigo Jones, 1619-22. (Reproduced from Hart, 2011: figure 229.)
- Figure 23:- Wenceslaus Hollar. View from St Mary's, Southwark, looking towards Westminster (right hand sheet), before 1647. Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Pen and graphite on paper, 5"×12¹/₆". (Reproduced from Godfrey, 1994: 99.)

- Figure 24:- Conjectural reconstruction of Winchester House, Southwark, c.1500. Proposed by Martha Carlin. (Reproduced from Carlin, 1985: figure 1.)
- Figure 25:- Schematic plan of Durham House, the Strand, recording a disturbance of 26 February 1626. (Reproduced from NA SP/77/78.f. 304r-305v.)
- Figure 26:- Lambeth Palace, the western exterior of the Great Hall, reconstructed by Archbishop Juxon, 1660-63.
- Figure 27:- Lambeth Palace, the interior of the Great Hall, reconstructed by Archbishop Juxon, 1660-63.
- Figure 28:- Wenceslaus Hollar. *Palatium Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis propæ Londinium vulgo Lambeth House*, prior to the demolition of the mediaeval Great Hall, 1647. Engraving, 5¾"×12½". (Reproduced from Godfrey, 1994: 95.)
- Figure 29:- Lambeth Palace, the entrance to the chapel displaying the Arms of Canterbury impaling Laud, installed c.1635.
- Figure 30:- Groundplan of Winchester House chapel, as arranged during the episcopate of Lancelot Andrewes, 1619-26, from Willaim Prynne's *Canterburies Doome* (1646). Engraving.
- Figure 31:- St Etheldreda, Ely Place, completed c.1298. The interior from the north.
- Figure 32:- St Etheldreda, Ely Place, completed c.1298. The exterior of the east wall.
- Figure 33:- The Queen's Chapel, St James's Palace, designed by Inigo Jones, built 1623-26. The exterior from the south-west.
- Figure 34:- Wenceslaus Hollar (attributed). The destruction of Cheapside Cross, from John Vicars' *Sight of the Trans-actions of these latter years* (1646). Engraving. (Reproduced from Hart, 2010: figure 18.)
- Figure 35:- Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford, built 1619-22. Groundplan. (Reproduced from VCH Surrey, iii: p 195.)
- Figure 36:- Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford, built 1619-22. The southern façade and gate tower, looking north.
- Figure 37:- Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford, built 1619-22. Detail of the entrance portal, displaying Abbot's initials and his Arms impaling the See of Canterbury.
- Figure 38:- Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Croydon, built 1595-99. The entrance façade and portal.

- Figure 39:- Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Croydon, built 1595-99. The east window of the chapel.
- Figure 40:- Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford, 1619-22. Interior of the chapel, with glazing depicting the Lives of Jacob and Esau, attributed to Baptist Sutton.
- Figure 41:- Apethorpe, St Leonard. Interior of the Mildmay Chapel, with glazing depicting an Allegory of Redemption and Judgement, attributed to Baptist Sutton, dated 1621.
- Figure 42:- Unknown goldsmith ('R.B.'). The Good Shepherd chalice and paten, c.1615-20. St John's College, Oxford. Engraved silver. (Reproduced from Tyacke, 1987b: figure 1.)
- Figure 43:- Unknown goldsmith. Communion cup, from St Michael's, Manningtree, Essex, engraved with the Arms of the See of London impaling Laud, before 1633. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Engraved silver. (The Victoria and Albert Museum, © 2011.)
- Figure 44:- Lambeth Palace, groundplan of 1925 (Reproduced from RCHM London, ii: 81).
- Figure 45:- Lambeth Palace chapel, the interior looking north-west, prior to mid-twentieth-century reconstruction. (Reproduced from RCHM London, ii: plate 130.)
- Figure 46:- Lambeth Palace Chapel, detail of the antechapel screen, carved by Adam Browne, 1633.
- Figure 47:- Lambeth Palace Chapel, detail of the stall fronts and ends, carved by Adam Browne, 1633.
- Figure 48:- Schematic reconstruction of the glazing in Lambeth Palace chapel, as recorded in William Prynne's *Canterburies Doome* (1646).
- Figure 49:- Fairford, St Mary. Old Testament types, workshop of Barnard Flower, c.1500-15. Window nV. (Reproduced from Brown & MacDonald, 1997: plate 1.)
- Figure 50:- Magdalen College antechapel, Oxford. Monochrome figures of early Christian saints, executed by Richard Greenbury, c.1638. Window s.VI.
- Figure 51:- Magdalen College antechapel, Oxford. Monochrome figures of early Christian saints, executed by Richard Greenbury, c.1638. Window s.VII.
- Figure 52:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Exoniense' - aerial view of Exeter College, from *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675).

- Figure 53:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Exoniense' - aerial view of Exeter College, from *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675). Detail of the chapel (labelled 'A'), looking east.
- Figure 54:- Joseph Nash (attributed). Interior of Exeter College chapel, looking west. Coloured lithograph, mid nineteenth century. (Reproduced from Giroaurd, 2009: figure 566.)
- Figure 55:- Exeter College. Cresting from Hakewill's chapel screen, set over the hall screen. (Reproduced from RCHM Oxon: plate 114.)
- Figure 56:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Trinitas' - aerial view of Trinity College, from *Cantabrigia Illustrata* (1690). Detail of the chapel (labelled 'A'), looking west.
- Figure 57:- Allegory of the reign of Edward VI, from John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1570). (Reproduced from Duffy, 2005: figure 134).
- Figure 58:- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford, built 1629-31. View of exterior from the Chapel Quadrangle, looking south.
- Figure 59:- Lincoln College Chapel, Oxford, built 1629-31. View of interior from the gates of the antechapel screen, looking east.
- Figure 60:- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Groundplan of building phases. (Reproduced from RCHM Oxon: 65.)
- Figure 61:- David Loggan. *Collegium Lincolnense* – aerial view of Lincoln College, from *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675).
- Figure 62:- David Loggan. *Collegium Lincolnense* – aerial view of Lincoln College, from *Oxonia Illustrata*, and detail of the Chapel (labelled 'A') looking east.
- Figure 63:- The Old Library, St John's College, Cambridge. Elevation detail from the River Cam. (Reproduced from Books, 1999: 29.)
- Figure 64:- The Old Library, St John's College, Cambridge. Elevation detail of a typical bay. (Reproduced from RCHM Cantab: 197.)
- Figure 65:- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Detail of painted glass in the tracery lights depicting the Arms of Williams, impaling the See of Lincoln, and tierced in pale between the See of Lincoln and Westminster. Executed by Abraham van Linge (1629-31).
- Figure 66:- Westminster Abbey, four westernmost statues in the buttress niches of the nave (identifiable as Edward the Confessor; Henry III; Abbot John Islip and James I), installed by John Williams, datable to 1620-37. (Reproduced from Foster, 2011: 261, figures 6(f)-6(i).)

- Figure 67:- Wenceslaus Hollar. *Partis exterioris Chori ab Occidente prospectus*, detail displaying statues of benefactors installed in the 1630s. Engraving, from Dugdale's *History of St Pauls*, 1658.
- Figure 68:- Groundplan of Buckden Palace.
(Reproduced from VCH Hunts, iii: 236.)
- Figure 69:- The Vyne, Hampshire. Exterior of the domestic chapel from the north, built c.1520.
- Figure 70:- The Vyne, Hampshire. Exterior of the polygonal apse of the domestic chapel from the east, built c.1520.
- Figure 71:- Abraham van Ligne. Sequence of the Twelve Apostles with the Apostles' Creed, dated 1629-30. Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Sts Peter, Andrew, James the Great (sI).
- Figure 72:- Abraham van Ligne. Sequence of the Twelve Apostles with the Apostles' Creed, dated 1629-30. Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Sts John, Philip, Bartholomew (sII).
- Figure 73:- Abraham van Ligne. Sequence of the Twelve Apostles with the Apostles' Creed, dated 1629-30. Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Sts Thomas, James the Less, Matthew (sIII).
- Figure 74:- Abraham van Ligne. Sequence of the Twelve Apostles with the Apostles' Creed, dated 1629-30. Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Sts Jude, Simon, Matthias (sIV).
- Figure 75:- Abraham van Ligne. Sequence of the Twelve Greater Prophets, 1629-31. Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. David, Daniel, Elijah (nI).
- Figure 76:- Abraham van Ligne. Sequence of the Twelve Greater Prophets, 1629-31. Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel (nII).
- Figure 77:- Abraham van Ligne. Sequence of the Twelve Greater Prophets, 1629-31. Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Amos, Zachariah, Malachi (nIII).
- Figure 78:- Abraham van Ligne. Sequence of the Twelve Greater Prophets, 1629-31. Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Elisha, Jonah, Obadiah (nIV).
- Figure 79:- Abraham van Ligne. Sequence of typological comparisons, dated 1631, East window, Lincoln College chapel. The Creation of Man, the Nativity; the Parting of the Red Sea, the Baptism of Christ; the Passover, the Last Supper; the Brazen Serpent, the Crucifixion; Jonah disgorged by the Whale, the Resurrection; the Ascent of Elijah, the Ascension.

- Figure 80:- Oriel College, Oxford. East range of the Front Quadrangle, looking east, dated c.1637-42.
- Figure 81:- Oriel College, Oxford. Detail of a window on the south wall of the chapel, dated c.1637-42.
- Figure 82:- Abraham van Ligne. East window tracery lights of architectural motifs, dated 1631, Lincoln College chapel, Oxford.
- Figure 83:- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Detail of wainscot panelling behind stalls, dated c.1629-32.
- Figure 84:- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Antechapel screen from the east, here dated to c.1629-32.
- Figure 85:- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Detail of antechapel screen from the west, here dated to c.1629-32.
- Figure 86:- Inigo Jones. Pulpitum of Winchester Cathedral, dated 1637. Detail of engraving by Charles Woodfield (1714). (Reproduced from Worsley, 2007: figure 185).
- Figure 87:- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. The cedarwood Holy Table, dated c.1629-32.
- Figure 88:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Ænei Nasi' – aerial view of Brasenose College, from *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675), the chapel (labelled 'A'), looking west.
- Figure 89:- Brasenose College, Oxford. Busts of the College founders, carved by Hugh Davies, 1636.
- Figure 90:- Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Roof of the hall, attributed to Humphrey Coke, second decade of the sixteenth century. (Reproduced from RCHM Oxon: plate 110.)
- Figure 91:- Brasenose College chapel, designed by John Jackson, 1656-59. Exterior of the north wall and cloister, looking south.
- Figure 92:- Brasenose College chapel, designed by John Jackson, 1656-59. Exterior of the east wall, looking south-west.
- Figure 93:- Salomon de Bray. Elevation of the Westkerk, Amsterdam, designed by Hendrick der Keyser, built 1620-31, from *Architectura Moderna* (1631).
- Figure 94:- Salomon de Bray. Latitudinal cross-section of the Westkerk, Amsterdam, with architectural details, from *Architectura Moderna* (1631).

- Figure 95:- Elevation and groundplan of the Nieuwe Kerk, The Hague, designed by peter Aaronsz Noorwits, built 1649-65. (Reporduced from Hamberg, 2002: 117.
- Figure 96:- Christ Church, Oxford. Tom Quadrangle, showing the responds for the projected cloister, as left in 1529.
- Figure 97:- Christ Church, Oxford. Fan vault over the hall stairs, attributed to Robert Smith, dated c.1636-38.
- Figure 98:- Brasenose College chapel. Fan vault, designed by John Jackson, constructed 1658-59.
- Figure 99:- Christ Church cathedral, Oxford. Vault over the quire, attributed to William Orchard, dated c.1500.
- Figure 100:- Porch of the University Church, Oxford, design attributed to Nicholas Stone, executed by John Jackson, dated 1637.

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

In transcriptions from manuscript sources, the conventional contractions and superscriptions of early modern handwriting have been expanded and made uniform to the body of the text (e.g. 'Ma^{ties}' and 'y^e' are given as 'Majesties' and 'the'). Variations of capitalisation and spelling are, however, retained. Punctuation is likewise recorded as given, and only modernised for clarity where necessary. Personal and place names are given as spelt. Numerical values are given in Arabic numerals, with any commodity indicated before the number (e.g. xlii ix^s is given as £40 9s.). For clarity, line breaks in primary sources (whether manuscript or printed) are not indicated, except for quotations of verse.

These criteria are also applied to printed transcriptions where the above handwritten conventions have been replicated *in toto*; these frequently occur in nineteenth and early twentieth-century publications.

All dates occurring in original sources are old style, though in discussion the year is taken as beginning on 1 January, not 25 March.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

In accordance with the requirements for the presentation of theses and dissertations, I hereby record that this thesis contains no material which: (1) has been submitted previously for any other academic award, and (2) has been submitted previously at the University of York or any other academic institution. This thesis is the product of the author's individual and sole research; it is not part of a collaborative project and no other individual has contributed to its content. This thesis does not contain any work which has been published elsewhere, in any format, prior to its submission for examination.

James Sherrington Jago
Department of History of Art
The University of York

INTRODUCTION

The Historiographical Place of
Post-Reformation Religious
Architecture in
England



INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PLACE OF POST-REFORMATION RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND

i:- INTERPRETATION AND MEANING: THE CASE OF THE RED HOUSE CHAPEL

The intentions underpinning the religious architecture of early modern England are as opaque as they are elusive. Such qualities are manifestly present in the Red House chapel, at Moor Monkton, North Yorkshire (Figure 1). This was built by Sir Henry Slingsby as the domestic chapel of his manor house, and has to date retained the settled patina of centuries. Preserved when that house was reduced to half its size in the mid-nineteenth century, it presents the visitor with an unprepossessing brick exterior.¹ Instantly, such dull façades evoke the illusive communication and irrecoverable loss embodied in T.S. Eliot's *Little Gidding*, written about a similar building from the same period. Despite post-dating the beginning of the English Reformation by almost a century, the chapel makes clear use of architectural forms whose origins lie in the mediaeval period. Such derivation is materially present in the tracery of the east window, which is identified as *spolia* from the dissolved Nun Monkton priory.² Though a commonplace misinterpretation of such forms when they occur elsewhere on buildings of the period, this does appear to be a deliberate instance of reuse.³ By implication, it suggests that the visual forms of tracery were commensurate with the building's religious function. The identification of form with function, it can therefore be presumed, was consciously deployed by the chapel's builder to reinforce an association which straddled the rupture of the Reformation.

¹ Pevsner & Radcliffe, 1967: 373.

² Smith, 1968: 7, endnote 5.

³ For earlier instances of reuse see Howard, 2007b: 16.

The compelling force behind the chapel's design appears to be one conditioned by an existing experience of religious structures. But is this associative pull the only force over its design? For Eliot at Little Gidding; "what the dead had no speech for, when living, / They can tell you, being dead",⁴ and comparably for the Red House chapel an account of the building when new indicates the frames of reference through which it was understood. The diary of the builder's son, also named Sir Henry Slingsby, recorded in 1638 that:

This chappell is built in the form of a colledge chapel. In the east end of the chappell upon the glass is painted a Crucifix not as ordinary crucifixes are made but with a transverse piece of wood at the feet as there is for the hands, at the feet of the crucifix is set the Virgin Mary: and on the one hand the picture of the Apostle St John: and on the other Elizabeth and underneath St Peter, St Andrew, St Paul. In the South window the rest of the Apostles. In the north corner is an handsome Pulpit, a Table Altar-wise under the East window, with a cloath of purple colour wrought with stripes of worstett.⁵

Of the original glass, commissioned from the London glazier Richard Butler, shields, haloed heads and broken cherubs survive in the east window's tracery lights.⁶ The peculiar Crucifixion, apparently imitating Eastern Orthodox iconographic conventions, has disappeared with the purple altar cloth. Despite the later marbled floor and altar rails,⁷ the screened antechapel and return stalls, with their pseudo-Gothic bench ends, have survived unaltered (Figure 2). As delineated here, the provisions for household worship at Red House chapel invite comparison with the significant campaign for similar ensembles, newly created within several college chapels at Oxford and Cambridge.⁸

⁴ Eliot, 1974: 202.

⁵ Slingsby, 1836: 3-4. 'Worstead' is embroidered needlework.

⁶ The glazing is discussed in Archer, 1990: 311-15.

⁷ Pevsner & Radcliffe, 1967: 373.

⁸ Parry, 2006: 59-86. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 229-32.

To compare Red House chapel with institutional chapels seems justified by Slingsby's own understanding that his domestic chapel was built to deliberately parallel collegiate models.⁹ As a graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge, it is just to give him credit as an informed commentator, one who was aware that such new liturgical provisions in the Universities were intended to leave their impress upon a generation of graduates.¹⁰ That Red House chapel was also consecrated by Bishop John Morton seems to confirm Slingsby as a lay patron sympathetic to an ideological shift within English Protestantism. This has been classified under the scriptural nomenclature as 'the beauty of holiness' movement.¹¹ As lucidly outlined by Peter Lake, this campaign strove to effect a uniformity across the public face of the English Church, with a revised emphasis upon sacramental worship and the significance of its setting as sanctified and reserved for sacred offices alone.¹² It need hardly be stated that this campaign for uniformity is largely credited as the brainchild of William Laud and his supporters.¹³

And yet, it would be misleading to label the Red House chapel as a product of Laudian-inclined piety. Though Morton consecrated the chapel, he cannot be classed as one of Laud's fellow travellers. Rather, his intellectual outlook was demonstrably Calvinist in colouring and therefore antithetical to the revisionist policies which the Laudian policy stood for.¹⁴ A similar disjunction appears in Slingsby's own comments upon the relative worth of appointing sanctity to material structures:

⁹ An intentional association overlooked in Ricketts, 2007: 126-27.

¹⁰ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 231-32.

¹¹ Psalm xcvi: 9. Parry, 2006: 16.

¹² Lake, 1993: 161-85.

¹³ For an overview of Laud's career see Tyacke, 1993: 51-70.

¹⁴ See for instance his presentation by Milton, 1993: 203-204.

It is not amiss to have a place consecrated for Devotion ... but we cannot stay ourself here, but must attribute a sanctity to the very walls and stones of the Church: and herein we do of late draw near to the superstition of the Church of Rome, who do suffer such external devotion to efface and wear out the inward devotion of the heart ... Men are prone ... to turn devotion into superstition, and place it in the splendours of outward things.¹⁵

The contrast between this evidence and the visual manifestation of the chapel appears irreconcilable; Slingsby's sentiments appear to be diametrically opposed to the ideals of religious architecture and furnishings which are clearly still present in its fabric. The forms are sacramental and reverential, but the cast of characters associated with it are Calvinist. As an example of apparent irreconcilable conflicts of interpretation, the Red House chapel therefore serves as an apposite example of the wider sphere of religious architecture in the early seventeenth century. If meaning is conveyed by such buildings, the sense of allusiveness which Eliot senses in *Little Gidding*, finds a parallel at Moor Monkton. The chapel is: "a shell, a husk of meaning / From which the purpose breaks only when it is fulfilled / If at all".¹⁶

If the perceived misalignment between visual aesthetics and theological allegiance is momentarily disregarded, a clear series of contributing factors affecting Slingsby's chapel emerge. Firstly, it had clear affinities with collegiate chapels: to model a domestic chapel on such a model was not problematic. The windows were glazed with figures of the twelve apostles, and a prominent crucifixion filled the upper half of the east window. Likewise, this was evidently not deemed a taboo subject for a protestant household chapel. The Communion Table was positioned 'altarwise' beneath the east window, and vested so as to

¹⁵ Quoted in Smith, 1968: 43.

¹⁶ Eliot, 1974: 202.

parallel the arrangements found in cathedral and collegiate churches.¹⁷ During this decade (1630s) when such arrangements had proved deeply divisive and contentious, Slingsby evidently had no qualms against arranging his chapel along such lines, and without any implicit compromise of his Calvinist credentials.¹⁸ A clear pattern of imitation and association therefore appears to have been a guiding influence on Red House chapel: the building's design stands reading as a digest of elements which build the new chapel into a pre-existing typology of religious architecture. Just as the east window's tracery had been salvaged for the value of its connotations, so the entirety of the chapel displays the same process of appropriation and assimilation. Theological factionalism need not be presented as the determinant factor over the religious architecture of post-Reformation England.

It is this process of association and identification, and its manifestation within the setting of distinctive chapels, which guides this examination. If Red House chapel can be taken as representative, then there are clearly more factors at work on the material form or religion in early modern England than the most decorous aesthetics for demonstrating one or another theological shade of Protestantism. The premise here is that a common ground can be determined between separate patrons and locations; one which is governed by contributing factors of patronal identity, intended audience and typological suitability. This is not to homogenise separate buildings and individuals, but to reinterpret the religious architecture of the early seventeenth century as having a greater integral unity than has hitherto been acknowledged. As religious buildings, often quasi-private and outside the system of

¹⁷ 'Altar-wise' was the common term for describing a Communion table orientated with its long sides set parallel to the east wall of the chancel.

¹⁸ The wider significance of this is discussed in Fincham, 2001.

episcopal jurisdiction, chapels arguably present a more nuanced expression of religious identity than parochial churches and chapels-of-ease. The meaning of chapel architecture can, to paraphrase Eliot, in a sense find fulfilment when its purpose is acknowledged. To understand why such an approach is desirable, or indeed justifiable, it should be considered in light of the current position of scholarship. This can be addressed with reference not only architectural history, but significantly how such an examination contributes to the renaissance of studies into the early Stuart Church and religion itself.

ii:- ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY AND THE REASSESSMENT OF POST-REFORMATION RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

As has been noted, the east window of Red House chapel was composed of salvaged tracery. This indicates the enduring awareness of mediaeval architecture as distinctly suitable for expressing the building's religious function. The presence of such recycled, or newly created, mediaeval architectural forms has a long-acknowledged place in the discussion of seventeenth-century English architecture, dating at least as far as the eighteenth century and demonstrable in Horace Walpole's designation of "King James' Gothic".¹⁹ Though such stylistic labelling is questionable, Walpole lights upon the issue which dominated much twentieth-century discussion of the period, and against which recent commentators have reacted. This was how to interpret the occurrence of mediaeval forms beyond the Reformation and the perceived end of the Middle Ages, forms which appear most clearly in the cases of new religious and collegiate architecture and are therefore of specific relevance when considering chapels as a building type. Resisting any attempt at deconstructing

¹⁹ Girouard, 2009: 424.

distinct chronological periods and categorisations, such 'echoes' of the mediaeval frequently intermingled with visual forms embodying Renaissance ideals, leaving any clear sense of underlying purpose ambivalent and unintelligible. Two possible solutions were offered to interpret such apparent irresolution.

One approach, shaped by a commitment to pursue progress throughout architecture, itself perceived as demonstrating the controlling *zeitgeist* of the given period, is embodied in the writings of Nicholas Pevsner. Though no longer intellectually dominant, this approach merits consideration, not least on account of its presence in *The Buildings of England* series, still the primary handbooks of architectural inquiry.²⁰ The qualifying process is deceptively simple. Maurice Howard has noted that stylistic elements demonstrate the evolution of progress, amidst "the deliberate clash of past and present",²¹ elements deemed mediaeval are consistently denigrated. Inverting such judgements betrays the artificiality of the methodology: whilst tracery and pointed arches after 1550 are dismissed as 'late' or 'posthumously Gothic', could pointed lancets before 1170 be decried for being too 'early'? Such an approach fails to examine buildings with reference to their specific cultural context. To disregard the fact that so much of early modern's England's built environment was inherited from the Middle Ages, and still in daily use, makes a nonsense of broaching questions about inherent meaning and intent.

²⁰ This approach was first challenged in Watkin, 1977: 89-122.

²¹ Howard, 2002: 57.

The second interpretation of mediaeval architectural forms assessed their legitimacy as part of a continuum leading to the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival.²² The alleged endurance of Gothic as a living style after the Middle Ages was the nub of Howard Colvin's 1948 article "Gothic Revival and Gothick Survival".²³ Its investigation of post-mediaeval religious architecture presented Gothic as a style which retreated to provincial bases after the Great Fire of London, sustained by successive generations of masons.²⁴ Colvin explored whether there was a link between these provincial practitioners and the distinctive eighteenth-century 'Gothick' employed by the leading architects of the period.²⁵ However, the focus on church-building and reconstruction alone results in a distortive picture of the mason-builders in question, and a de-emphasis of patronal influence over their designs effectively removes any referential context. If these builders copied the mediaeval architecture of their forebears, it was surely in response to the expectations of their patrons, not on account of their isolation from metropolitan influence.

Colvin's still-influential article strove to challenge the claims of nineteenth-century writers that the Gothic manner of construction, though over-sailed by classical ideals and practices in design, had never entirely been lost.²⁶ As he acknowledges, this built upon Kenneth Clark's interpretation of post-mediaeval Gothic. Clark's *The Gothic Revival* was first published in 1928, and reprinted several times subsequently. Clark's argument likewise emphasised the role of provincial building practices in maintaining a continuum with the

²² Eastlake, 1872: 11-35.

²³ Reprinted in Colvin, 1999b.

²⁴ *ibid.*: 221-23.

²⁵ *ibid.*: 243.

²⁶ Hall, 2002: 11-12. Colvin, 1999b: 217.

mediaeval past.²⁷ However, a wider intellectual justification for such designs was offered through reference to cultural phenomena, such as the antiquarianism of early modern England.²⁸ What unifies Clark's understanding with Colvin's is the presentation of Gothic as a style embedded in the hands of its builders. Where mediaeval forms occur, as in the seventeenth-century building campaigns of Oxford colleges, they do so because the intrinsic manner of designing such collegiate buildings "was still the natural way of building".²⁹ It need hardly be pointed out that 'natural' is an especially slippery adjective. Clark deserves credit for disregarding the opprobrium that post-mediaeval Gothic solicited from nineteenth-century writers. Appalled by its formal failings and hybrid juxtapositions, Victorian authors castigated it as 'Debased', with the undoubted moral implications such a name suggests.³⁰ However, the ability of such architecture to convey inherent meaning and intent remained elusive. It is towards addressing this capacity that modern authors have moved, through both revising and incorporating elements from these two scholarly models. Neither of them quite enables the specific rationale behind the Slingsby's chapel to be clearly defined and contextualised.

The stress upon progressive stylistic evolution instilled by Pevsner was first challenged in relation to post-mediaeval Gothic by Giles Worsley's reassessment of the Gothic Revival's origins.³¹ This revisionist interpretation challenged and dismissed the prevalent notion that Gothic 'Survival' architecture was: "old fashioned and the result of ignorance or lack of

²⁷ Clark, 1950: 28-29.

²⁸ *ibid.*: 30-35.

²⁹ *ibid.*: 26.

³⁰ e.g. Bloxam, 1882: ii, 281-82.

³¹ Worsley, 1993. Reprinted in Worsley, 1995: 175-95.

skill".³² The presence of mediaeval architectural forms in the early modern period was largely explained as the result of "antiquarian ideals and aspirations",³³ growing from a revived interest in the Middle Ages during Elizabeth I's reign, as demonstrated by Mark Girouard.³⁴ The claim that antiquarian interest and engagement led architectural designs in specific circumstances was also voiced by Chris Brooks in his *The Gothic Revival* of 1999. With the cultural parameters of Gothic liberatingly expanded, Brooks homes in on a fundamental factor for such apparent identification with mediaeval forms: they were the most apposite for expressing the identity and historical legitimacy of the reformed English Church.³⁵ He likewise dismisses the presumption of an unreflecting survival of mediaeval forms, claiming instead that any visual continuity was deliberately striven for as being distinctly suitable for collegiate and religious buildings.³⁶

However, the presentation of religious architecture falls back upon claiming an endurance of unreflecting design practices, without apparent acknowledgment of the contradiction, in provincial locations.³⁷ The example of the Jacobean rebuilding of Arthuret church, Cumbria, shows the risk of such a premise.³⁸ This was no rustic freak, but the result of a national fundraising campaign, pursued amongst royal court circles, undoubtedly embodying the pacification of the borders under a single monarch.³⁹ Whilst Worsley and Brooks successfully re-evaluate the place of mediaeval architecture outside the Middle Ages, both

³² Worsley, 1993: 105.

³³ *ibid.*: 106; 108-109.

³⁴ Girouard, 1963.

³⁵ Brooks, 1999: 24-25.

³⁶ *ibid.*: 25-32.

³⁷ *ibid.*: 36-38.

³⁸ *ibid.*: 38.

³⁹ Pevsner & Radcliffe, 1967: 61-62. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 101.

display inherent problems when their arguments are applied to such examples as the Red House chapel. Both authors proceed along a directional narrative of architectural history; not unremoved from the *zeitgeist* model they set out to reject. Worsley's incorporation of his discussion into an overview of British classical architecture risks delegating post-mediaeval Gothic to what Michael Hall has termed "a minor sideshow";⁴⁰ exactly its position in John Summerson's *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*.⁴¹ Brooks's narrative is likewise a crescendo, leading to a prolonged examination of the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival. The interpretations both authors present of such architecture must therefore be accepted as conditioned by the wider concerns of polemic survey, which cannot guarantee an understanding of architectural meaning in terms recognisable to those who oversaw their creation, or the cultural parameters which influenced them.

Recent architectural scholarship is clearly re-evaluating the meaning of mediaeval forms immediately after the Middle Ages and the Reformation. Maurice Howard's 2007 *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England* provides a synthetic overview within which distinct building typologies and patronage patterns are profitably foregrounded to set architecture more securely within the cultural concerns of the early modern period.⁴²

Recovering the parameters within which mediaeval religious buildings were discussed and understood has likewise been addressed by Alexandrina Buchanan.⁴³ Buchanan has also drawn attention to the conditioning influence of Johan Huizinga's 1924 *Waning of the Middle Ages*, with its central premise of late-mediaeval culture's dissolution and decline.⁴⁴ The

⁴⁰ Hall, 2002: 12.

⁴¹ *ibid.*: 12-15.

⁴² Howard, 2007b.

⁴³ Buchanan, 2002: 32-38.

⁴⁴ First published in English translation in 1955. Buchanan, 2003: 128.

intellectual urge to marginalise post-mediaeval Gothic has similarly been critically explored by Hall.⁴⁵ Chapels themselves received especial attention in Annabel Ricketts' survey, published in 2007. Subtitled 'Building a Protestant Tradition', her survey of predominantly Country House chapels in many ways resists the direction of the authors cited above, relating the examples to a religious context existing between the extremes of 'High Church' and 'Low Church' factions. This division at once poses problems when attempting to recover any wider influences upon patrons, and reiterates the tendency to polarise religious identity in the period in terminology more akin to nineteenth-century Anglicanism than seventeenth-century Protestantism. The Gothic slips back into being the reactionary 'other', against the gradual assimilation of classical models, which perversely reaches its *Protestant* apogee in the chapel at Chatsworth House, where the ensemble emulates James II's *Roman Catholic* chapel at Whitehall Palace.⁴⁶

The wider European context of post-mediaeval Gothic architecture received close scrutiny in Rudolf Wittkower's study of Italian church design in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ Grappling with Gothic designs from such masters as Palladio and Vignola,⁴⁸ his discussion presents styles as diametrically opposed systems, an understanding embodied in the study's title *Gothic versus Classic*. In contrast to this approach, Per Gustaf Hamberg's 1955 study of Protestant church architecture in northern Europe acknowledged that whilst innovative classical designs occur, the influence of mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture was undoubtedly present.⁴⁹ It appears that even the most committed Calvinist congregations of

⁴⁵ Hall, 2002: 6-24.

⁴⁶ Ricketts, 2007: 193-94.

⁴⁷ Wittkower, 1974.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*: 75-77.

⁴⁹ First published in English translation in 2002.

the seventeenth century still built longitudinal churches with chancels and sanctuaries, even though they were liturgically redundant.⁵⁰ Recent scholarship has similarly warmed to the endurance of mediaeval forms beyond the Reformation. Nibert Nussbaum's *German Gothic Church Architecture* ends with a perceptive *coda* addressing this phenomenon,⁵¹ and notes that post-mediaeval Gothic was patronised across the religious spectrum, from reformed Lutherans to the Society of Jesus.⁵² The series of essays edited by Monique Chatenet likewise indicates the fruitfulness of reconsidering the fusion of classical detailing with Gothic construction manifest in French architecture.⁵³ This wider European architectural context fundamentally challenges the presumption that English post-mediaeval Gothic is indicative of insular isolation and stylistic regression.

The relation between architectural forms, as present in chapel architecture, and the religious context of early modern England is clearly of paramount significance. Despite the advances outlined above, the prospect is one of a shore haunted by unladen shades, which have long been engrained within the architectural-history discourse. One lingering example is the association already alluded to at Red House chapel: the ensemble evokes ideals closely associated with William Laud. The identification of such provisions, and by implication the architecture which houses them, as indicative of a Laudian ideal has been persuasively challenged by Diarmaid MacCulloch.⁵⁴ In response to recent interpretations of the early Stuart Church by historians, the designation 'Laudian' has been replaced by 'Arminian'. The latter derives from the latinised name of the sixteenth-century Dutch theologian, Jakob

⁵⁰ Hamberg, 2002: 98-102.

⁵¹ First published in 1994; English translation published in 2000.

⁵² Nussbaum, 2000: 223-26.

⁵³ Chatenet, 2001.

⁵⁴ MacCulloch, 1991: 14-15.

Hermanszoon, and at once sounds impressive and elusive. It is, however, a new dress on an old dame, for it reiterates the associative polarisation of architectural forms with certain parties within the reformed English Church.⁵⁵ Whilst not always acknowledged, under sustained examination such premises do not hold up, providing a 'rule-of-thumb' which marks a point of departure, rather than one for deeper exploration.

The power of association is undoubtedly still prevalent, especially when addressing the rationale underlying religious architecture in England after the Reformation. This goes to the heart of why this type of architecture is so resistant to embracing classical forms. To attribute the recourse to mediaeval forms as embodying 'Laudian' or 'Arminian' ideals is still a tendency which demands not just questioning but actual refutation. It cannot be insignificant that Howard felt it necessary to repeat the point made by Clark almost eight decades previously that Laud offers the least persuasive instance of a proto-Gothic-Revival patron of architecture.⁵⁶ To establish the parameters for contextualising chapels as an architectural type, attention needs to move away from the conventions of architectural history's debates, and focus upon the advances already alluded to in the field of early Church history. If such examples as the Red House chapel are to be understood within parameters comprehensible to its contemporaneous congregation and patrons, it is to this wider sphere of research that attention must be directed. To re-jiggle nomenclature in this clumsy way is in itself insufficient.

⁵⁵ *e.g.* Girouard, 2009: 426-27.

⁵⁶ Howard, 2007b: 70. Clark, 1950: 26-27.

iii:- EARLY STUART CHURCH HISTORY AND THE VALUE OF AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

Despite the apparent gulf between architectural and 'serious' history in intellectual approach and internal arguments, the questions of religious identity and its manifestation in early-modern England have a common ancestry. This lies in the self-mythologising of the nineteenth-century Oxford Movement and its re-evaluation of the Anglican Communion's inherent Catholicity.⁵⁷ The claims of institutional continuity made for the Church of England, and their manifestation in architecture, lie outside the scope of this discussion. However, as MacCulloch has ably demonstrated, this model of the Church's history eschews the extremes of Reformist and Calvinist influence to emphasise a perceived continuity of doctrine and liturgy regardless of the Reformation.⁵⁸ For nineteenth-century apologists and proponents the early seventeenth century offered a ripe harvest of theology which seemed to confirm them in their premise. The fruits of such labours have endured, most notably in the volumes of *The Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, a compendium which remains a prime source for scholarship into the religious history of the period. For many, there was a clear point of identification to be made in the patristic theology of churchmen like Lancelot Andrewes, John Cosin and Laud himself, and their claims of institutional continuity. Such sentiments are made clear by the Movement's most famous apostate, John Henry Newman, when he later recalled:

we were upholding that primitive Christianity ... was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and ... was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well nigh faded away out of the land ... and it must be restored. It would in fact be a second Reformation:- a better Reformation, for it would be a return not the sixteenth century, but to the seventeenth.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ The Movement's origins and development are discussed in Nockles, 1994.

⁵⁸ MacCulloch, 1991.

⁵⁹ Newman, 1881: 43.

As part of this intellectual process, such figures as Laud became beacons in a link-chain of theological and institutional justification, of unity across the apparent fracture lines of the Reformation. Consequently, this understanding of Laud was tainted with hero-worship, which reached its zenith with William Edward Collin's 1895 *Archbishop Laud Commemoration* exhibition, marking the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth.⁶⁰ The wider cultural pull of the Gothic Revival over nineteenth-century Anglicanism further compounded the interpretation of the religious and collegiate architecture of early modern England. Can it be coincidence that Eastlake's model of Gothic continuum, with Gothic revived in his own time, so closely mirrors the ideological model present in Newman's sentiments?⁶¹ It is from here that the engrained associations of 'Laudianism' as a return to the pre-Reformation Church, in both theology and its architectural presence, appear to stem. This distortive wish to mediaevalise the seventeenth century not infrequently found expression in the ecclesiastical art of the day, such examples being at once ahistorical and faintly ludicrous (Figure 3). Mitred and haloed, this Laud enshrines the values perceived in him by *belle-époque* Anglo Catholicism, and ironically resembles the crypto-Papist of puritan satires, such as the 1641 *Canterburies Dreame*,⁶² rather than any terms in which Laud himself may have preferred to be portrayed. It had proved a resilient ideal in examinations of the seventeenth-century religious scene.⁶³

⁶⁰ Collins, 1895.

⁶¹ Eastlake, 1872. F. W. Gibson, 'Eastlake, Charles Locke (1833–1906)', (rev. Charlotte L. Brunskill), ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32959> (accessed 11/06/2012).

⁶² In which Laud visited by the ghost of Cardinal Wolsey. Anon., 1641.

⁶³ Parry, 2006.

The current debates have departed from such hagiographic trends. Hugh Trevor-Roper's 1940 biography *Archbishop Laud* effectively inverted the values of this earlier generation by presenting Laud as an anomalous reactionary, unable to withstand the social forces and nascent capitalism of his time.⁶⁴ In the wider field of historical scholarship, the earlier division between 'Anglican' and 'Puritan' has been redrawn by demonstrating how intrinsic Calvinist theology was to the identity of the reformed English Church. Indeed, it was this 'Calvinist consensus' which clerics such as Laud actively challenged through their shift in theological thought and defence of institutional legitimacy.⁶⁵ Accounting for this theological distinction has proved a prime focus of the recent historical debate, epitomised in Nicholas Tyacke's *Anti-Calvinists*, published in 1987.⁶⁶ Within the model outlined by Tyacke, the galvanising force behind the churchmanship of Laud and his fellow travellers was the refutation of Calvinist doctrines on predestination, for which there had always been elements of resistance prior to their refutation at the Synod of Dort in 1618-19. Impacting from the revisionist theology of Arminius and his apologists, it caused a re-assessment of the validity of the sacraments as conduits of divine grace for all, not merely seals for the saved elect. Significantly in the context of religious architecture, the enhancement of sacramentality led to a redress of the material appearance of churches to articulate visually the theological position.

⁶⁴ Trevor-Roper, 1962: 431-36.

⁶⁵ e.g. Milton, 1993.

⁶⁶ Tyacke, 1987b.

Though simplistically outlined here, Tyacke's identifying of Arminianism as the catalyst for the religious changes of the 1620s and 1630s has not received universal support amongst historians of the early Stuart Church, a further indication that the 'Arminian' label should be applied with caution. Historians such as Peter White reject the premise that the drive to preserve the reformed Church's identity against the polarised extremes of the religious spectrum (*i.e. a media via* between Calvinist Geneva and Papal Rome) was still the driving force behind the religious changes of the second and third decades of the seventeenth century.⁶⁷ White draws attention to the ease with which polarising sources from the period should not overrule the unifying objectives of defence against Counter-Reformation polemic.⁶⁸ What is of deeper significance to the aims of this thesis is the value placed upon material and physical objects from the period in question, as signifiers and embodiments of the theology underpinning the revisions in material provisions for worship, which long passed under the maxim of the 'Laudian Revival'. This focus displays the willingness of modern historians not only to engage with such objects, but to draw them into arguments as source material.

This latter capacity is ably demonstrated in Kenneth Fincham's and Tyacke's co-authored *Altars Restored* of 2007. Whilst acknowledging the value of archival "conventional sources" in the introduction, the authors recognise the impoverishing effects of disregarding surviving artefacts.⁶⁹ This contrite statement should however be read against the claim that such objects generally "remain on the fringes of academic history, and are usually left to the

⁶⁷ White, 1983.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*: 35. For Tyacke's rebuttal see Tyacke, 1987a.

⁶⁹ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 6.

tender mercies of art historians or antiquarians".⁷⁰ The invocation of *tender mercies* undoubtedly originates with Fincham; it is a dictum he has used previously, and betrays a clear disdain for the established methodological apparatus for analysing such artefacts.⁷¹ The disciplinary gulf is ably demonstrated by comparison with Graham Parry's sustained examination of similar material evidence in his *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* of 2006. In this celebration of the intersections between cultural milieux and religious policies of the period, visual and literary evidences can lead the discussion, without the compulsion for archival qualification.

As with the directional model present in architectural history, any consideration of the early Stuart Church is similarly conditioned by two equally distortive factors. One is tracing the causes for the outbreak of Civil War within the religious policies of the proceeding decades, an event which hindsight had privileged in all later commentators.⁷² The other lies in the nature of the sources available, especially the numerous pamphlets and polemical works responding to the religious questions of the day. Contrasting the works of William Prynne, the vociferous Lincoln's Inn Lawyer, with those of Peter Heylyn, canon of Westminster and sometime chaplain to Laud, makes clear the partisan and polarised drive of their arguments.⁷³ Such authors must appear in discussions of the religious conflicts of early seventeenth-century England,⁷⁴ but neither is an impartial witness. Their influence has arguably dissolved the middle ground. This enduring polarisation has been identified by White, who notes that: "Current historiography ... has no interest in those churchmen it

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁷¹ *e.g.* Fincham, 1993: vii.

⁷² *e.g.* Tyacke, 1973.

⁷³ Heylyn's influence is discussed in Milton, 2002: 165-74.

⁷⁴ Both authors' works will be discussed subsequently.

cannot categorise, and is bound on its own premises to ignore, if not altogether deny, the existence of a middle ground".⁷⁵ Historian Anthony Milton has likewise pointed to the inconsistencies of pro-Laudian apologetic writing before the Civil War, which such detractors as Prynne presented as unified; the more zealous positions being taken as typical.⁷⁶

The following examination of chapels as an architectural type aims, in many ways, to bridge this intellectual chasm between early Stuart Church history and art and architectural history. Through so doing, the investigation seeks to recover, as far as possible, the immediate context within which they were comprehended by crucial figures within the religious changes which unfolding across the first few decades of the seventeenth century. This approach aims at drawing out the significance and resonances such quasi-private religious structures possessed, and is couched outside discussions of the Gothic Revival and the underlying impetus for the religious policies of the first two Stuart monarchs. Such an investigation will strive to enable the structures themselves to inform the argument, and to be presented in their own terms. To return to Eliot, such husks of meaning, as Red House chapel is here presumed to be, may well have the capacity to have the presumptions thrown upon it "altered in fulfilment".⁷⁷

⁷⁵ White, 1993: 211-12.

⁷⁶ Milton, 2002: 183.

⁷⁷ Eliot, 1974: 202.

iv:- 'DISSEMINATION' AND 'REASSESSMENT': THE HYPOTHESIS AND STRUCTURE

Underlying this thesis is a premise that to understand the association between religion and architecture in early modern England, any meaning of visual forms must derive from their place in the present. Such forms as traceried windows and pointed arches bore a typological identification with religious functions because they still constituted a significant part of the contemporary experience of architecture, albeit inherited from the mediaeval past. The argument proceeds upon the understanding that this comprised a shared experience, free from ideological associations with one particular theological position. Therefore, there was no 'Laudian' architectural style, and efforts to find one would prove self-confounding.⁷⁸ The value of chapels as an architectural typology across the historical and art-historical debates is self-evident; they feature prominently in both Parry's and Fincham and Tyacke's examinations, regardless of their divergent methodologies. The latter highlights the importance of the Chapel Royal to religious policies under Charles I, though its exemplary status has long been acknowledged, if not explicitly emphasised, within existing literature on the period.⁷⁹ This occurs most notably in Frederick Etchells and G.W.O. Addleshaw's *Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* of 1948,⁸⁰ and the shift in emphasis is undoubtedly due to the different audiences to which these works are addressed. A predominantly Anglican and clerical readership in the middle of the last century could take as given the continuous status of the Chapel Royal, whereas a modern academic audience would not be expected to share the same conditioned parameters.

⁷⁸ Lake, 1993: 171-73. Parry, 2006: 29-32. Lake, 2001: 298-341.

⁷⁹ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 354-55.

⁸⁰ e.g. Addleshaw & Etchells, 1948: 117; 137.

The Chapel Royal, both as a component of the royal court and a series of separate chapels, is an apposite place to begin this examination. The appearance of chapels at primary royal residences in 1603 throws in relief the significant programme of repairs undertaken upon them in the 1620s. Discussion will not focus upon their liturgical or musical place in the early Stuart period, but rather how the institution of the Chapel Royal came to serve the religious and ecclesiastical policies of James I. As can be shown, the physical appearance of royal chapels was deliberately enhanced at key moments in the political course of the Stuart king's reign, *e.g.* the 1620s refurbishment which coincided with Prince Charles's marriage negotiations with Spanish and French ambassadors respectively. The origins of this work within English royal chapels can be traced to antecedent examples in James I's northern kingdom; not merely the famous refurbishment of Holyrood House chapel in 1617,⁸¹ but to an often overlooked example from the 1680s. Whilst consideration of their aesthetic appearance is necessary, the Stuart campaigns can be shown to have been heavily indebted to Tudor models for their inspiration. What emerges from the examination is the specific use of royal chapels as displays of regal decorum. Theological distinctions and polarisations are rendered secondary considerations under the pressure for royal chapels to affirm their expressly regal status.

This pattern of refurbishing royal chapels *in tandem* with new emphasis upon Stuart religious policy leads naturally onto considering the place of episcopal chapels in the immediate vicinity of the capital. Jacobean bishops frequently served as royal chaplains, with leading luminaries such as Lancelot Andrewes holding the deanship of the Chapel

⁸¹ MacKechnie, 2012: 27-28.

Royal *in commendam* with the See of Winchester.⁸² This examination will strive to recover the wider cultural context for episcopal chapels by first addressing the place of episcopal residences. Inherited from the mediaeval era, these are the most opaque series of examples. To understand their significance for the reformed episcopate, a wider net will be cast over available sources. This approach will further enable the presumed polarisation between theological parties to be reassessed in light of the cultural expectations of a reformed bishop's role in the early seventeenth century. What emerges is a consistent response to mediaeval visual forms as peculiarly suited to episcopal patronage, whether embodied microcosmically in a chalice or in macrocosm of institutional architecture. This wider contextualising field is essential for objectivity assessing the refurbishment of Lambeth Palace chapel by Laud. Rather than a provocative 'Arminian' assertion of the 'beauty of holiness', Laud's repairs can be fruitfully understood in the light of a wider episcopal context, in which shades of theological opinion are not the sole determinant for the aesthetic setting of episcopal worship. Such richness was not the exclusive preserve of any one theological position.

Laud's refurbishment of Lambeth Palace chapel and the inherent issues of aesthetic ownership it raises, leads naturally to consideration of new chapel architecture, as exemplified amongst Oxford colleges. The discussion will not focus upon examples which may all too easily confirm that a 'beauty of holiness' programme was adopted by Laud's supporters. Instead, the examination will consider three examples of new chapel building which appear divergent from any 'Laudian' agenda. This serves to demonstrate just how much common ground can be found between apparently distinct branches of Protestant

⁸² McCullough, P.E. 'Andrewes, Lancelot (1555-1626)', ODNB – <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/520> (accessed 25/06/2009).

thought when creating new ecclesiastical architecture. Specific forms will also be paid to the patronage of Laud's *bête-noir* John Williams, whose surviving chapel at Lincoln College is frequently, and unhelpfully, treated as a demonstration of Laudian aesthetic ideals.⁸³ Examination of the chapels at Exeter and Brasenose colleges will show that hostility to Laud's theological position and his influence in the University could condition certain aspects of each chapel's appearance. What remains consistent is their endorsement of mediaeval ecclesiastical models. This was not in blind acquiescence to the surrounding architectural environment of Oxford, since mediaeval forms are reinterpreted to fulfil the ideological goals of each chapel's respective founders.

This thesis will therefore take the form of three monographs on distinct types of chapel; royal, episcopal and collegiate. Rather than presuppose or force a casual reading of direct influence, cascading from royal chapels into college chapels via episcopal chapels, each set of examples will be discussed in relation to their immediate contexts. Areas of overlap and influence between these separate typologies will be acknowledged when and where they occur. This transmission of an aesthetic ideal provides the themes of the title: 'Reassessment' and 'Dissemination'. The first was arguably caused by James I's refurbishment of royal chapels; the second was a direct result of this process, when the potential for chapel architecture to embody messages of especial pertinence for the early seventeenth century and received royal sanction.

⁸³ Newman, 1997: 165. Parry, 2006: 65. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 186.

This is neither an argument about the Gothic Revival's origins, nor an attempt to read religious architecture solely by the light of early Stuart religious policy. Given the nature of the sources available, specific architectural analysis is largely confined to the discussion of collegiate chapels, as their built fabric survives to a greater extent than is the case for royal and episcopal chapels. This thesis's primary aim is to examine the interplay between religion and architecture in terms which the early seventeenth century could acknowledge as its own. Such a premise serves to redress the conventional denigration of religious and collegiate architecture, and builds upon the work of recent authors previously mentioned. Given the lack of any single explicit statement on the suitability of style for religious architecture,⁸⁴ this question has been intentionally de-emphasised. As will hopefully be shown, the issues surrounding respective styles and their associative meanings reflect the presumptions of later commentators, and are not demonstrable when English religious architecture from the period is understood with reference to its contemporary context. 'Style' is not the be-all and end-all of such architecture; it should not therefore be the sole defining mode of scholarly enquiry.

⁸⁴ Newman, 1997: 168-86.

CHAPTER ONE

The Place and Significance of Royal Chapels in Early Stuart England



CHAPTER ONE

THE PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ROYAL CHAPELS IN EARLY STUART ENGLAND

i:- INTRODUCTION

Or what is the Matter? May the holy Table stand this Way in the King's Chapel, or Cathedrals, or Bishops Chapels, and not elsewhere? Surely, if it be decent and fit for God's Service, it may stand so (if Authority please) in any Church ... Nor hath any King's Chapel any Prerogative (if that may be call'd one) above any ordinary Church to disserve God in, by any superstitious Rites.¹

This defence of the altarwise position of communion tables was voiced in 1637 by William Laud, during a sitting of the Court of Star Chamber.² It serves as a microcosmic statement on the relationship between two types of chapel under examination here: royal and episcopal. Whilst the wider campaign of parochial uniformity lies outside the scope of this discussion,³ Laud's words highlight the seminal place of royal chapels within such concerns; a fact long acknowledged by commentators on early Stuart religious policy.⁴ Their physical appearance has likewise proved a fruitful subject for recent historical discussions, both as integral parts of royal palaces and as the *loci* of cycles of Court sermons.⁵ However, the role of such chapels as a formative experience amongst the period's leading clerics remains largely unexplored. Similarly, their relationship to the wider understanding of religious architecture in early modern England has remained unaddressed. As the royal chapels' importance was readily acknowledged in contemporaneous debates, they must be given their due in any examination of religion and architecture in early seventeenth-century England.

¹ Wren, 1750: 15-16.

² It is misattributed to Matthew Wren in Thurley, 2002: 244.

³ Yule, 1994. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 176-226.

⁴ e.g. Addleshaw & Etchells, 1948: 137-43. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 354-55.

⁵ Thurley, 2002. McCullough, 1998.

As a former Dean of the Chapel Royal himself, Laud can be credited with direct experience of such chapels as the setting for court worship and ceremonial.⁶ That royal chapels should be drawn into a Star Chamber ruling suggests acute sensitivity towards their place as exemplars; a position which Laud appears to both confirm and qualify. To understand how this circumstance came about, the role of royal chapels during the reign of James I must be addressed. The use of the Chapel Royal as an institution of the royal household for training the future Anglican episcopate is of great significance here. This practice reflected James I's attitude to the wider English Church, first demonstrated by the Hampton Court conference of 1604.⁷ As opposed to reading the Chapel Royal as a combative arena between theological factions, the use of royal chapels for Court ceremonial and diplomatic marriages embodied a unified aesthetic which responded to associations of regal decorum, rather than theological polarisation. Such apparent deference will be explored through the campaign of refurbishment undertaken in the 1620s.⁸ Was this an exercise in routine maintenance, or was it ideologically loaded to support a shift in James's religious policies? To offer an answer to this question, the earlier recreation towards the royal chapel at Holyrood House, Edinburgh, in preparation for the royal visit of 1617, will be examined.⁹ That royal chapels were deliberately refurbished to consolidate James's role over religious policies can be traced back to an earlier, often overlooked, instance from the 1580s, suggesting that the impetus came from the king himself.

⁶ Laud was dean 1626-33. Baldwin, 1990: 410.

⁷ Collinson, 1983: 27-51. Doleman, 2000: 63.

⁸ Thurley, 2002: 238-48.

⁹ MacKechnie, 2012: 27-28.

ii:- THE INHERITED ARCHITECTURE OF ROYAL CHAPELS

When addressing the significance of the early Stuart royal chapels, it must first be acknowledged that they were structures inherited from the Tudors.¹⁰ Preliminary discussion will focus upon the four most significant examples: those at the palaces of Richmond, Greenwich, Whitehall and Hampton Court. These chapels were attached to residences permanently furnished in readiness for the royal household. As Simon Thurley has noted, within them court worship would have been experienced to its fullest degree.¹¹ Those at Richmond and Greenwich were prominent elements of palaces rebuilt under Henry VII. Those at Whitehall and Hampton Court had been constructed by Thomas Wolsey prior to his fall and were substantially altered internally by Henry VIII. Whilst the conscious references these new chapels made to earlier royal chapels might well not have been apparent to an early modern audience,¹² the mere fact that they were inherited from an earlier dynasty should not imply that they no longer retained lasting significance. They still provided the architectural setting for royal and court worship, and what happened within them, as indicated by Laud's words, was not apathetically overlooked in the early seventeenth century. Whilst the music of the Chapel Royal lies outside this examination, it is de-emphasised to bring the buildings themselves into focus.¹³ This examination thereby serves to refute the time-honoured prosaicism that the Chapel Royal is not a building.¹⁴ Such institutional deference may be defensible in the present, but royal court worship was repeatedly experienced within the above chapels; they were the structures permanently appointed for this purpose alone.

¹⁰ For discussion of the Elizabethan Chapel Royal see Haugaard, 1968.

¹¹ Thurley, 2002: 239.

¹² *i.e.* the debt to such exemplars as St Stephen's chapel, Westminster. Branner, 1965.

¹³ For the music of the Chapel Royal in the early seventeenth century see Le Huray, 1978. Bowers, 2003: 1-47.

¹⁴ I am grateful to Philip Lankester for reiterating this position.

The chapels constructed by Henry VII at Richmond and Greenwich will be examined first. By far the most imposing of all royal chapels, that at Richmond was a key component of a new palace, built after a fire in December 1497.¹⁵ Reconstruction of the palace, rebranded with the dynastic epithet of Richmond, was recorded in Fabyan's *Great Chronicle* as largely completed by 1501.¹⁶ The pen and wash studies of Anthonis van der Wyngaerde, dated to c.1558-62, provide the most famous record of the Tudor palace's appearance (Figures 4 & 5).¹⁷ Richmond's chapel was the largest of all royal chapels, comprising four bays and recorded in the 1649 parliamentary survey as 96' x 30'.¹⁸ Both great hall and chapel acted as visual counterweights to the prominent *donjon* containing the royal apartments,¹⁹ and arguably affirmed the importance of worship and hospitality to the Tudor court. Where the royal apartments are crowned with turrets and ogee domes,²⁰ the chapel is distinguished from the hall by the pinnacles and offsets of its external buttresses, breaking through the battlements (Figure 5). This feature implies an associative distinction between the religious function of the chapel, as read against the secular role of the hall and apartments. Though there is a scarcity of accounts for Richmond's construction,²¹ this distinction between separate architectural typologies, articulated with specific visual forms, was to prove an issue of paramount significance for seventeenth-century chapel architecture.²²

¹⁵ HKW, ii: 222. Kipling, 1977: 3.

¹⁶ *Great Chronicle*: 295.

¹⁷ HKW, iv: plate 19.

¹⁸ *Parliamentary Survey*: 77.

¹⁹ HKW, iv: 225.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ The surviving sources are given in *ibid.*: 223.

²² This is examined in Chapter III.

It was not only the scale, but the arrangement of Richmond Palace chapel that was distinctive. Its interior was lit by eight clerestory windows, with a larger window at the same level in the east wall. The ceiling was elaborately divided into compartments containing a heraldic display of red roses and gold portcullises on a blue ground.²³ Such a display of personal badges reflects the singular use of the chapel, which had separate royal closets for Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, and Henry's mother, Margaret Beaufort.²⁴ The ceiling's emphasis was directed towards Tudor ancestry and the legitimate descent from the Lancastrian line, and appears to have survived unaltered into the early seventeenth century. Whilst all royal chapels contained separate royal closets for the monarch, their consort, and respective retinues, those at Richmond were unique in being arranged longitudinally along the chapel's north and south walls. It was more conventional for a pair of pews to be placed over a western antechapel, permitting views towards the east end.²⁵ By the mid-seventeenth century, the northern closet at Richmond was called the Prince's closet, reflecting the palace's use under the Stuarts as a royal nursery.²⁶ The southern closet was called the Queen's closet,²⁷ perhaps recalling its use by Anne of Cleves after her semi-retirement as the King's Sister.²⁸ The Prince's closet is prominent in Wyngaerde's view of the chapel's exterior, below the clerestory windows (Figure 5), and both were clearly sizable with large windows opening to the chapel's interior.²⁹ The whole arrangement curiously realised royal chapel worship in the form of an architectural triptych, with the royal 'donors' forming respective wings on either side of the chapel's east end. Such architectural manipulation when framing the royal presence at prayer would be latched onto in the early seventeenth century.

²³ HKW, iv: 227.

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ McCullough, 1998: 14-16.

²⁶ Thurley, 2007: 22.

²⁷ Parliamentary Survey: 77.

²⁸ String, 1996: 151.

²⁹ Parliamentary Survey: 77. A reconstructed groundplan is given in Thurley, 1993: Appendix, plan 11.

Further aspects of the interior are recorded in the parliamentary survey, where the furnishings are described as: “very well fitted with all things usefull for a chappell, as ... handsome Cathedrall seats and pews, a removable pulpit and a faire case of carved work for a pair of organs”.³⁰ All these elements would be expected of a royal chapel in the early seventeenth century, though one notable feature of the chapel’s interior is absent from the account. This is a sequence of royal saints that included, according to an account of Catherine of Aragon’s reception at Richmond, Edward the Confessor, Edmund King and Martyr, and (perhaps mistakenly) Cadwaleder.³¹ These figures paralleled a series of eleven figures in the palace’s hall, running from the mythical Brutus to Henry VII.³² Whilst the latter were still in place when the parliamentary surveyors visited Richmond, they make no mention of the chapel’s statues,³³ and there is no recorded *terminus post quem* for their removal. However, the destruction of images at Whitehall Palace chapel in May 1644, by an iconoclastic parliamentary committee, offers circumstantial evidence that the Richmond chapel figures remained in place until the Civil War.³⁴ From the surveyors’ description of the hall as: “very well-lighted and seeled, and adorned with eleven statues in the sides thereof”,³⁵ they appear to have been placed in niches between the chapel’s clerestory windows. These sainted kings were therefore not set on the same level as royal worshippers, as Peter McCullough has claimed, but rather between the windows above the closets.³⁶ Such regal iconography was to remain a significant factor of royal chapels into the seventeenth century, whether inherited from the Tudors or introduced by the Stuarts.³⁷

³⁰ Parliamentary Survey: 77.

³¹ Receyt: 73.

³² Kipling, 1977: 59. McCullough, 1998: 22.

³³ Parliamentary Survey: 77.

³⁴ For this committee’s activities see Thurley, 2002: 248-50.

³⁵ Parliamentary Survey: 77.

³⁶ McCullough, 1998: 22.

³⁷ This is addressed with reference to Greenwich chapel subsequently.

By comparison with Richmond, the chapel at Greenwich was much less prominent in scale and ambition. This palace's rebuilding partially overlapped that of Richmond, dating to 1499-c.1504.³⁸ Greenwich's association with Henry VII was readily known to later Elizabethan generations through accounts of the palace in John Stow's *Annals of England* and John Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*.³⁹ It is also clear that Henry VIII undertook some work on the chapel's interior in 1519.⁴⁰ Positioned on the northern side of a courtyard opposite to the palace's hall, the chapel terminated a long range of royal apartments, running along the palace's riverfront.⁴¹ This is evident from the surviving depictions of Greenwich by van der Wyngaerde (Figures 6 & 7) and a less reliable later drawing, known from an eighteenth-century engraving (Figure 8).⁴² Whilst there is some degree of generalisation in these sources, they make clear that the chapel comprised three bays, distinguished from the residential range by its large arched fenestration. The royal closets were contained over the western antechapel;⁴³ both closets and antechapel beneath were lit by smaller, square-headed windows. Though divergent in relative position and scale, Greenwich chapel was arguably articulated through its distinctive fenestration in the same vein that allowed the pinnacles of Richmond chapel to make it distinct from the great hall opposite. Later accounts of works to Greenwich Palace chapel indicate the presence of heraldry associated with the Order of the Garter upon its ceiling.⁴⁴ During Henry VIII's reign the chapel hosted the Order's chapter meetings and the annual celebrations of St George's day.⁴⁵ It therefore seems likely that

³⁸ HKW, iv: 97, footnote 5.

³⁹ *Annals of England*: 805. *Perambulation of Kent*: 433.

⁴⁰ HKW, iv: 101. Bowsher, 2006: 158.

⁴¹ Reconstructed plans are given in Thurley, 1993: Appendix, plans 3 & 4.

⁴² This was first engraved in 1767, and appeared in *Vetusta Monumenta* (1789): ii, plate 25.

⁴³ Recorded in the surviving accounts. HKW, iv: 97.

⁴⁴ NA, E 351/3257. HKW, iv: 105. These accounts are discussed subsequently.

⁴⁵ HKW, iv: 105.

these were added after the chapel's completion, and in similar to the devices of Richmond Palace chapel's ceiling, they served to celebrate the specific use of the chapel beneath.

Prior to excavations in 2006, the chapel's footprint was known from John Webb's seventeenth-century account of its dimensions (52'10" × 27'8")⁴⁶ and a 1695 groundplan made prior to its demolition.⁴⁷ The archaeological excavation uncovered sections of the chapel's eastern end and the adjoining vestries.⁴⁸ Its tiled floor was divided into three areas with a central band laid in a chequered pattern.⁴⁹ The tiles are similar to those preserved beneath the staircase leading from the royal closet to the antechapel at Hampton Court, so pointing to a shared feature between separate royal chapels.⁵⁰ What is significant from the excavated remains is the complete absence of evidence for alterations due to the shifting religious policies of the sixteenth century; whether the protestant reforms of Edward VI or Elizabeth, or the counter-reforms of Mary I.⁵¹ Whilst it might be expected that any damage would be made good after the demolition of stone altars under the former monarchs, this fact highlights the difficulties in charting the course of religious change within the royal chapels themselves. It would seem likely that any alterations left the structural fabric of the chapel unaltered, until substantial changes in the reign of James I.⁵²

⁴⁶ Bowsher, 2006: 156.

⁴⁷ Illustrated in *Wren Society* 6 (1929), plate x.

⁴⁸ Bowsher, 2006: 158-60.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*: 158.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*: 160, footnote 29.

⁵¹ *ibid.*: 159-60.

⁵² These are discussed subsequently.

The two remaining royal chapels under consideration shared a patron in Thomas Wolsey. Built for the leading English statesman of the early sixteenth century, they respond to a different series of expectations, reflecting the religious ceremonial of a clerical household.⁵³ Through modelling his chapels and their cloisters upon those of episcopal foundations at Oxford, Thurley has pointed out that Wolsey was continuing a pattern for bishops' residences found earlier in the fifteenth century.⁵⁴ Both Whitehall and Hampton Court chapels are distinguished from the standard royal chapel type by their projecting transeptal antechapels. The derivation for such a plan lies within the same collegiate sources, suggesting a conscious assimilation of institutional models to realise the requirements of Wolsey's household. However, it would seem likely that such architectural distinctiveness was not obvious to the early seventeenth-century court.

The chapel at Whitehall Palace formed part of the original nucleus of York Place, the London residence of the Archbishops of York, and survived until it was destroyed by fire in 1698.⁵⁵ Reconstruction of the site was continuous from Wolsey's elevation to York in 1515, and the chapel is identified as part of this campaign.⁵⁶ A presentation drawing of 1676 for reordering the east end gives the profile of the east window and, though omitting its tracery, shows it had a low four-centred head.⁵⁷ As recorded in Leonard Kyff's aerial perspective of Whitehall (Figure 9) and the groundplan survey of the palace taken in 1670,⁵⁸ it consisted of four bays

⁵³ Thurley, 2009: 181-82.

⁵⁴ *e.g.* New & Magdalene Colleges. Thurley, 2009: 183-86.

⁵⁵ Thurley, 1999: 13-14.

⁵⁶ Thurley, 1999: 30.

⁵⁷ Illustrated in Thurley, 2002: 266, figure 13.

⁵⁸ Thurley, 1998.

articulated with large mullioned windows. Above these the parapet was battlemented and populated with heraldic beasts which survived until February 1666.⁵⁹ That this parallels a similar design which existed at Wolsey's own collegiate foundation of Cardinal College, Oxford, further indicates the inter-relationship between institutional and residential architecture already noted.⁶⁰ If not comprehensible to a later audience, the commensurate quality of the chapel's architecture was arguably still self-evident.

Whitehall Palace chapel saw a considerable campaign of works after Wolsey's surrender of York Place in 1529.⁶¹ In 1536, foundations were excavated for a new set of quire stalls carved by the king's chief joiner, John Ripley,⁶² which cost £160 15s. These stalls are recorded as having columns with heraldic beasts atop them, friezes with trailing roses and twenty-eight panels carved with images of kings.⁶³ These must be the same figures which were planed off their panels in May 1644 at the behest of the parliamentary committee earlier alluded to in connection with the statues in Richmond Palace chapel.⁶⁴ The total of twenty-eight figures suggests a series of wainscot panels behind two rows of fourteen stalls facing each other across the chapel, and returning against the chapel screen under the royal closets. Whilst uncommon amongst surviving English stalls, the presence of relief figures is a commonplace feature of contemporaneous continental stalls, and such a derivation invites comparison with the coterminous screen and return stalls of King's College chapel, Cambridge (Figures 10, 11 & 12). As the only obvious comparative woodwork, the association is worth pursuing

⁵⁹ Survey of London, xiii: 54.

⁶⁰ For Cardinal College see Harvey & Oswald, 1984: 247 & Newman, 1991.

⁶¹ HKW, iv: 306-15.

⁶² *ibid.*: 315.

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Thurley, 2002: 249.

not only in relation to the sixteenth century, but also for the Whitehall chapel stalls' significance for the early seventeenth century as a display of regal and sacred aesthetics.⁶⁵

Whilst little is known of the origins of the King's College woodwork, its erection has been persuasively dated to 1533-34,⁶⁶ and its Italian and French *all'antica* idiom has long been acknowledged.⁶⁷ Such a date tallies with the heraldic arms and devices present on the chapel screen which, given Ann Boleyn's arms, offer a maximum timescale of four years from her marriage to Henry in 1532. The Cambridge stalls and screen may predate those introduced at Whitehall, but the latter's association with direct royal patronage has never been questioned, especially given earlier royal support for the chapel's glazing to fulfil clauses in Henry VII's will.⁶⁸ That the design for the coving on King's chapel screen was later used in the 1540 ceiling in the chapel at St James's Palace could suggest the deliberate redeployment of an approved royal design.⁶⁹ Tatiana String has demonstrated that by combining heraldic badges with a classically-coffered design, the St James's chapel ceiling can be read as a visual affirmation of Tudor dynastic descent and the Royal Supremacy.⁷⁰ The prevalence of royal heraldry and insignia on the earlier woodwork at King's College chapel suggests a consistent wish to affirm Henry's position over Church and State after the 1534 Act of Supremacy. Given the date of the new stalls at Whitehall Palace, it is not implausible that they proclaimed the same ideological message within the chapel of the primary royal residence outside London. The resonance of such a visual message, one of

⁶⁵ The comparison in reference to the return stalls at King's. The panelling over the side stalls is largely seventeenth century. Pevsner, 1970: 109.

⁶⁶ Harvey & Oswald, 1984: 232

⁶⁷ Bond, 1908: 99. Pevsner, 1970: 108.

⁶⁸ Willis & Clark, 1886, i: 498. The glazing is discussed in Wayment, 1972.

⁶⁹ The design's source is discussed in String, 1996: 147-50.

⁷⁰ String, 1996: 141-44.

paramount importance to reformed religion in England, was surely not lost upon subsequent generations.

The significance of Whitehall chapel's refurbishment has profound ramifications for understanding the later Stuart campaign of works within royal chapels, and the wider attitudes to religious architecture within the early seventeenth century. As an expression of royal religious identity, the Henrician Whitehall Palace chapel can be understood as both innovative and conventional. Innovation comes in the classical *all'antica* forms of the stalls which frame royal worship with a lexicon distinct from the Tudor Gothic chapel containing them. Convention is affirmed in their incorporation of royal heraldic devices and carved figures. However, such a polarised reading would be deeply distortive and anachronistic. Any apparent aesthetic discrepancy between architecture and furnishings was evidently not at issue; surely more important was a consistent standard of richness, suitable for a royal chapel. The incorporation of heraldry into classical designs is not unusual,⁷¹ but rather pulls the new forms into dialogue with established conventions of patronal display. Tudor badges and insignia were a predominant motif throughout palace interiors, whether framed by Gothic or classical elements, and in diverse media.⁷² A difference of 'style' between the chapel ceilings at Richmond and St James's Palaces does not imply a difference of intent. In terms of heraldry and iconography, such new forms have been brought into unity with seeming reference to the earlier chapel at Richmond. This was no intrusion of secular *all'antica* classical motifs into an ecclesiastical setting, but rather part of a campaign involving

⁷¹ As argued in String, 1996: 146.

⁷² e.g. Oswald, 1952: 16-17.

the entire Whitehall complex.⁷³ An indication of what was realised is preserved in the celebrated 1540s portrait of Henry VIII and his children (Figure 13).⁷⁴ Set within a loggia, looking south over the palace's great garden, the architecture's polychromatic richness seamlessly sets Tudor roses within a coffered ceiling, supported by Ionic columns with arabesque and fluted shafts. However, it remains to be determined whether the early Stuart court actively responded to such Henrician aesthetics some six decades after their creation.

The sole image which suggests active identification with the *all'antica* of Whitehall is the 1616 titlepage to James I's *Workes* (Figure 14).⁷⁵ Though its deliberate homage to Whitehall's chapel has never been investigated, and whilst the evidence must remain circumstantial, it is a plausible hypothesis. This volume was edited by James's Dean of the Chapel Royal, James Montagu, a court figure who would have first-hand experience of the Whitehall chapel.⁷⁶ Though expressed in the conventions of visual titlepages of the period, it depicts the same columns supporting heraldic beasts that are known to have been elements of the Henrician stalls. The ornamentation of the frieze likewise corresponds closely to the frieze depicted in the loggia of the Whitehall great garden (Figure 13), and the two figures of *Religio* and *Pax* could well reflect the appearance of the carved kings set within the chapel's stalls. It cannot be coincidence that such a visual correlation appeared in the same year that the royal Office of Works was creating a distinctly English royal chapel at Holyrood House, for James's imminent visit to Scotland.⁷⁷ What more decorously apposite conceit than to preface the Stuart king's theological works with a frontispiece recalling one of his own royal chapels? As

⁷³ HKW, iv: 306-14.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*: 314.

⁷⁵ The design is examined in Corbett & Lightbown, 1979: 137-45.

⁷⁶ Montagu's importance as dean is discussed subsequently.

⁷⁷ This project is discussed subsequently.

an indication of Stuart attitudes towards royal chapels, this titlepage is a significant statement of the new dynasty's powers of assimilation to support its own distinct religious policies. The Whitehall exemplar has been deferentially redeployed; its regal message updated to include the Stuart Royal arms and thistle without disrupting the inherited model (Figure 14). It is this interplay between retention and alteration which is demonstrable in the Jacobean refurbishing of royal chapels, clearly indicating how the early seventeenth century responded to the royal chapels inherited from its Tudor forebears.

Such deferential awareness by the early seventeenth century to the crop of Tudor royal chapels is also demonstrated by the treatment of the final example: Hampton Court chapel (Figure 15). It is the sole surviving royal chapel under discussion here, built during Wolsey's second phase of construction at Hampton Court from 1522-28.⁷⁸ Its present internal appearance is the result of an early eighteenth-century refurbishment for Queen Anne,⁷⁹ whilst the present windows were reinstated faithfully in 1891.⁸⁰ From the outset, the chapel had been designed with separate western closets which allowed Wolsey and Henry to attend services simultaneously. This capacity to accommodate both king and cardinal explains the singular arrangement of the chapel's double east window (Figure 15). Peter Curnow gave the first account of this original feature after the chapel's eastern wall was exposed in 1981.⁸¹ Unacknowledged behind the later reredos, the outer reveals of both windows had actually always been visible from the interior. Without taking into account the dual use of the chapel it can only be explained as: "an experiment which did not find favour

⁷⁸ Thurley, 2003: 27-25.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*: 217-19.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*: 305-306.

⁸¹ Curnow, 1984. Thurley, 2003: 217-18.

and was therefore not repeated".⁸² The east window arrangement actually responds to the dual chapel closets, expressing in architecture the site-specific use of the Hampton Court chapel. It was part of a unified expression of function, planned as integral to the chapel, which embraced the window glazing and survived intact until 1645.⁸³

Though destroyed under the aegis of the same committee which attacked the chapel at Whitehall, the original glazing of Hampton Court chapel has been reconstructed by Hilary Wayment.⁸⁴ This is possible due to the unique survival of a set of vidimuses. These contractual drawings were clearly designed with the chapel's fenestration in mind and are associated with the Nuremberg workshop of Erhard Schön.⁸⁵ As originally envisaged the scheme was divided horizontally, running clockwise around the windows, with narrative scenes in the upper lights and apostles and prophets beneath.⁸⁶ The lower tier of single figures reflected the standard typological iconography of early Tudor glazing schemes elsewhere; not least the largest surviving example at King's College chapel,⁸⁷ and the lost glass for the Henry VII chapel, Westminster Abbey.⁸⁸ Emphasising the prefiguration of Christ's life in the Old Testament, such recondite theological parallels for chapel glazing still evidently appealed to an early seventeenth-century audience.⁸⁹ The focal point of Schön's design was the double east window, where in deliberate reference to the dual closets, Henry and Wolsey were shown in perpetual prayer, attended by their patron saints (Figure 16). It

⁸² Curnow, 1984: 2.

⁸³ Thurley, 2002: 250.

⁸⁴ Wayment, 1986.

⁸⁵ Wayment, 1986: 510-11.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*: fig. 1.

⁸⁷ Wayment, 1972.

⁸⁸ Marks, 1995.

⁸⁹ This is discussed subsequently in Chapters II and III.

need scarcely be stated that this arrangement not only made an integral altarpiece of the chapel's east wall, but paralleled the arrangement of royal closets at Richmond. The glazing's lower tier was altered in October 1536, so as to enhance the conceit of depicting the monarch at prayer within what was then his own royal chapel.⁹⁰ The value of such depictions within royal chapels remained important to the early Stuart court. This later dynasty arguably surpassed such Tudor iconographic precedents by focusing their efforts around the person of the king himself.

As at Whitehall, Hampton Court's chapel saw a substantial campaign of refurbishment during the mid-1530s.⁹¹ Whilst little is known of this Henrician programme, it has been interpreted as a wholesale recasting of the interior. Given its dating, it seems highly likely that the new furnishings would be in an idiom commensurate to those introduced into Whitehall's chapel at the same time.⁹² The timing of this refitting likewise implies that it was a visual affirmation of Henry's supremacy. The most celebrated survival of this project is the chapel's wooden ceiling (Figure 17). Conceived as a hammerbeam substructure which breaks into a pseudo-fan vault, it has long been regarded as a fragment of Wolseian *spolia* for the abortive chapel at Cardinal College, Oxford.⁹³ Whether this is the case or not, the conspicuous use of the royal motto on the hammer beams draws the ceiling's visual impact into a wider programme of regal affirmation. By comparison with Whitehall, it would seem likely that the new furnishings were in the same *all'antica* classicising idiom, demonstrable in the woodwork at King's College chapel. To argue for a stylistic solecism between the

⁹⁰ Wayment, 1986: 508.

⁹¹ Thurley, 2003: 63-64.

⁹² A completion date of 1538 is given in Thurley, 2009: 188.

⁹³ Newman, 1991.

Hampton Court chapel's architecture and its Henrician furnishings can similarly be dismissed as anachronistic. As has been suggested, the presence of royal heraldry pulled any divergence in aesthetics into a unified message, redolent of the monarch's supremacy over spiritual and temporal estates. Such concerns will, however, be shown not to have been entirely negligible for the Jacobean refurbishing of royal chapels.

The primary royal chapels experienced by the early Stuart court had several features in common. All four examples discussed here made prominent use of royal heraldry; a feature which became doubly significant after the 1534 Act of Supremacy. The Henrician refurbishments of Whitehall and Hampton Court chapels demonstrate the importance of the royal court's rituals of worship, and that its physical setting was deliberately enhanced to give visual affirmation to the religious policies of the period. One result of this campaign was the creation of furnishings which, by the light of conventional architectural history, would be read as stylistically divergent from their architectural setting. That such combinations occurred suggests that this was not an active concern for the sixteenth century. Whilst royal chapels cannot be taken as the sole exemplar for comparable 'clashes' of style in the chapels of the early seventeenth century, such a regal precedent cannot have been completely insignificant. Both Richmond and Hampton Court chapels took combinations of architectural and iconographic display to both frame and depict the English monarch at prayer.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ For the Henrician court's use of royal chapels see Kisby, 2001: 65-67.

Whilst many of these conclusions must remain speculative, the overall pattern of articulating royal chapels was demonstrably not lost upon the early Stuart court. Their own campaign actively absorbed and redeployed the same conceits in new ways to give a visual expression to shifts in Jacobean religious policy within royal chapels. As the setting for court and royal worship, these chapels were surely the most apposite location for such display; they were the *loci* where any such loaded messages would be perceived most acutely. The Jacobean campaign was one tempered with deference to the inherited fabric in some locations, and marked by radical interventions at others. To make sense of this apparently divergent approach, the use of the institutional Chapel Royal in the early Stuart court must be addressed.

iii:- JAMES I AND RELIGIOUS POLICY: THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE AND THE CHAPEL ROYAL

In order to understand the programme of royal chapel refurbishment in the reign of James I, the king's own response to the religion of his southern kingdom must first be examined. Of immediate relevance is the Hampton Court conference of 1604. From this event emerges a clear wish to preserve the ecclesiastical *status quo* and, significantly, the manipulation of architectural spaces during the conference. James's attitude towards wider religious policies must be acknowledged, as it directly informed the Chapel Royal's institutional use and the role played by its dean and chaplains. This discussion will highlight how the Chapel Royal acted as a microcosm for the wider religious policy of early Stuart England. The Jacobean Chapel Royal provided the monarch with an indispensable political tool which was deliberately maintained at a theological equilibrium between its chaplains. This understanding of the Chapel Royal's character and its wider functions must be explored before any discussion of its place in the early Stuart court can be understood.

Upon James's accession in April 1603, it was widely hoped that he would initiate reforms of the Church of England, moving it in liturgical and theological terms closer towards the example set by Scottish Presbyterianism. This took the form of the Millenary Petition, presented to the King whilst journeying to London, and calling for the redress of longstanding contentious issues, such as the removal of 'Popish' elements from the Book of Common Prayer's rubrics.⁹⁵ A new monarch accustomed to a Presbyterian Church more attuned to reformed theology than its English counterpart must have seemed a welcome agent of religious change. The petition's ultimate outcome was the Hampton Court

⁹⁵ Doelman, 2000: 63. Collinson, 1983: 27-51.

conference. It began in January 1604, and resulted in the Puritan consortium being rebuffed with few of their requests granted.⁹⁶ Theological historian Brian Spinks has succinctly described James's position as one which sought to: "conform the Church of Scotland to that of England rather than vice versa".⁹⁷ This royal support for episcopal hierarchy and the English liturgy marks the origin of a policy for ecclesiastical uniformity within both kingdoms; one which unravelled so destructively with the end of Charles I's personal rule.

The course of the Hampton Court conference offers an early instance of the new king's religious position, and notable in his opening address was a message of continuity with his Tudor forebears.⁹⁸ Through this rhetorical device, James presented himself as the perpetuator of established precedents. By holding the conference in the Presence Chamber at Hampton Court, its staging can be interpreted as a deliberate choice to affirm continuity with the inherited *status quo*. Thurley has persuasively shown that Hampton Court had acquired specifically Henrician connotations by later in the century;⁹⁹ this discussion explores whether these connotations could have been played upon in 1604. It serves as an insightful prologue to the Stuart king's use of the Chapel Royal as an institution, and the use of royal chapels by the court.

⁹⁶ White, 1993: 217-20. Spinks, 2002: 34.

⁹⁷ Spinks, 2002: 33.

⁹⁸ Barlow, 1604: 6.

⁹⁹ Thurley 2003: 112-13.

That the conference's architectural setting was an influential factor upon the minds of those present is admittedly contestable. It was originally to have taken place at Whitehall, but was moved to Hampton Court due to the outbreak of plague.¹⁰⁰ To relocate the debate to a setting redolent of Henry VIII could serve not merely to bolster James's own position, but also to reinforce the royal prerogative in religious matters. According to William Barlow's eyewitness account, proceedings were opened in the Presence Chamber with James enthroned before a cloth of estate, set amongst the opposing ranks of clerics and divines.¹⁰¹ Barlow's description of the new monarch instantly recalls an actual image of Henry VIII, familiar from the 1570 edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (Figure 18). The woodcut had first appeared in 1548, though it undoubtedly reached a wider audience through inclusion in Foxe's grand hagiography of the Protestant cause in England.¹⁰² It need hardly be stated that this work would have been well known to delegates at the conference, whether on the side of conservative 'prelates' or the reformist 'puritans'.¹⁰³

In the woodcut, Henry is shown seated amongst his council, striking a declamatory pose beneath the royal arms, emblazoned on a cloth of estate. The chamber is hung with arras powdered with heraldic roses and fleur-de-lys, over which are further shields supported by winged tritons.¹⁰⁴ The chamber is roofed with a rib vault, ornamented with *all antica* pendants. Colvin interprets this as representing a presence chamber, in which the monarch's chair of state permanently stood. Whilst not identifiable as a specific location, the chequered

¹⁰⁰ Collinson, 1983.

¹⁰¹ Barlow, 1604: 4. This official account of proceedings was commissioned by Archbishop John Whitgift. Tyacke, 1987b: 13.

¹⁰² Aston, 1993: 84.

¹⁰³ White, 1993: 217-18.

¹⁰⁴ The use of such ornaments in images of Protestant kingship is discussed in Aston, 1993: 79-87.

floor recalls the coffered ceiling depicted in the great garden loggia at Whitehall. This shared feature suggests some degree of pictorial accuracy (Figure 13). Through such analogies in the new monarch's presentation, it is possible to read the conference as an early assimilation of Tudor royal aesthetics to consolidate the Stuart's accession to the English throne. This deference to and assimilation of inherited aesthetics was to prove fundamental to understanding the use and treatment of the royal chapels by the early Stuart court. It was also not unrelated to the resurgence of the institution of the Chapel Royal itself.

Within the royal support for the religious *status quo*, the Chapel Royal's role became of fundamental importance. The place of clerics at court was greatly enhanced by James's deliberate patronage. Kenneth Fincham has noted that this rehabilitated direct clerical involvement in royal policies and politics.¹⁰⁵ This royal support found a parallel in the appointments of royal chaplaincies in 1603, when Elizabeth's chaplains retained their offices.¹⁰⁶ The Chapel Royal likewise survived in its inherited form.¹⁰⁷ This consisted of its choir of 'gentlemen' and 'children', a sergeant of the chapel to regulate admittance, and a body of chaplains. Ultimate control lay in the post of dean.¹⁰⁸ *In tandem* with the policy demonstrated at the Hampton Court conference, the institution of the Chapel Royal was retained in its Elizabethan form and consolidated through the appointment of new chaplains. These appointments undoubtedly reflect logistical necessity, for the Stuart court had both a monarch's and his consort's households for chaplains to minister to. This

¹⁰⁵ Fincham, 1990: 39. The wider implications of this policy are addressed in Chapter II.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*: 305-306.

¹⁰⁷ For the Elizabethan Chapel Royal see Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 75-81.

¹⁰⁸ Baldwin, 1990.

expansion also testifies to James's liking for theological amanuenses, allowing him to: "rule the interlocking spheres of Church and Commonwealth".¹⁰⁹

The new patronage of the episcopate was reciprocated through the latter's support for the monarch's divine sanction. Significantly, this position was defended across the religious spectrum within the Chapel Royal; from the sacramentalist Lancelot Andrewes to the staunchly Calvinist Thomas Morton.¹¹⁰ It would be misleading to see in James's support for the Chapel Royal a shift in the king's theological position. The divergent positions embodied by Andrewes and Morton were not to become polarised and confrontational until the York House conference in 1626.¹¹¹ It is fair to assume that the Chapel Royal at the opening of the seventeenth century was not inherently associated with one theological position, despite its institutional structure and ceremonial practices surviving largely unaltered from Elizabeth's reign. By extension, the royal chapels themselves must likewise have been free of any such polarised associations drawn from their architectural appearance.

The Chapel Royal's resistance to association with any theological faction is clear from the meetings of the 'Durham House group' during the 1620s.¹¹² These meetings are recognised as a crucial influence upon the ecclesiastical position labelled 'Laudian' or 'Arminian' which emerged in the 1630s. Its members engaged in debates to consolidate the validity of the sacraments against the arguments of Calvinist predestination and for recovering liturgical

¹⁰⁹ Fincham, 1990: 39.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*: 37.

¹¹¹ Tyacke, 1987b: 164-80.

¹¹² Heylyn, 1671: 69. Durham House is discussed in Chapter II.

discipline within the English Church.¹¹³ This group had several royal chaplains amongst its numbers, and their repeated meetings at Durham House demonstrate that the Chapel Royal alone did not provide a sufficient forum for promulgating views that went against the widely held Calvinist consensus of the time. That various shades of theological opinion could be held within the institution of the Chapel Royal was largely due to James's wish to make the institution serve the ends of his own religious policy.

Promotion to a royal chaplaincy allowed James to examine his chaplains' intellectual credentials by involving them in theological debates over which the king presided.¹¹⁴ Appointment as a royal chaplain was a means for astute clerics to gratify the monarch and thereby start their shimmy up the ladder of preferment. In his role as *adjutor* James was identified by contemporaries with Constantine. Curiously, Henry VIII had also been associated with this imperial role-model, but it had greater resonance for Stuart kings through the reunion of two kingdoms under a single monarch.¹¹⁵ Here again, the Stuart monarch adopts the metaphorical mantle of his Tudor forebear, allowing himself to appear as both Henry's successor and the perpetuator of his religious reforms. Such debates obviously required a diversity of opinion amongst his chaplains on contentious issues. Their promotional path from royal chaplaincy to eventual bishopric ensured that this diversity of opinion was replicated on the Jacobean bench of bishops. This situation Fincham explains as creating unity through counterbalanced views, ensuring a degree of flexibility in religious policies.¹¹⁶ The early Stuart Chapel Royal stands reading as a microcosm in which royal

¹¹³ Tyacke, 1987b: 106-24.

¹¹⁴ Fincham, 1990: 24.

¹¹⁵ Doelman, 2000: 79-83.

¹¹⁶ Fincham, 1990: 25.

patronage created equilibrium between theological positions, contained within its inherited institutional framework. As such, it was representative of the means by which James sought to maintain the balance of the national Church, and a fundamental component to this end.¹¹⁷ A crucial figure in maintaining this situation was the cleric with overall control of the Chapel Royal: James Montagu.

James's theological orientation remained Calvinist throughout his reign.¹¹⁸ That this was compatible with the Chapel Royal is confirmed by his appointment of James Montagu as its dean on Christmas Day 1603.¹¹⁹ The deanship had fallen into abeyance in 1585, after which its duties were overseen by successive Lord Chamberlains.¹²⁰ Its revival was prompted by Archbishop John Whitgift to counteract any Presbyterian influence at the new king's court.¹²¹ It was in his capacity as dean that Montagu attended a meeting of James and a delegation of Scottish Presbyterians in 1606 and, reflecting a frequent pattern of preferment, he was made Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1608.¹²² Montagu's Calvinist credentials are consistently affirmed in discussions of his career, and that such opinions were not antithetical to the Chapel Royal is clear from his sustained involvement in its administration.¹²³ Aside from being present at the baptisms and confirmations of the royal children, Montagu "issued orders for the election and attendance of the gentlemen and children of the Chapel, and for

¹¹⁷ Fincham, 1993: 30-33.

¹¹⁸ Tyacke, 1987a.

¹¹⁹ McCullough, P.E. 'Montagu, James (1568-1618)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19021> (accessed 25/06/2009).

¹²⁰ Ashbee & Harley, 2000, i: xiii.

¹²¹ McCullough, P.E. 'Montagu, James (1568-1618)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19021> (accessed 25/06/2009).

¹²² Fincham, 1990: 38.

¹²³ *ibid.*: 38-39.

the appointment of music for services".¹²⁴ He was to remain involved with the Chapel Royal's administration until 1617.¹²⁵ Montagu's consolidation of the Chapel Royal testifies to the institution's ability to avoid association with a specific theological position under James's early patronage, and demonstrates that polarised associations of Calvinist theology and Puritanism are here anachronistic. Indeed, the association between ceremonial forms and anti-Calvinist theology, which emerged in the 1630s, are not demonstrable in Montagu's contributions during the Hampton Court conference, where he readily defended the *status quo* on contentious points.¹²⁶

Such actions no doubt display an acknowledgement of the king's own position, an alignment of opinion reflecting Montagu's intimacy with James. His inclusion amongst the clergy at the Hampton Court conference demonstrates that the Chapel Royal's dean was held in equal regard to cathedral deans. Montagu appears to have cultivated an amicable relationship with James, occupying a dual position as both the king's "companion and theological secretary".¹²⁷ This intimacy is clear from Montagu's dedicatory epistle to Prince Charles, which prefaced his 1616 edition of James's *Workes*. In it, he states:

Now it being the duetie of all *Deans* in their Churches, *Dispersa colligere*, I thought it might sort well with the nature of my place in the Chappel, wherin I have had the Honour so many yeeres to serve his *Majestie*, to gather these things that were scattered, and to preserve in one body, what might have easily bin lost in parts.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ McCullough, P.E. 'Montagu, James (1568-1618)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19021> (accessed 25/06/2009).

¹²⁵ *ibid.*

¹²⁶ *ibid.*

¹²⁷ Fincham, 1990: 38.

¹²⁸ *Workes*: sig. A3v.

Montagu's comment confirms that he saw his position as on a par with his cathedral peers, and demonstrates that his editing of James's *Workes* was in keeping with his proximity to the king. It is an attitude of deference towards his royal patron; one aptly visualised by the frontispiece to the *Workes* echoing the appearance of the royal chapel at Whitehall (Figure 14).

The Chapel Royal's consolidation after 1603 attests to its value as an institution through which James could gain first-hand experience of clerics marked out for preferment. It became a microcosm of the English Church, within which diverse theological opinions counterbalanced one another, thereby freeing the Chapel Royal from association with any particular theological side. The purpose of this was in part political expediency and to retain the Chapel Royal as James had inherited it. With the Stuart king's religious position clarified, the use of royal chapels as a staging for ceremonials during his reign can now be examined.

iv:- THE USE OF ROYAL CHAPELS BY THE JACOBEAN COURT

To understand the significance of the royal chapels, their role as the setting for court ceremonial needs must be considered. This discussion will examine key events in the religious life of James's court, and attempts to recover the ways in which royal chapels were prepared for them. The rich provisions for royal christenings and marriages will be discussed in relation to the light they shed on the character of the Chapel Royal as an institution free from any particular theological association. This presentation of the royal chapels as the *loci* for such acts serves to challenge the idea that a marked shift from Calvinist apathy to Arminian richness took place over the course of James's reign. Again, this polarising association between theological positions and the use of royal chapels will be countered by seeing such ceremonials as a consolidation of key religious events for the early Stuart dynasty. This interpretation permits the royal chapels to be seen independently from their polarisation within the later religious debates of the seventeenth century, and is a necessary prologue for an examination of their architectural fabrics.

In discussing the Chapel Royal during the reign of James I, Simon Thurley has drawn attention to the refurbishments undertaken after Lancelot Andrewes succeeded Montagu as dean in 1619.¹²⁹ As evidenced from the Office of Works accounts, this programme is explained as a "ceremonializing trend",¹³⁰ confirming an association between visual richness and a new emphasis on the sacraments, first expounded by Andrewes, and continued under his successors. This made the royal chapels into: "sacramental space, rather than being mere

¹²⁹ Thurley, 2002: 238.

¹³⁰ *ibid.*: 241.

oratories".¹³¹ Through recourse to the works accounts alone, the contrast between the appearance of the royal chapels during Montagu's and Andrewes's deanships appears clear. However, this marked contrast poses difficulties when positioning the arrangements for the Spanish Marriage treaty within a model of 'ceremonialization'.¹³² Aside from coining a substitute term for 'Laudian' and 'Arminian', this interpretation overlooks the temporary re-articulation of the royal chapels prior to Andrewes's appointment as dean. A decorously rich picture is presented, with no discernible Calvinist astringency. Indeed, it has been ably demonstrated that repairs and decoration of churches existed in the first decades of the seventeenth century before the rise of 'Laudian' clergy.¹³³ Such examinations of the wider early seventeenth-century context show how the association between sacramental theology and elaborate decoration within religious structures was in retreat. The present discussion will therefore focus upon the ornamentation of royal chapels in James's reign as a response to the significance of the ceremonies witnessed by the king and court, and overseen by the Calvinist Montagu.

By comparison with the substantial works carried out after Andrewes's accession to the deanship, only minor works were undertaken on the royal chapels. The first significant project was the erection of canted bay windows for the royal closet at Greenwich chapel in 1604-05. This was set up for the christening of the Princess Mary on 1 May 1605, and suggests adjustments to accommodate the double retinue of the monarch and his queen.¹³⁴

¹³¹ *ibid.*: 239.

¹³² *ibid.*

¹³³ e.g. amongst London parish churches by Merritt, 1998. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 98-110.

¹³⁴ HKW, iv: 116. Thurley, 2002: 240.

It is not necessary to claim these were hasty and makeshift, as the provisions for the service itself were certainly not skimped on.¹³⁵ The accounts record the:

setting upp of five newe cante windows ... in the grate closet for the King and the Queene to looke into the chappell; like framing and setting upp of a hallpace in the chapel 8 foot square with 3 degrees, pillers and railles round about the same ... and setting up of railles at the same time to keepe out the presse of people.¹³⁶

It is clear that royal chapels were not kept in readiness for such events, but that necessary provisions were assembled within them only when required. This service was also recorded in the *Cheque Books* of the Chapel Royal. These are a miscellany of its administration, and served diversely as a minute-book for chapter meetings, an oath book for gentlemen of the chapel, and a record of ceremonial practices. In contrast to Greenwich chapel having been “neglected for many years”,¹³⁷ can be set the *Cheque Books’* account of Princess Mary’s christening.¹³⁸ This record allows the event to be reconstructed in great detail. The ceremony began with gentlemen of the chapel processing in pairs, with the young princess carried “under a canoppee of cloth of gold”.¹³⁹ They were met at the chapel door by Dean Montagu and the Archbishop of Canterbury vested “in rich Copes of Needellworke”.¹⁴⁰ The infant was brought into the antechapel whilst the king’s retinue took their place in the royal closet, while an anthem was sung. The princess’s godparents sat within the antechapel, where the infant was baptised at a font, set on the stepped and railed dais recorded in the Works accounts.¹⁴¹ The service was overseen by heralds in tabards and the baptism, announced by a trumpeter, was followed by the offertory. After this, the godparent’s gifts were brought from the vestry and placed upon the communion table, and the ceremony

¹³⁵ Thurley, 2002: 240.

¹³⁶ NA E 351/3240.

¹³⁷ HKW, iv: 116.

¹³⁸ CB, i: 94-96.

¹³⁹ CB, i: 94.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.* The archbishop was Richard Bancroft.

¹⁴¹ NA E 351/3240.

concluded with a banquet “brought ... out of the Lower Chapel”,¹⁴² into the royal closet to the accompaniment of an “excellent Hermony with full Anthems”.¹⁴³

This record of the ceremonial practices demonstrates how distortive it is to suppose that royal chapels languished in decrepitude until 1619. As the *locus* for the religious life of the royal court, it belies the impression of visual apathy or Calvinist starkness when accommodating royal ceremonial. Such descriptions further emphasise the need for the Chapel Royal as that part of the monarch’s household capable of performing such ceremonies. With the Chapel Royal acting in this capacity, any subsequent ‘ceremonialization’, if it exists, can be understood as the expansion of its role within the royal court, rather than as a radical departure in the light of theological polarities between its successive deans.

The accounts also offer glimpses into how the royal chapels were furnished for royal ceremonial, such provisions reflecting due deference to royal attendance at the event being celebrated. For example, at the confirmations of Princes Henry and Charles, exactly the same provisions were made.¹⁴⁴ The lower step of the chapel’s quire was covered by “a carpet and cushions”,¹⁴⁵ on which the princes knelt during the service, with the king watching from the royal closet. The princes took Communion a few days after their confirmation. Prince Henry received it kneeling on a cushion to James’s left “a little below

¹⁴² CB, i: 96.

¹⁴³ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Prince Henry was confirmed at Whitehall in 1607; Charles at Greenwich in 1613. CB, i: 176-77.

¹⁴⁵ CB, i: 176.

the Kinge",¹⁴⁶ and each received separately prepared Eucharistic elements from Montagu. These accounts therefore indicate how liturgical ceremonies could be used to affirm a decorum of precedence for the royal family when in attendance. Again, such provisions created a suitably decorous setting for the monarch, rather than attesting to one theological position.

Of all the ceremonies held within a royal chapel prior to 1619, the greatest example is the marriage of Frederick, Elector of the Palatine, to James's daughter Elizabeth in February 1612. The interior of Whitehall Palace chapel had been arranged with a suitably regal aesthetic in mind. The *Cheque Books* make this aesthetic impetus clear by stating that "the Chappell was in royall sorte adorned".¹⁴⁷ The east end was hung with some of the tapestries commissioned by Henry VIII depicting the Acts of the Apostles, and the Communion vessels were displayed upon the communion table.¹⁴⁸ Temporary seats were added between the quire stalls and the sanctuary for the gentlemen of the Chapel, and were "arrayed withe tapestry very comely".¹⁴⁹ James and Queen Anne had prepared for them:

a stately Throne ... rayseed in the midst of the Chappell some five foote in height & some 20 foot in length, having stayres to assend or descend at each end, spred with riche carpettes underfoot, and rayled one both sides, the rayles covered with clothe of tissue but open at top that the whole assemblie might see all the Ceremony the better.¹⁵⁰

These provisions for a royal wedding of international significance again demonstrate that the royal chapels were not maintained at a consistent level of elaboration. Rather, through the display of tapestry and plate, the setting of royal worship was visually heightened in what

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*: 172.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*: 173.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*: 172-73.

can be termed 'an aesthetic of decorum', demarcating the regal significance of the occasion. This is what the *Cheque Books* tellingly named the "royall sorte":¹⁵¹ a king's chapel had to look like a king's chapel. Such elaboration was obviously a response to the interplay between social, political and religious aspects of royal policy. As with the ceremonies discussed previously, such provisions were temporary, but that was in their nature. As one instance of the type of ceremonial witnessed within a royal chapel, the 1612 marriage casts doubt upon interpreting Andrewes's redecoration as heralding a reaction to Montagu's Calvinist regime.¹⁵² Alternatively, the works overseen by Andrewes can be interpreted as a renewal of the royal chapels' interiors, independent of any underlying association with a particular theological position. Such works built upon the accepted role of the royal chapels as settings for elaborate ceremonial, consciously enhancing their visual impact to consolidate the respective events.

Within the use of royal chapels by the early Stuart court, there is a clear aesthetic deference to the presence of the royal household and to the significance of the events taking place. This was achieved through temporary provisions which redefined the chapels' interiors, rendering them decorously regal. Significantly, the latter gives no indication of Calvinist austerity on the part of the Dean of the Chapel Royal, the institution itself, or the royal chapels. There would appear to be no demonstrable association between the theological position of James I and the visual ephemera with which the royal chapels were redefined for religious ceremonies. The presumption that the first part of James's reign was marked by austerity appears far too polarised to be sustainable. This current discussion suggests that

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*: 172.

¹⁵² Thurley, 2002: 240-41.

the 1620s refurbishment of royal chapels aimed in part to perpetuate these temporary ceremonial displays, in comprehension of their wider political value. Having established the context and usage of royal chapels by the Jacobean court, their refurbishment can now be examined.

v:- THE JACOBAN ROYAL CHAPELS: HAMPTON COURT AND GREENWICH PALACE CHAPELS

The substantial refurbishments of royal chapels during 1619-25 have long been related to the wider political and religious ambitions of James I's reign.¹⁵³ Their potential value in asserting and furthering royal policy through visual display is apparent. It cannot be coincidental that the redecoration of royal chapels occurred whilst negotiations to secure Prince Charles's marriage to the Spanish Infanta were in progress.¹⁵⁴ Stemming from the latter, the refurbishment also coincides with the promotion of royal chaplains whose theological position allowed them to be supportive of the marriage.¹⁵⁵ However, the works should not be understood as a process of aesthetic 'Catholicisation', but a tactical consolidation of the English monarch's own chapels as the pre-eminent setting for the Anglican liturgy.¹⁵⁶ That Catholic converts received Anglican Communion within royal chapels throughout James's reign further mitigates against such a reading.¹⁵⁷ The repairs to royal chapels after 1619 can be interpreted on one level as part of the general programme of maintenance. However, the clear focus upon chapels during the early 1620s suggests that a systematic programme was

¹⁵³ *HKW*, iv: 116. McCulloch, 1998: 32-34.

¹⁵⁴ Thurley, 2002: 240.

¹⁵⁵ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007.

¹⁵⁶ Wider issues of associating such embellishment with Catholicism are discussed in Newman, 1992: 303-12.

¹⁵⁷ Doelman, 2000: 102-34.

under way. This undoubtedly confirmed the significance of the setting for royal worship, but also attested to the importance such chapels had as visual barometers, responding to shifts in Jacobean dynastic diplomacy and religious policy.

Whilst the scheme of works involved the chapel at Whitehall,¹⁵⁸ this discussion will examine the repairs to Hampton Court and Greenwich Palace chapels. Despite marked differences in expenditure and intervention, they are revealing as separate parts of a unified project. At Hampton Court, the intention was to conserve the inherited Tudor interior. Such reverence for this chapel's aesthetics indicate its continuing value for the early Stuart court. This deference to Henrician models could also have influenced the ambitious recasting of the chapel at Greenwich. These two apparently divergent schemes are informative case studies, and will be examined as differing manifestations of a united aesthetic programme, whose aim was to draw the experience of royal chapels in different locations up to a consistent pitch of visual experience. Whilst works to Hampton Court were deferential, those at Greenwich will be examined with reference to the king's surveyor, Inigo Jones, and his potential role in this project. The Greenwich programme assimilated Tudor iconographic and heraldic precedents, and yet surpassed them by presenting the Stuart king as the apotheosis of his own religious policies.

¹⁵⁸ The scheme also involved decorative works to Whitehall (1621-22) and no work at Richmond is recorded. HKW, iv: 232. Thurley, 2002: 240.

Before considering Greenwich, the repairs carried out on Hampton Court's chapel must be examined. The Office of Works accounts for 1619-20 make clear their mandatory nature.

They began with:

taking down the [roof] over the Queenes and Kings Closette, and new working parte of the same making of partitions, bording and quartering upp the wall of the greate Chappell roofe ... taking upp six balls of the roofe of the Chappell, firming upp the rafters with deale boards and other such stuffe, putting in new purloins to every bay.¹⁵⁹

Such work indicates renewal and consolidation of the roof structure above the wooden vault, implying that this had either decayed or was showing signs of stress. This work continued in 1621, extending to the easternmost bay of the chapel, involving:

putting in of new purloines and rafters where the old were decayed, fixing the rafters which were suncke and boarding the sayd Bay all over with dealeboards, laying of the gutters and finishing the work about the sayd Roofe.¹⁶⁰

These extensive structural works imply continuing concerns over the chapel roof's condition. Importantly, there is no clear indication that any embellishment of the interior beneath was considered either necessary or desirable.¹⁶¹ Related to this campaign are payments to Thomas Joyner for "taking downe the battons and freizes in the King and Queene their Closette ... and for setting tem upp againe".¹⁶² This minimal disruption to the royal closets suggests that the appearance of the chapel, as extant, was too important to the Jacobean court to require additional embellishment. As such, the inherited Henrician aesthetic and its resonance were sufficient to preserve it unaltered.¹⁶³ Its *retardaire* environment, particularly associated with the Royal Supremacy, was preserved so as to declare its pedigree, rather than be diluted through redecoration. As discussed previously, this course of action might

¹⁵⁹ NA E351/3253.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Thurley, 2002: 240.

¹⁶² NA E351/3253.

¹⁶³ This apparent retention of the Tudor aesthetic is discussed in Thurley, 1993: 247.

have well been an acknowledgment of the accent of Henrician splendour which Hampton Court had preserved.¹⁶⁴ Likewise, the hypothesis that the Hampton Court conference was staged to consolidate the Stuart monarch by reference to his Tudor forebear gains circumstantial support.

The retention of the chapel without any marked alteration suggests that the same antiquarian reverence towards the inherited Tudor aesthetics informed the nature of the repairs. Instances of retention lacking clear ‘modernising’ intervention are all too easily dismissed in discussions of architecture in this period.¹⁶⁵ Within the wider process of enhancing royal chapels to demonstrate diplomacy and religious policy, the Hampton Court chapel appears to have served this purpose best by preserving its aesthetic pedigree. When exploring the intentions behind the intervention into the Tudor royal chapel at Greenwich, it must be remembered that inherited aesthetics were still relevant to Jacobean royal policy and identity.

The significant recasting of Greenwich Palace chapel began in 1623 and completed by 1625. The ambitions of this scheme warrant more discussion than that undertaken in Hampton Court’s chapel. Its coverage here will attempt to recreate the scheme’s visual elements, and emphasise that it was not ideologically different from the attitude shown to Hampton Court chapel. The possible involvement of Inigo Jones at Greenwich must also be examined, since it was the most conspicuous campaign of refurbishment undertaken on a royal chapel.

¹⁶⁴ Thurley, 2003: 112-13.

¹⁶⁵ Conservatism in architectural patronage of this period is discussed in Girouard, 2009.

Surviving visual sources from related projects are suggestive of his engagement at Greenwich chapel, a possibility entirely overlooked in recent monographs on Jones.¹⁶⁶

Furthermore, the scheme's iconographic message can be read as an adroit response to Tudor precedents, here reinterpreted and surpassed to celebrate the Stuart monarch's ideological persona within the religious sphere of the era.

The surviving works accounts are rewarding in their details of the extensive alterations. At one level they are a valuable record of how the regal decorum of royal chapels, previously experienced as temporary provisions, was made permanent. It is clear that the Greenwich chapel project made especial calls upon the skills of craftsmen, and so points to overall control by the royal surveyor.¹⁶⁷ The first phase repaired the interior plasterwork and patched the ceiling with hair and lime.¹⁶⁸ The framing of "rayles, ballisters and panels" may refer to a new Communion rail.¹⁶⁹ Probably installed at Andrewes's instigation, such rails were free from the Laudian associations which they later acquired.¹⁷⁰ The 1604 bay windows of the royal closets were replaced with a new structure called the "greate newe window".¹⁷¹ This was an elaborate face-lift for the royal closets, carved by Maximilian Colt, and comprising:

five columns upon pedestals, with pendants under them, with the Kinges armes over heade borne by two boyes, with two victories on each side of them.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁶ *e.g.* Worsley, 2007. Hart, 2011.

¹⁶⁷ Summerson, 1966: 63. HKW, iv: 117.

¹⁶⁸ NA E351/3257.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 198-205.

¹⁷¹ NA E351/3257.

¹⁷² *ibid.*

Between the columns were subdividing transoms and mullions above solid dado panels.¹⁷³ There were “five great pendants”, turned by John Hooke for 2s. 6d. each, and carved with “frutages”.¹⁷⁴ These are surely the same ones as mentioned above. The undulating profiles of the bay windows have been replaced with a new façade to frame the view from the royal closets. This new façade would appear to have been a gallery of five columns with a tympanum above bearing the royal arms with its attendant figures. However, the presence of five columns must mean that one stood on the central axis, implying that the façade’s design was determined by the dividing wall between the closets. Whilst recoverable only in an impressionistic sense, the royal closet’s new façade was the focal point of an all-encompassing scheme of redecoration.

The classical articulation of the new closet façade appears to have led to a complete recasting of Greenwich chapel’s interior. Payments to Colt for “three moulds of arms and antiques for the frieze about the chappell”¹⁷⁵ suggest that an extensive scheme of repeating patterns and heraldry was employed to unify the chapel’s interior. Whether this frieze was pre-existing or new is unclear, and it may have been the wall plate for the ceiling. So ornamented, it would act as a horizontal band to draw the chapel’s interior into visual unity with the closet’s new façade. Its ornamentation was undoubtedly similar to that of the “rounde works” recorded on the closet frieze.¹⁷⁶ These can be interpreted either as a guilloche pattern or a scrolling acanthus rinceau. It is not out of place to question if this actually amounts to the total redefinition of a royal chapel interior. However, through such combinations of heraldry and

¹⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ NA E351/3257.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.* It remains unclear whether this frieze was part of the entablature over the columns, or beneath their pedestals.

a classicising lexicon, these apparent innovations conform to the Henrician furnishings still surviving at Whitehall Palace chapel.¹⁷⁷ The embellishment of Greenwich chapel reflects an early seventeenth-century understanding that to make a chapel interior permanently “in royall sorte adorned”,¹⁷⁸ deference to inherited exemplars was an active factor in aesthetic considerations.

Other components of the scheme similarly appear to have respected the Tudor legacy within the royal chapels. The Greenwich project stands interpretation as an endorsement of existing aesthetic and iconographic formulae evidently still perceivable to the Stuart court. That its visual impact was conditioned by earlier examples is suggested by John Hooke’s prominent pendants. These could have emulated earlier Tudor models, such pendants being prominent amongst Henrician interiors (Figure 18). Rather than being garlands,¹⁷⁹ they might represent copies of existing pendants in the chapel ceiling.¹⁸⁰ In the same vein a royal arms carried by putti, rather than by heraldic supporters, could have been suggested by the prominent Tudor examples on either side of the antechapel door at Hampton Court.¹⁸¹ Whilst Inigo Jones included cartouches supported by putti in earlier designs,¹⁸² their use within a royal chapel could be perceived as an emulation of Tudor antecedents. Though the lack of visual evidence renders such conclusions speculative, the accounts suggest that concordance with the existing aesthetics of royal chapels influenced the refurbishment of Greenwich Palace chapel. The apparent interventions could therefore be seen as

¹⁷⁷ Discussed previously.

¹⁷⁸ C.B. i: 172.

¹⁷⁹ They are interpreted as such in HKW, iv: 117, though they do not appear to be related to the frieze.

¹⁸⁰ This remains hypothetical as the form of the ceiling is unknown.

¹⁸¹ Thurley, 2003: 37.

¹⁸² e.g. Jones’s preliminary design for the Whitehall Banqueting House. Harris & Higgott, 1990: 112-13.

reciprocating the inherited aesthetics of its Henrician antecedents, creating a unified aesthetic pitch at different locations.

Whilst this refurbishment can be seen as homage to Henrician models, certain aspects undoubtedly betray a seventeenth-century aesthetic taste. This was most obvious in the decoration of the chapel's interior with fictive architectural members, executed by the king's Sergeant Painter, John de Critz. The *King's Works* plausibly suggests that this illusionistic order supported an entablature and replicated the columns of the new façade.¹⁸³ This scheme brought the chapel's interior into a modulated architectonic unity, arranged with:

48 Antiques in the Chappell with fine gold and strewing them with fine blew
... and also new gilding and stewing with blew 48 pillarrsters, new painting,
gilding and writing Dieu et mon droit in the Cornish over the same
Antiques and Pillasters.¹⁸⁴

The painted order manipulates the transmutability of sculpted and fictive forms, both of which were harmonized through consistent polychromy. In emulation of the Hampton Court chapel ceiling, the royal motto appears upon the architectural elements; the only recorded textual component of the ensemble. Its inclusion brought the innovations into unity with the royal heraldry in other chapels. The capitals and pedestals were further "guilte with fine golde",¹⁸⁵ and the whole design populated with "sondry boyes painted in stone colour".¹⁸⁶ Nothing about the decoration of Greenwich chapel - "sondry works of architecture and diverse compartemontes and columns"¹⁸⁷ - suggests the repainting of an

¹⁸³ HKW, iv: 117.

¹⁸⁴ NA E351/3258.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*

existing scheme. Whilst comparative examples are known from Elizabeth's reign,¹⁸⁸ the presence and purpose of such a design within a royal chapel is without obvious precedent.

The *King's Works* persuasively interpret the accounts as referring here to a high position on the chapel's walls.¹⁸⁹ If so located, the scheme would draw the interior into visual unity with the closet façade, and could well have taken its cue from the longitudinal closets at Richmond Palace chapel.¹⁹⁰ The simulation of royal closets in a comparative position would suggest that the apparent novelty of such a design was conditioned by the same responsiveness to precedents that the Stuart court felt towards its Tudor forebears.

As is evident, the works accounts for Greenwich chapel present problems of interpretation, a fact the *King's Works* readily admits. The forty-eight pilasters have been interpreted as caryatids,¹⁹¹ by analogy with the later example offered by Jones's closet for the Catholic chapel at Somerset House.¹⁹² An alternative interpretation of this high number is that the fictive architecture used coupled pilasters, and more certainly the intercolumniation across the interior, responded to the existing fenestration.¹⁹³ If the order had been arranged with three pilasters on the wall surfaces, with four pilasters included within the reveals of the six side windows and the east window, the total of forty-eight can be easily reached. This

¹⁸⁸ e.g. in the Elizabethan Banqueting House at Whitehall. HKW, iv: 321.

¹⁸⁹ HKW, iv: 117-18.

¹⁹⁰ HKW, iv: 226-27. McCullough, 1998: 16-17.

¹⁹¹ HKW, iv: 117.

¹⁹² These are known from an engraving by Isaac Ware, dated to c.1731. Harris & Higgott, 1990: 198. The interpretation also seems to elide the separate references to "Antiques" and "Pillarsters".

¹⁹³ There is no evidence that the windows were altered or affected during the works to the interior. NA E 351/3258.

number was necessary to replicate the rhythm established by the closet façade and to integrate the chapel's interior in a logically architectonic way.

Further consideration of the chapel's basic form and fenestration enables other known components of the decorative scheme to be rearranged. There are the "tenne great figures, there drapereyes being guilt with fine golde and shadowed".¹⁹⁴ Such figures, painted to emulate statuary with gilded detailing, were placed above the architectural elements. The accounts make clear that these were a prominent component of the interior. Their significance is further indicated by the payment to de Critz in 1635-36 for repainting "a Prophett as big as life at the upper end of the Chapell".¹⁹⁵ This suggests a figure approximately six feet high. The total of ten figures would easily relate to the wall surfaces between the windows of the chapel, giving four on each of the lateral walls and two either side of the east window. As an entire ensemble, the arrangement of such figures in relation to architectural articulation suggests that Richmond Palace chapel offered the exemplar for these prophets. In place of saintly kings, the Stuart era placed figures of patriarchs, in an iconographic display arguably reflecting concerns for scriptural authority. Such an analogy between both chapels is consistent with the assimilatory process explored here as underpinning the conception and realisation of the Greenwich chapel interior. Whilst the whole initially appears as a radical reappraisal of royal chapels, transformed by a Stuart court from its Tudor form, the separate aspects of the interior can be understood as inherited elements of the preceding dynasty. As such, they mark a continuum with their antecedents, and perpetuate distinct visual elements within royal chapel interiors. This process stands

¹⁹⁴ NA E 351/3258.

¹⁹⁵ NA E 351/3269.

interpretation as a clear drive to homogenise the separate chapels to a unified aesthetic pitch,¹⁹⁶ and, furthermore, as an indication of the value of existing features within royal chapels.

No discussion of the architectural works at Greenwich Palace chapel could be complete without considering the possible involvement of Inigo Jones. As royal surveyor since 1615, the staple activity of his office was supervising works undertaken upon royal buildings.¹⁹⁷ His absence from the discussion so far is partly explained by the surviving accounts, which make no mention of his involvement at Greenwich. The historiographical trend has also favoured new structures, rather than works undertaken within existing buildings.¹⁹⁸ Whilst there must have been some deputising on site,¹⁹⁹ it seems implausible that the Greenwich project did not involve Jones at the level of design. Given the lack of associated drawings, Jones's studies for similar projects offer a valuable indication of its aesthetic note. The Jones who emerges here is one who absorbed the inherited models of the Henrician royal chapels and redeployed them to realise the ideological aims of his royal master.

To discern Jones's hand amidst the polychromatic opulence of Greenwich chapel might seem tenuous. This is partly conditioned by the surviving studies attributed to him, for the majority of his sketches focus upon rendering light and shade, not surface colour.²⁰⁰

However, a brilliant contrast is offered by Jones's study for a painted ceiling, dated to 1622-

¹⁹⁶ Thurley, 2002: 239-40.

¹⁹⁷ Summerson, 1963: 68.

¹⁹⁸ *e.g.* the Queen's House at Greenwich. Worsley, 2007: 54. Hart, 2011: 162-68.

¹⁹⁹ Summerson, 1963: 63.

²⁰⁰ Harris & Higgott, 1990: 177-89.

23, and therefore contemporaneous with the works to Greenwich chapel (Figure 19). This is associated with the reconstruction of the chapel closet at New Hall, Essex, for the Marquis of Buckingham.²⁰¹ The study depicts a wall plate and cornice, with the raised mouldings of the coffers above gilt, and the panels alternatively gilt and silvered. Central rosettes are gilt and cast shadows onto a blue ground. The articulation of the coffers by polychromy accords with the ornamentation at Greenwich. Whilst the exact purpose of this sketch has been questioned, it demonstrates Jones's responsiveness to an expectation that closet ceilings should be richly articulated.²⁰² The close correlation between these projects demonstrates a shared aesthetic preference for such polychromy. It implies that Jones exercised at least some control over the latter works. The New Hall example further implies that Jones could position his work within the expectations of contemporaneous taste, and that rich polychrome decoration within chapels was by no means excluded from his design practice.

Of direct relevance to the figures above the new closet façade at Greenwich chapel is Jones's study for an overmantel in the closet of the Queen's chapel at St James's Palace (Figure 20). This chapel was begun by royal order in 1623 to accommodate Catholic worship for the household of Prince Charles's never-to-be bride, the Spanish Infanta.²⁰³ Upon completion in 1625 it served the household of Henrietta Maria, and offers an insightful demonstration of the use of royal chapels as a testament to political and diplomatic policy. The aesthetic of St James's chapel has been interpreted as one of Italianate restraint, prior to Jones's assimilation of French sources in the 1630s.²⁰⁴ However, his study has clear affinities with the refurbished

²⁰¹ This identification is made in Harris & Higgott, 1990: 178, and revises one given in Summerson, 1966: 64.

²⁰² Whether this is a study for a new ceiling or merely a paintwork scheme for an existing structure is queried in Harris & Higgott, 1990: 178.

²⁰³ HKW, iv: 248-249.

²⁰⁴ Harris & Higgott, 1990: 184.

Greenwich chapel. Hitherto unacknowledged on the overmantel, and much reduced in scale, are figures repeated from the Greenwich closet's façade. The putti carrying a cartouche, framed by winged victories reclining with palm fronds, recalls exactly the arrangement at Greenwich, as given in the works accounts. This study therefore offers a valuable glance at this aspect of the Greenwich scheme, and as circumstantial evidence it would indicate Jones's involvement in the latter work.

It cannot be coincidental that such a figurative ensemble was being carved by Maximilian Colt for Greenwich chapel at the same time Jones sketched this design for a comparable location. Such figures reappear in Jones's designs of the 1630s for the west façade of Old St Paul's (Figure 21) and for a new pulpitum for Winchester Cathedral.²⁰⁵ The significance of this recurrence goes to the heart of Jones's work at Greenwich Palace chapel. This is why it has been necessary to examine the chapel's refurbishment in such detail. It was an astute manipulation of inherited precedents, drawn from within royal chapels, to present the Stuart monarch as the apotheosis of his religious policies through iconographic and architectural display. Where Montagu had his edition of James's *Workes* prefaced by a titlepage emulating a royal chapel (Figure 14), Jones went one step further by presenting the royal personage framed by an actual three-dimensional frontispiece within a royal chapel.

²⁰⁵ For Jones's work at Winchester, see Blakiston, 1978. Discussed in Chapter III.

How could the closet façade be read as an emblematic and allegorical display? The royal arms themselves are an obvious stamp of regal occupancy, comparable to their presence on cloths of estate.²⁰⁶ The victories with palm fronds obviously make an analogy with James's personal motto: *beati pacifici*. Drawn from the beatitudes, it was peculiarly apposite for the sovereign who united two kingdoms, thereby ending centuries of warfare.²⁰⁷ Also important to this association was the peace with Spain, achieved through diplomacy at the Somerset House conference in 1604. Where Montagu's titlepage personified *Pax* as an armoured figure trampling on weaponry, Jones's more classical erudition chose the winged victories of triumphal arches. The difference here is one of visualisation, not underlying message. The painted finish de Critz applied to these figures would have brought their symbolic attributes to the fore; the works accounts record them as: "the palms and garlands in their hands being silver and glassed with faire greene".²⁰⁸ With this underlying silvering, the garlands and fronds of peace and victory would stand out as especially lustrous, catching the eye by reflecting light within the chapel. The royal closet façade therefore presented the Stuart monarch within an allegorical framework to consolidate and trumpet the achievements of his reign. This conceit was undoubtedly made all the more potent by its location within a royal chapel, as can be demonstrated by considering the figures' double meaning.

²⁰⁶ Discussed previously.

²⁰⁷ Matthew, v: 9.

²⁰⁸ NA E351/3257.

Though read at one level as victories, within such a religious context it is also possible to read the figures as cherubim. This is suggested from the reappearance of similar figures elsewhere in Jones's designs in the 1630s, such as over the west door of Old St Pauls (Figure 21). Here, the figures stand reading as analogous to the cherubim within the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Solomon.²⁰⁹ Their place in the St Paul's design affirms a lineage of sanctity which passed from biblical architectural progenitors to the restored cathedral.²¹⁰ Over the Greenwich chapel closets, such figures can evoke similar reminiscences, for whilst it has been shown that James was identified with Constantine, a much more common association was made between the Stuart king and Solomon himself.²¹¹

The most poignant instance of this identification was made by John Williams, a sometime royal chaplain, in his sermon at James's funeral in 1625.²¹² The comparison between the dead king and his biblical forebear provided the *leitmotif* for Williams's oration. As is widely acknowledged, the architecture of Solomon's Temple was to prove a strong influence upon Jones's designs for Charles I's reconstruction of Whitehall Palace.²¹³ These later schemes offer some support for reading the victories as cherubim. Responding to seventeenth-century biblical scholarship,²¹⁴ one proposal for rebuilding Whitehall would place its royal chapel in an analogous position to the Temple's Holy of Holies.²¹⁵ James himself had emulated Solomon directly in his new royal chapel at Stirling Palace in 1596. Built for the christening of Prince Henry, its proportions and plan clearly derive from those of Solomon's

²⁰⁹ Hart, 2011: 149.

²¹⁰ This aspect is discussed in Chapter III. For Jones's work at St Paul's see Higgott, 2004: 171-90.

²¹¹ Parry, 1981: 31-32.

²¹² Williams, 1625.

²¹³ Strong, 1980: 55-63. Worsley, 2007: 1759-4. The designs are analysed in Whinney, 1946.

²¹⁴ Discussed in Strong, 1980: 59-61 & Hart, 2011: 102; 106.

²¹⁵ Worsley, 2007: 173.

Temple.²¹⁶ Within Greenwich Palace chapel, the closet façade therefore articulates the sanctity of kingship through analogy with biblical precedents, realising through its iconographic elements the persona of James as the latter-day Solomon and the bringer of peace.

The iconographic programme of Greenwich chapel also expresses the same allegorical message of the early Stuart court's greatest aesthetic achievement: Rubens's ceiling for the Banqueting House at Whitehall (Figure 22).²¹⁷ Though detailed examination of its message lies outside the present discussion, the two panels either side of the central oval likewise play on James's identification as Solomon. One depicts James in judgement over the disputed infant,²¹⁸ and the other enthroned in a niche framed by Solomonic columns.²¹⁹ Closer inspection reveals that the straightforward biblical iconography had been adapted to make the scenes portray the king's policy of peace and unification between his two kingdoms.²²⁰ It cannot be coincidental that the ceiling's programme was being devised at the same time as works were under way at Greenwich.²²¹ Whilst the means of realisation were divergent, the allegorical message of Rubens's ceiling and Greenwich Palace chapel was a consistent one. By framing the royal closet in this way, this refurbishment extends the potential of a royal chapel to present the monarch's identity through allegorical display. With reference to Montagu's titlepage, the Greenwich closet façade is a comparable frontispiece; one prefacing James's theological writings, the other framing the king himself. Such a conceit, maximising

²¹⁶ For a comprehensive discussion of this chapel, see Campbell & MacKechnie: 2011: 91-118.

²¹⁷ For a recent discussion of its iconography see Hart, 2011: 193-201.

²¹⁸ I Kings, iii: 16-28.

²¹⁹ *ibid.*: 195-97.

²²⁰ *ibid.*: 201.

²²¹ Palme, 1957: 77-80.

the royal presence within a royal chapel, undoubtedly served to support the religious policies pursued by James. It was idealist propaganda: the Stuart king would combine his attributes as peacemaker and, with Solomonic wisdom, bring into unity the separate Churches within his kingdoms.²²²

If the Greenwich project still appears to mark a radical departure from the respect shown to the Tudor aesthetics at Hampton Court, it can be argued that the scheme had clear Tudor precedents within royal chapels. The interplay between figurative iconography and architecture; the conspicuous presence of heraldry; the articulation through classical *all'antica* forms in a Gothic structure; all were still to be seen in royal chapels last refurbished by Henry VIII. Then the impetus had been to give visual affirmation to the Royal Supremacy. The Stuart recasting of Greenwich Palace chapel simply absorbed these prototypes and redeployed them to give visual expression to the religious policies of the 1620s. However, this was not the first time that royal chapels were drawn into the religious policies of the Stuart king. The precedent for their aesthetic embellishment in the 1620s lies in James's northern kingdom, in the earlier recreation of the royal chapel at Holyrood House.

²²² Discussed subsequently.

vii:- THE CHAPEL ROYAL AS EXPONENT OF ROYAL POLICY: A CALEDONIAN PROLOGUE

The beautifying of royal chapels in the 1620s represents their use in response to Jacobean political and religious policy. This campaign had a clear antecedent in the new royal chapel created in Scotland for James's 1617 visit. This was a visual parallel to the use of court sermons to indicate the royal will in matters of ecclesiastical policy.²²³ The new chapel created at Holyrood Palace has been aptly described by Peter McCullough as: "painstakingly choreographed to display the purported beauties of conformity with English hierarchy and ceremony".²²⁴ As part of the diplomatic 'choreography', the existing provisions for Presbyterian worship at Holyrood were swept away. Understandable emphasis has been placed upon the Scottish response to the creation of an English royal chapel, with attention focusing upon contested figurative embellishments.²²⁵ What has been little discussed is the extraordinary insight this process betrays into the early Stuart understanding of what constituted an English royal chapel. The transferral of the English model was deliberately used to declare James's religious policy for his northern kingdom; a policy in which Holyrood's royal chapel served as the *locus* for restoring the Scottish episcopacy. This is an 'English' royal chapel used as a diplomatic arena to make a clear association between the English liturgy and its ancillary furnishings. Its message was rendered all the more potent by its distinction from Presbyterian royal antecedents. Significantly, the 1617 visit was the first time the Chapel Royal as an institution had been given a newly-created architectural setting since the creation of a royal chapel at Windsor under Elizabeth forty-eight years before.²²⁶ It offers an unparalleled insight into how regal chapels were understood in the

²²³ McCullough, 1998: 127. This politicisation of preaching had Elizabethan precedents. *ibid.*: 59-70.

²²⁴ *ibid.*: 127.

²²⁵ MacKechnie: 2012: 28.

²²⁶ HKW, iii: 322. McCullough, 1998: 12-13.

period; how their forms were used to serve the ends of religious policy and define the monarch's own position. This regal 'back story' is of paramount importance when addressing *where* the use of royal chapels as expressions of the royal religious position came from.

Before 1617, the distinction between English and Scottish royal chapels was sharply marked. This difference is aptly demonstrated by the earlier refurbishment of Holyrood Palace chapel from 1583-84. It was repaired following a report by the royal Master of Works, Sir Robert Drummond.²²⁷ It stood on the south side of the Palace and was demolished in 1671.²²⁸ The arrangements itemised in Drummond's report include an:

honorabil saitt to be made to his hienes, togidder withe ane chachelar wall of tymmer withe ane trym powpeit and fformes and saittis encirclate rownd about as effeiris and without the chancelar wall certane formis.²²⁹

The repairs in the 1580s also record an existing "est gallerie".²³⁰ Against the Tudor splendours of Whitehall and Richmond Palace chapels, the impression created is one of minimalism. The prime visual components of Holyrood chapel's interior were the royal seat and the pulpit; around the latter were arranged fixed seats and forms, in a space partitioned by a pierced screen. However, Drummond's refurbishment was not perfunctory, for the itemised costs make clear it was substantial; the pulpit and king's seat alone cost one hundred marks.²³¹ In further contrast to the movable pulpits of the Elizabethan royal chapels, the Holyrood pulpit was a substantial item of furniture. Such divergence could well

²²⁷ Rogers, 1882: lxxxviii.

²²⁸ *ibid.*: xcv.

²²⁹ *ibid.*: xciv-xcv.

²³⁰ *ibid.*: xcv.

²³¹ *ibid.*: xciv.

suggest a differing emphasis on the role of sermons in the devotions of English and Scottish monarchs.²³²

Scotland's primary royal chapel at Stirling Castle had been reformed in 1571 by the Earl of Mar, who: "purgit of all monumentis of ydolatrie or vthiris thingis quhastsumeuir dedicate to superstitioun".²³³ This again contrasts sharply with English royal chapels, within which iconoclasm only occurred in the 1640s. The building of a new chapel at Stirling for Prince Henry's baptism in 1594 indicates that the earlier chapel was not maintained.²³⁴ The royal court's religious observance was also transferred to Holyrood in the interim.²³⁵

Drummond's straightforward accommodation for the chapel at Holyrood was devoid of liturgical enrichments and its atmosphere cannot but be read as tempered by reformed religious theology. This is the royal chapel as experienced by James prior to 1603, a model which he would so brazenly reject upon his Scottish visit in 1617.

Within the longer narrative of using English royal chapels to affirm royal religious policy, the refurbishing of Holyrood chapel in 1583-84 was not an arbitrary commission. It can be argued that this work reshaped a royal chapel in response to the monarch's new influence in Scotland's ecclesiastical affairs. To understand its significance, the preceding circumstances of the Scottish king's reign must be addressed. James's sense of a Protestant monarch had been instilled in him by his tutors George Buchanan and Peter Young.²³⁶ From Buchanan

²³² McCullough, 1998: 17-18.

²³³ Quoted in Rogers, 1882: lxxvi.

²³⁴ For this new chapel see MacKeckhnie & Campbell, 2011: 91-118.

²³⁵ Howard, 1995: 69.

²³⁶ Doelman, 2000: 13.

came humanist learning and the sanction of “elective monarchy”,²³⁷ a concept used to justify James’s rule during his minority, but against which he later rebelled. Unlike Elizabeth, James also had little influence over Scottish religious policy, which was controlled by Presbyterian clerics within the General Assembly. His role has been characterised by James Doelman as a: “passive pawn for competing factions”.²³⁸ This ultimately led to the Ruthven raid, when James was kidnapped from the custody of his kinsmen by a group of Presbyterian nobles, concerned that the young king’s commitment to the Reformed cause was being undermined by his favourite, the Earl of Lennox.²³⁹

After James regained his independence he consolidated his authority in 1584 with the Black Acts. These promulgations effectively secured James’s supremacy in ecclesiastical and temporal matters, securing for the first time a regal prerogative in shaping religious policy.²⁴⁰ The king then proceeded to call the General Assemblies, at which he himself appeared as the archetypal godly prince, a figure described in his own writings from the same decade.²⁴¹ James also actively participated in the debates, influencing their outcomes to accord with his own views.²⁴² These events not only provide the context for the 1580s’ refurbishment of Holyrood Palace chapel, but also mark an insightful parallel to James’s use of the English Chapel Royal as a forum for balancing theological opinions. These events during James’s reign as king of Scotland therefore offer an explanatory context for his later religious policies and, in particular, the use of royal chapels to support them.

²³⁷ *ibid.*

²³⁸ Doelman, 2000: 13.

²³⁹ Grub, 1861, ii: 207-209.

²⁴⁰ Grub, 1861, ii: 235. Doelman, 2000: 14.

²⁴¹ *ibid.*

²⁴² *ibid.*

It can be no coincidence that the royal chapel at Holyrood was refurbished during James's assertion of influence over the reformed Church in Scotland. This recreation used the royal chapel to embody and consolidate his newly-won position as an active agent in the shaping of religious policies. That the model of an English royal chapel was not adopted does not disprove this interpretation. Holyrood chapel's refurbishment was a response to the immediate circumstances of the 1580s, and indicates what a Presbyterian monarch deemed suitably decorous for his own chapel. The English model was not adopted because it was not relevant to the Scottish monarch's new situation. Within the longer narrative of recasting English royal chapels, the 1580s work at Holyrood marks the first articulation of a royal chapel to consolidate and demonstrate the monarch's place in the wider religious policies and legislation of Scotland. As such, the refurbishment of Holyrood is a necessary prologue to understanding the *raison d'être* for its second recreation as an English royal chapel in 1617. The same process of identification between royal chapel and the monarch's ecclesiastical policy was evidently being manipulated. Whilst radically divergent in their aesthetics, the successive refurbishments of Holyrood Palace chapel demonstrate the same consolidation of the king's religious policies within a royal chapel.

viii.- THE CHAPEL ROYAL AS EXPONENT OF ROYAL POLICY: HOLYROOD HOUSE CHAPEL

The endorsement of an English royal chapel at Holyrood in 1617 has long been recognised as one part of James I's ecclesiastical policy towards his northern kingdom. In so doing, James not only identified the liturgical and visual forms absorbed from the Tudors as exemplars for a royal chapel, but through its establishment in Scotland, identified the holistic experience of the Chapel Royal as an affirmation of his wider policy of ecclesiastical reform. Underlying this was a process of association, built upon the political foundations laid in the refurbishment of Holyrood chapel three decades before. By using the Chapel Royal to embody royal policy, it is arguable that James not only changed how the Chapel Royal was perceived in his kingdoms, but also how the institution saw itself in relation to the monarch's religious policy. In short, this process used the Chapel Royal as a visual barometer. Prior to examining the appearance of the recast Holyrood chapel, something must be said on James's intentions for reshaping the ecclesiastical landscape of Scotland.

James's English religious policies have long been recognised as demonstrating all that he had learned through asserting his authority in Scottish religious affairs prior to 1603.²⁴³ After 1603, his strained relationship with the General Assembly caused James to counter its influence by the gradual restoration of a Scottish episcopate.²⁴⁴ This would secure James's influence over temporal and spiritual estates, and his early experience of English episcopacy seems to have confirmed his confidence in bishops' abilities. As Fincham has noted, they had proved indispensable to the king by countering civil subversion and religious

²⁴³ Fincham & Lake, 1993: 29.

²⁴⁴ *ibid.*: 30.

radicalism.²⁴⁵ The sustained patronage of episcopacy and the appointment of its members to civil offices during James's reign was a process of royal enfranchisement, fostering mutual support between the monarch and the episcopate.²⁴⁶ Within the process of promotion and sustained patronage, the Scottish Chapel Royal acted as a forum for vetting potential members of the episcopate; the same use found for its English counterpart. A revitalised episcopal hierarchy was formally approved in 1610, and as McCullough has shown, the key members of this new bench had served as royal chaplains before their elevation to the Scottish sees.²⁴⁷ Therefore, prior to the appearance of an English royal chapel in Scotland, the Scottish Chapel Royal had provided a forum for the recruitment of the new episcopal hierarchy. This process clearly demonstrates the utility of the Chapel Royal as a political instrument for promoting James's religious policies, the successful promulgation of which would depend upon the restored Scottish bishops.

The refurbishment of Holyrood chapel must be read within the context of this royal policy which redefined the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. In short, James's intention was, as has been noted, to remould Scotland's ecclesiastical structure and its theology along English lines. The former was dealt with by the restoration of bishops, the latter by the Scottish Confession of Faith, which was passed by the General Assembly in 1616.²⁴⁸ These tenants of belief, summarised by Doelman as the: "restoration of certain important points of primitive order and ritual",²⁴⁹ betray the intellectual concerns for self-justification held by the English

²⁴⁵ Fincham, 1990: 36-37.

²⁴⁶ Foster, 1993: 141-43.

²⁴⁷ McCullough, 1998: 109.

²⁴⁸ Tyacke, 1987b: 228.

²⁴⁹ Grubb, 1861, ii: 305.

episcopate.²⁵⁰ James's 1617 Scottish visit therefore cemented the apparent triumph of his religious policies, embodied in the Five Articles of Perth, were belatedly passed only in 1618 after the king stepped in to support them.²⁵¹ With James's return came an English royal chapel, in apparent consolidation of his political success within the Scottish religious sphere.

The situation of 1617 is deftly represented on the titlepage to James I's *Workes*. As has been shown, this image redeployed the visual semiotics of a Henrician royal chapel to serve the ends of Stuart religious policy (Figure 14). Upon the entablature, the royal supporters of both kingdoms crouch on either side of Gothic tabernacles containing lamps. Given the immediate context outlined above, these cannot symbolise anything other than the respective Churches of England and Scotland. Such a reading is borne out by the astute use of heraldry, for the royal beasts on the left are arranged for England whilst those on the right appear as for Scotland. This is clear from the escutcheons borne by the unicorns: the dexter contains the crowned rose whilst the sinister displays the crowned thistle. As an embodiment of the Stuart king's wishes for his northern kingdom, the allegorical figures hammer home the royal position. Whilst Scotland extends the cornucopia of peaceful bounty, it is England which holds the cross and open book, carried by the winged and haloed figure of *Religio*. Given that this edition's pedigree lay with James Montagu, Dean of the English Chapel Royal and close confidant of James I, it seems highly likely that such an allegorical reading was intentional. From this microcosmic image of royal ecclesiastical policy, discussion can now turn to consider the larger refurbishment of Holyrood Palace chapel.

²⁵⁰ Discussed in Chapter II.

²⁵¹ Doelman, 2000: 15.

The appearance of Holyrood chapel when arranged for its first choral service on 17 May 1617 must be recovered from contemporary accounts. This discussion will explore the logistical process involved in this project, what was achieved, and how such a 'pre-fabricated' royal chapel might have been understood. These written sources preserve valuable indications of what a contemporaneous audience deemed appropriate for royal chapel designed along English lines. Orders to repair Holyrood Palace were issued by the Scottish Privy Council on 4 February 1617, for which a sizeable number of local masons and painters were recruited.²⁵² As regards the palace chapel, the Privy Council noted that James himself had:

gevin expres command and directioun for repairing of his Majesties chappell within ... Halirudhous with daskis, stallis, laftis, and other necessaries, in such decent and comelie forme and maner as is aggreable to his Majesties princely estaite.²⁵³

This offers a clear testimony to the king's direct involvement with the new chapel's appearance, and the Council members clearly understood such arrangements as being peculiarly regal in their significance. Furthermore, these provisions, at least in the official record, appear without the association of theological alignment. By extension, this questions whether the new Holyrood Palace chapel represented a distinctly "English Episcopal architecture",²⁵⁴ as Aonghnus MacKechnie has claimed. This direct association between architectural aesthetics and episcopal government is contestable as a misreading of the typology of Holyrood's new chapel.

²⁵² Quoted in Rogers, 1882: cxix-xx.

²⁵³ Register PCS, x: 593.

²⁵⁴ MacKechnie, 2012: 27.

To claim that the new Holyrood Palace chapel was built to an English episcopal pattern is to completely misread its significance within James's religious policies. As used by the visiting monarch, the chapel admittedly saw the performance of the English Prayer Book liturgy at which the English and Scottish bishops were present.²⁵⁵ It was a new royal chapel from which the new unity between both kingdoms, through a shared episcopal structure, was broadcast. However, in order to effectively achieve this as a realised goal of royal religious policy, the new Holyrood chapel needs must have been a *royal* chapel, not an *episcopal* one. The Scottish Privy Council clearly understood it as such, given their endorsement of James's own wishes.²⁵⁶ Though its creation clearly affirmed the place of the Scottish episcopate, and the hierarchical unity between it and the English Church, the new Holyrood chapel was not, in itself, intrinsically episcopal in nature. The new bishops were, after all, bound to serve the Stuart king, to whom they owed their positions. The necessity for it to realise a suitably regal, English aesthetic and arrangement is further demonstrated by the difficulties the Scottish Privy Council found as work proceeded.

Whilst the new chapel's physical structure was overseen by the Scottish Master of Works, James Murray,²⁵⁷ it soon became apparent that the creation of an English royal chapel was beyond Scottish capabilities. The Privy Council ruefully noted that: "this work could not be gotten so perfytlie and well done within this cuntrey as is requisite".²⁵⁸ The Deputy Treasurer, Sir Gideon Murray, turned to Nicholas Stone: "carvair, citienair of Lundone, for making, perfytyng, and upsetting of the said worke within the said chappell".²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ Grub, 1861, ii: 307. Rogers, 1882: cxxv.

²⁵⁶ Register PCS, x: 593.

²⁵⁷ MacKechnie, 2012: 27.

²⁵⁸ Register PCS, x: 593.

²⁵⁹ *ibid.*

The recourse to Stone suggests that the aesthetic of English royal chapels was recognised as distinct from what Scottish craftsmen were familiar with. Stone was one of the leading sculptors of his generation and no doubt deemed suitably experienced to undertake royal projects; he later worked on the Banqueting House at Whitehall.²⁶⁰ Stone's own notebook records the commission for Holyrood chapel:

Jully 1616 was I sent in to Scotland at Edenborrowe whar I undertook to do worke in the Kinges Chapell and for the Kinges Closet and the organ so much as cam to £450 of wenscot work the wich I parformed and hed my mony well payed and £50 was geven to drenk whar of I had £20 geven me by the Kings command.²⁶¹

Stone's account of being "well payed" is supported by the Treasury accounts for March 1617.

It records that Stone's work as consisted of: "Stall seattis worcht and enriched in all sortis with bases, fries, cornes, armes, figures, with fair daskis, befor the saidis".²⁶² The same account records the involvement of Matthew Goodrich, who undertook the painting and gilding of the chapel interior.²⁶³

Further insights into the aesthetics and logistics for the scheme are provided by a letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton. Writing from London on 7 December 1616, Chamberlain told of the "great preparations",²⁶⁴ that were in hand for Holyrood's chapel:

from hence, many things are sent, but especially a pair of organs that cost above £400, besides all manner of furniture for a Chapel, which Inigo Jones tells me he hath the charge of, with pictures of the Apostles, Faith, Hope and Charity, and such other religious representations; which how welcome they will be thither God knows.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ HKW, iv: 37.

²⁶¹ Notebook: 43.

²⁶² Quoted in Rogers, 1882: cxxii.

²⁶³ *ibid.* Register PCS, xi: 67.

²⁶⁴ Progresses James I, iii: 229.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*

This letter confirms that Jones was the aesthetic arbiter over the combined efforts of Stone and Goodrich, though no designs for the Holyrood scheme survive. To what degree Jones's refined manner accorded with James's expectations of the aesthetic qualities of an English royal chapel cannot now be determined. As with Jones's later rehabilitation of Greenwich Palace chapel, the end result necessitated an endorsement of visual elements which had become synonymous with royal chapels. If this process of identification between institution and its architectural setting has an origin in the reign of James I, it was surely crystallised during these preparations for Holyrood Palace's new chapel. It marked the occasion when the inherited Tudor arrangements of English royal chapels were drawn into Scotland to provide a familiar liturgical and aesthetic setting for the Chapel Royal. The process served as a demonstration of James's religious policies for his northern kingdom. The shift from his position in the 1580s was demonstrably manifest in the Holyrood chapel, created to affirm that the English and Scottish Churches has been brought into a new hierarchical accord.

The Treasury accounts make clear that the salient components of an English royal chapel had been replicated within the new Holyrood chapel. Stalls were arranged with desks in front and wainscot behind. The ensemble was articulated with classical architectural forms and enriched with heraldic and figurative carvings. The separate royal closet similarly emulates English exemplars by raising the monarch above the body of the chapel. Whether one single royal chapel provided a template for these furnishings, or whether the Holyrood project represented a generic *mélange* of elements, cannot now be ascertained. Certainly, the features Stone carved recall the known Henrician furnishings in Whitehall Palace chapel, but to claim this was his sole model for Holyrood is unsupportable. How far Stone modified his

seventeenth-century manner in conscious emulation of Tudor *all'antica* is also questionable. Such instances of deliberate *retardaire* are not unknown in the early seventeenth century, as is exemplified by later works to the stalls at King's College chapel, Cambridge.²⁶⁶ As Jones had overall control of the project, the final decisions on such matters undoubtedly rested in his hands.²⁶⁷

Such derivation would no doubt be obvious, if not expressly desirable, to James and the clergy accompanying him to Scotland in 1617. For the Chapel Royal to serve its political purpose, imitation rather than innovation would perhaps have tempered Stone's work in closely replicating existing exemplars. As has been repeatedly suggested, the titlepage to James's *Workes* might reflect the process of assimilation and redeployment which underscored the aesthetics of the recast Holyrood Palace chapel (Figure 14). Its impact stands reading as an experience to total immersion for the Scottish court into the experience of the English royal chapel.

That this totality was intentional is clear from the Treasury accounts, which list payments to: "Mr Dalam, organ maker, in consideratioun of his paines and travillis".²⁶⁸ This was undoubtedly Thomas Dallam, who immediately prior to working at Holyrood built an instrument for St. John's College, Oxford, a commission undertaken during William Laud's presidency.²⁶⁹ It would be convenient to ascribe such a lavish provision for musical

²⁶⁶ Pevsner, 1970: 108-109.

²⁶⁷ Progress James I, iii: 229.

²⁶⁸ Quoted in Rogers, 1882: cxxxv.

²⁶⁹ Dallam's career is given in Bicknell, 1996: 69-90.

accompaniment, and much else of the Holyrood ensemble, directly to Laud's role as royal chaplain from 1611, and to a general consolidation of choral music amongst cathedral and collegiate churches across the first decades of the century.²⁷⁰ Such an instrument would be indispensable to the performance of the liturgical offices in a manner consistent with English royal practice. *In tandem* with the sung offices and anthems, organs had been retained in royal chapels during Elizabeth's reign, as intermittent repairs demonstrate.²⁷¹ The provision of an organ further makes clear the commitment to recreate the environment of the English royal chapels, with all that was necessary to that end. Upon the inauguration of Holyrood Palace's new chapel, it would not only look, but also *sound* like its English exemplars. This was clearly not intended as the temporary transfer of an English model. It was expressly James's intention for choral offices to be performed daily; for which instruction the Chapel's dean, William Cowper, would be subsequently criticised for not enforcing after the king's departure.²⁷² These instructions suggest that the refurnished Holyrood chapel was no mere static affirmation of James's religious policies, but a continuing declaration of his royal prerogative, regardless of his personal absence.

It remains to be determined how this English royal chapel was received by the Scottish court. In this regard, one instance of consternation amongst Scottish officials is especially indicative, since it goes to the heart of attitudes to religious architecture in the early seventeenth century. Holyrood chapel's most notorious elements were grudgingly eschewed by James in deference to his Scottish subjects.²⁷³ These were the "pictures of the apostles ... and other

²⁷⁰ Grubb, 1861, ii: 307.

²⁷¹ e.g. repairs to the Richmond Palace chapel organ in 1590-91. HKW, iv: 230.

²⁷² Rogers, 1882: cxxvi-xxvii.

²⁷³ MacKechnie, 2012: 28.

such religious representations",²⁷⁴ over which Chamberlain had such reservations. Whilst the descriptions of their exact subject matter and position vary, these figures appear to have been sculpted in relief and ornamented the new stalls.²⁷⁵ In comparison with the Tudor precedents for such a figurative scheme, these carvings were most likely to have been placed within the wainscot behind the stalls. The itemised list in the Treasury account's payment to Stone appears to support this hypothesis.²⁷⁶ Whilst James acquiesced to his Scottish court's deep reservations over these figures, he chided them for permitting: "dieuels to be figured for ornament of your churches, but can not allow that the patriarchs and apostles should have like place".²⁷⁷ The face-saving justification was that as James notes, "the work could not be done so quickly in that kind as was first appointed",²⁷⁸ which has been shown to be the case. If Chamberlain was so acutely aware of their likely reception in Scotland, it is tempting to wonder whether James himself knew full well that they would be vexatious to Presbyterian sentiments. To force such a sequence of images upon the Scottish court, as part of an unmistakably English royal chapel, stands reading as a test of fidelity to the monarch's role over religious policies in both his northern and southern kingdoms. Though Stone appears to have received payment for them, their threatened inclusion could well have been a deliberate royal ploy to outrage his Scottish court's Presbyterian sensibilities.

²⁷⁴ Progresses James I, iii: 229.

²⁷⁵ Authors diversely record figures of the twelve apostles and four evangelists. Grub, 1861, ii: 325. Rogers, 1882: cxxii.

²⁷⁶ Quoted in Rogers, 1882: cxxii.

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*: cxxiii.

²⁷⁸ *ibid.*: cxxii.

The significance of this incident, however, brings into focus the wider issues of the early seventeenth century on the question of religious architecture. It was not the design, arrangements or liturgical provisions of Holyrood Palace's new chapel which aroused hostility. The manner of Stone's furnishings, whose elaboration must have been in marked contrast to their predecessors, is also passed by without apparent comment. The architecture of the new chapel, although largely overseen by James Murray, was in itself free from any specific associations open to censure. Excepting the carved figures, the entire ensemble was permissible as a realisation of the type of environment that would be decorous as the setting for royal court worship. These concerns for a regal aesthetic were clearly shared by those associated with royal chapels, as the statements from the Scottish Treasury accounts and the English Chapel Royal's *Cheque Books* indicate. The new Holyrood chapel was not in itself inherently tainted; it was specific objects within it which so outraged the sensibilities of the Scottish court. If this case can be taken as symptomatic, ecclesiastical architecture in this period can be read as free from theological association; these concerns lying more strongly with patronal status and what was perceived as appertaining to it. Such an understanding, as will be shown, is of paramount importance when addressing the associative pressures and connotations which gathered around the chapels of James's episcopal bench, and also the collegiate chapels over which they had definite influence.

Despite the figures' omission, the refurbished Holyrood chapel was the first demonstration of the Chapel Royal as both an institution through which James could exercise patronage to promote the future ranks of the episcopacy, and as a political instrument which testified to and consolidated his wider ecclesiastical policies. The process of replication also enabled the royal chapel, for the first time, to become identified with the specific policies of the monarch and to provide a forum within which the components of its English manifestation were adopted to demonstrate the monarch's position. These components were replicated so as to define, and inadvertently redefine, the material appearance of the Chapel Royal. This built upon a process begun in the 1580s, and one into which the model offered by English royal chapels were drawn. The same underlying recourse to architectural display appeared in the 1620s, suggesting a single controlling impetus stemming from James himself.

The 1617 Holyrood chapel therefore demonstrated that the Jacobean court perceived interdependence between the Chapel Royal as a liturgical apparatus and the physical environment within which it was experienced. The one could not convey the appropriate degree of deference in royal worship without the other. The lavish provisions for its rehabilitation in Scotland demonstrate James's consistent manipulation of the Chapel Royal as a diplomatic and political instrument for manifesting his religious policies. As such, James was repeating through the redefinition of his own chapel his consolidation of newly-won dominance over the Presbyterian Church during the 1580s. The same process, which first refurbished Holyrood chapel, was repeated in 1617 to demonstrate his new position in relation to the Church of England, and his wider policy of bringing the Scottish Church into closer conformity with it. The 1617 visit is therefore of fundamental importance for

understanding early Stuart comprehension of the ability of the royal chapels' architecture and their institution to demonstrate associations beyond regal aesthetic decorum. In acquiescing to James's political deployment of the English royal chapel *in toto*, the very act of transplanting the institution and its aesthetic environment can be interpreted as a formative process in itself. Whilst the inseparable association between the institution and its liturgical environment appears clear, events of 1617 perhaps mark a fundamental moment in the origins of this phenomenon of transference outlined at the opening of this chapter. The creation of an English royal chapel at Holyrood was clearly a response to the immediate religious policies of James I. In this process of transference, perhaps the salient components of what constituted the Chapel Royal were brought to the fore so as to make the institution and its chaplains much more aware of what defined them.

ix:- THE ROYAL CHAPELS IN EARLY STUART ENGLAND: CONCLUSION

The royal chapels in early modern England show a clear pattern of visual re-articulation to demonstrate royal religious policy. This practice has been traced from the refurbishment of the English royal chapels in the 1620s back to the advent of the Chapel Royal's arrival at Holyrood in 1617. Both instances demonstrate the deliberate re-assessment of the Stuart court's religious environment in order to consolidate and demonstrate current issues of religious policy, respectively on the occasion of Prince Charles's marriage to a Roman Catholic bride and in the attempts to bring the Scottish Church into greater accord with its English counterpart in matters of hierarchy and liturgy. That James himself instigated the use of a royal chapel to further the pursuit of these aims can be demonstrated by the hitherto overlooked precedent of the refurbishment of Holyrood chapel in 1583-84, an act which consolidated the Scottish king's new influence over the Presbyterian Assembly. This discussion has also recaptured something of the royal chapels' use by the early Stuart court, when the aesthetic was consciously enhanced so to appear suitably decorous for the sacramental events taking place within them. These provisions clearly show that the polarisation of the Chapel Royal between its successive deans is distortive, for the institution was maintained in a microcosmic equilibrium where chaplains of various theological persuasions were recruited. As such, James's treatment of the Chapel Royal can be seen as indicative of his policy towards the wider ecclesiastical situation in England. The institution, its ceremonial role and its setting can be understood as independent from any alignment with either sacramental Arminianism or stringent Calvinism. Its role as a decorous appurtenance to royal worship and as a political instrument clearly made this imperative. Significantly, the aesthetic marshalling and refurbishment of the English royal chapels can be seen as a process of aesthetic homogenisation which consciously assimilated visual elements

inherited from within the existing Tudor royal chapels, and redeployed them so as to perpetuate the pedigree and identity of the royal chapels as an institution. As a result of James's deliberate use of the royal chapels as a visual attestation of his religious policies, the association between the institution of the Chapel Royal and its aesthetic environment was brought into focus. Both were interdependent and inseparable components, as the 1617 Scottish visit demonstrates. Moreover, the visit provided the opportunity to translate the Chapel Royal's liturgical ceremonial and furnishings from inherited Tudor models in order to redefine an existing royal chapel. Arguably, the experience of this transferral process enabled royal chaplains, who became the next generation of prelates, to draw upon the example offered by the royal chapels as a means of consolidating and redefining their own episcopal chapels in the following decades. James I's manipulation of the experience of royal chapels can therefore be understood in part as providing the impetus for this phenomenon. The means by which this was effected, and the role such refurbished chapels played as exponents of changing ecclesiastical policy, will be examined in the case of episcopal chapels in the 1620s and 1630s. James I's manipulation of the experience of royal chapels can therefore be understood in part as providing the impetus for this phenomenon. In these cases, it was not the deliberate aping of precedents derived from royal chapels, but their value to the monarch's identity which served to consolidate the respective identities of seventeenth-century bishops. To return to Laud in 1637: the king's chapel certainly did not have "any Prerogative ... to disserve God in",²⁷⁹ since its erstwhile chaplains had disseminated its exemplary model through their own episcopal chapels, and on into those of the universities.

²⁷⁹ Wren, 1750: 15-16.

CHAPTER TWO

The Place and Significance of Episcopal Chapels in Early Stuart England



CHAPTER TWO

THE PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF EPISCOPAL CHAPELS IN EARLY STUART ENGLAND

i:-THE EPISCOPAL CHAPEL: INTRODUCTION

No more comprehensive image of the seventeenth-century episcopal chapel can be found than that given by their strongest detractor, William Prynne. These are his observations on the chapel of William Laud at Lambeth Palace, and his attempts at good housekeeping after moving in:

This Archbishop being ... intrusted with the care of Religion, who should of all other men be most vigilant against all Popish Idolatrous Innovations, even in his owne principle *Chappell at Lambeth*, (where many of the Nobility, Judges, Clergy, and persons of all sorts, as well strangers as Natives, usually resorted, and where most of our New Bishops were commonly Consecrated), should thus studiously and proseedly repaire, adore, and set up afresh those Idolatrous, Superstitious, Blasphemous Romish Pictures ... in open affront of our Laws, Homilies, Articles, Injunctions, Parliaments, Writers, to ... the infinite scandal of all sincere Protestants.¹

Prynne did not stint at half measures when presenting his case. Through his antipathy to Laud's repairs to his chapel windows emerges the significance of their location: Laud's "principle *Chappell*"² The indictment is as discerning as it is damning, for Prynne asserts the importance of Lambeth chapel as a *locus* to which episcopal identity was inextricably tied. Written after Laud's execution and the dismemberment of the hated episcopacy he came to embody, Prynne's comments encapsulate the hostile sentiments of the time. These have become the prism through which the entire early seventeenth century is seen. This chapter will use episcopal chapels to challenge these still prevalent associations and recover as far as possible the latter's immediate context and frames of reference. Specific examples will be

¹ Prynne, 1646: 61.

² *ibid.*

reconceptualised as an architectural type with specific connotations which were not only relevant to the reformed episcopacy, but to wider culture within the period.

Initially the episcopal chapel's emergence as a distinct architectural type must be set within the context of surviving episcopal residences within the topography of early modern London. Of the four examples selected for this investigation, two chapels survive (at Lambeth Palace and Ely House) and two are lost (Durham House and Winchester House). With the restored presence of bishops at James I's court, all four sites saw sustained use by early modern prelates. James's second Dean of the Chapel Royal, Lancelot Andrewes, occupied Ely and Winchester Houses respectively; Richard Neile patronised the Durham House Group at his Strand palace of the same name; and William Laud famously took possession of Lambeth Palace in September 1633. From examining the topographical presence of episcopal residences, discussion will consider their cultural associations and then address episcopal chapels themselves and the objects contained within them. Emphasis will be placed upon the emerging associations such episcopal houses gained in this period, and how such responses were actively embraced by bishops to consolidate their identity. This will be shown, *in tandem* with their mediaeval architecture, to have been absorbed into the reformed episcopacy's identity. This absorption will be actively demonstrated through new architectural projects. The use of surviving houses for diplomatic retinues will also be examined for the valuable light it sheds upon the unsettling response this caused to contemporaries, especially in regard to the architectural setting of worship. With such a cultural background established, the significance of episcopal chapels within the ideological climate of the early modern episcopate can be addressed. What emerges is the underlying

importance of such chapels' distinctive identity as the guarantors of episcopal identity, bound up with pedigree and precedent. Episcopal chapels emerge as the setting for affirmations of the reformed English Church's institutional identity. For Lancelot Andrewes, Ely House Chapel was the setting of his recovery of Primitive Christian practices. In a similar case, the armorial bearings in the glass at Lambeth vindicated the actions of William Laud. That such identification was not conditioned by a bishop's theological position can be demonstrated through the singular case of George Abbot. This Calvinist archbishop's architectural patronage confirms his archiepiscopal identity and offers an unexpected comment upon chapel architecture and decorous richness. To understand the significance of episcopal chapels to early modern bishops, we must first determine whether these prelates actively identified with the cultural role propagated to support them.

As a result of these examinations, a new synthetic context emerges for the early seventeenth century. The sharp distinctions of theology dissipate amongst the shared expectations and connotations of architectural types, informed by immediate experiences of inherited buildings. Within the latter, episcopal chapels stand out as a formative arena which reinforces the associative understanding of architecture within this period. Having recovered the wider and the immediate context within which such chapels were placed, a fresh examination can be made of Laud's renovation at Lambeth. This was the act which exasperated Prynne to such acerbic lengths. Whilst some of the conclusions reached are speculative and inferred from circumstance, this investigation seeks to let the inherited architecture of episcopal houses speak for itself.

ii: - THE WIDER CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT: HOSPITALITY AND DIPLOMACY

The place of bishops' chapels within the topography of early modern London first merits consideration. Chapels attached to episcopal residences were often prominent, and by the reign of James I, bishops' houses themselves had become a distinctive architectural type within the urban environment. This was caused by the sustained campaign, beginning in the 1530s, of alienating bishops' London residences.³ The pattern of confiscation and meagre compensation continued into the reign of Elizabeth, despite protestation from the bishops themselves.⁴ Some of the impetus for acquiring such a residence was not only its location, but the attached manor surrounding it. This is demonstrable from Winchester House, Southwark, which may have owed its retention by its See since its location was far from the Strand (Figure 23). As shown in Hollar's panoramic view, its interlocking and irregular courtyards are distinct from the regular symmetrical planning which characterised the larger houses of contemporaries.⁵ Surviving payments to the manor's bailiff, Robert Davison, throughout the first decades of the seventeenth century attest to the administration of much more than a solitary, if sizeable, house.⁶ Tenements in the expanding environs around the capital provided a constant source of revenue, which could in part be directed towards the maintenance of large mansions. The sustained appeal of such revenue is ably demonstrable in the fate of Winchester House. After the Restoration the House itself was turned into tenements, though the estate was eventually sold by the See only in 1783.⁷ Within the topography of London, the passing of episcopal houses into secular ownership has been

³ Heal, 1980: 113.

⁴ Hembry, 1987: 160-61.

⁵ Girouard, 2009: 78-80.

⁶ These payments survive in a fragmentary sequence from 1617-36.

⁷ The subdivisions are apparent in Brian Duppa's account of leases (HRO 11 M59/E2/155643). The division of the estate into lots is given in HRO 11M59/BP/E/B99.

noted for its symbolic indication of the episcopate's political decline.⁸ However, what remained constant was the Strand location for the residences of leading courtiers; a fact demonstrated by their sustained building programmes on sites previously occupied by episcopal houses.⁹ For such Elizabethan magnates as William Cecil, the location was expedient given his attachment to the Court and the government of the City of Westminster.¹⁰ Beyond these direct concerns, the distinctive manner of Cecil's building marked a departure from earlier precedents for large-scale London residences,¹¹ and arguably such distinctions marked out Cecil's identity within an urban *topos* previously under the sway of unreformed clerics.¹² The results of such a sustained programme of alienation effectively redefined the residential topography of the Strand, the new courtier houses serving as an architectural barometer of secular power.

By 1603, the result of the sustained depletion of episcopal residences around London arguably allowed the surviving houses to stand out as a distinct architectural type. This was apparent not only from their layout, but from their age, which would have been evident in contrast to such recent constructions as Cecil House. The depredation of bishops' houses was obvious to such chroniclers as John Stow, who described the ill-fated Rochester House: "by whome first erected, I do not now remember me to haue read, but well I wot the same of long time hath not beene frequented by any Bishoppe, and lyeth ruinous for lacke of reparations".¹³ For those like Winchester House that survived, it is possible that shared

⁸ Heal, 1980: 113-14.

⁹ Emery, 2006: 231.

¹⁰ Husselby & Henderson, 2002: 161.

¹¹ *ibid.*: 186.

¹² The house was built over the rectory of St Clement Danes. *ibid.*: 163-65.

¹³ Survey, i: 65.

salient features allowed them to become an identifiable residential type. Such associations are addressed in John Schofield's study of domestic architecture's social presence in the early modern capital.¹⁴ In discussing the experience of urban topography, he emphasises the significance of classification: "distinctive building-types for different groups in society".¹⁵ It is suggested here that by the seventeenth century surviving episcopal residences, such as Winchester House, had emerged as a distinct and antiquated building type. It was this process of identification which enabled the surviving fabrics to attest to the identity and pedigree of the reformed English episcopacy. Such power of association is of paramount significance in recovering the immediate context within which such residences, and the chapels within them, were experienced in this period.

Any attempt to recover the wider cultural parameters within which inherited architecture was received must be speculative. The power of association in the context of episcopal households and their chapels can, however, be reconstructed from indirect commentaries upon the experience of such buildings within this period. These also demonstrate that such categorisation could on occasion become blurred, but in ways which appear to emphasise the ecclesiastical distinctiveness of the buildings concerned. For direct evidence the chapel at Winchester House is a negligible example, despite its liturgical layout under Lancelot Andrewes ([Figure 24](#)).¹⁶ As identified by Martha Carlin, it was small in scale (approximately 36' × 18'), and as recorded by Hollar had but a slight presence within the main residential core.¹⁷ Its location at right angles to the presence chamber correlates with its position as

¹⁴ Schofield, 1994b: 188-206.

¹⁵ *ibid.*: 190.

¹⁶ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 83.

¹⁷ It has been dated as early as 1213-14. Carlin, 1985: 40.

given in the Parliamentary survey of the Winchester House, which places it on the east side of the inner court,¹⁸ and its scale and proportions generally agree with the groundplan acquired by William Laud.

A much clearer demonstration of the associational qualities that episcopal houses could acquire in this period is offered by Durham House. In this instance can be seen the identification of an episcopal residence as presenting a fusion of collegiate and ecclesiastical connotations. This was one of the few residences on the Strand which had been intermittently retained by its See.¹⁹ The arrangement of its buildings is indicated on a schematic plan made in 1626 (Figure 25). It faced the Strand with a sizable gatehouse, beyond which lay two courtyards separated by a wall. Durham House's chapel stood at the north end of the second court, parallel to the prominent hall and with a residential nucleus forming a river frontage.²⁰ The chapel is shown with three bays of generalised Y-traceried windows and a battlemented parapet. At once, the disposition of the separate elements around quadrangles, entered through a prominent gatehouse, stands out from the groundplans of more recent residences, and echoes the comparative layouts of collegiate architecture. In part this was due to the logistical necessity of accommodating a bishop's household retinue. However, this comparison with institutional architecture is not insignificant, as it suggests a fluidity when identifying building types in this period. It is therefore highly significant that Durham House served as the *locus* for meetings of churchmen during the period 1617-28,²¹ when Richard Neile was Bishop of Durham. These

¹⁸ HRO Copy/766/1/2.

¹⁹ It had been given to the Crown in 1536. Schofield, 1994a: 212.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ For Neile's career see Foster, 1976: 33-54.

gatherings were composed of like-minded individuals who have been characterised as opponents to the existing Calvinist orthodoxy.²² Members of the 'Durham House Group' went on to hold high offices, and their period under Neile's patronage served as a crucible for forming the theological gravitation away from Calvinism which emerged in the reign of Charles I. Their presence at Durham House is given in overview by Heylyn's oft-quoted account:

[Neile's] palace of Durham House in the Strand, not only ... afforded him convenient room for his own retinue, but because it was large enough to allow sufficient quarters for Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, and Laud, dean of Gloucester, which he [Laud] enjoyed when Bishop of St Davids also. Some other quarters were reserved ... for such learned men of his acquaintance as came from time to time to attend upon him [Neile], insomuch as it passed commonly by the name of Durham College.²³

Through keeping an effective 'open house' Neile undoubtedly confirmed the expectations for a bishop to act as a patron of hospitality and learning.²⁴ Whilst meant in jest, the title of Durham College can be understood not merely in terms of the Group's deliberations, but also as a reflection upon the architectural environment around them. In effect, Durham House looked like a college not merely because it was habitually frequented by clerics and theologians, but because its salient architectural elements actively reinforced this association.

A similar association occurs later in connection with the hall of Durham House. As is evidenced in John Norden's description, it was a building still appreciable to Elizabethan observer: "the Hall is stately and high, supported with lofty marble pillars. It standeth upon the Thames very pleasantly".²⁵ From the testimony of John Stow its construction has been

²² Tyacke, 1987b: 106-24.

²³ Heylyn, 1668: 69.

²⁴ This significance of hospitality will be considered subsequently.

²⁵ Given in the introduction to *Speculi Britanniae Pars* (London, 1592). Quoted in Schofield, 1994a: 212.

associated with Bishop Anthony Bek (1285-1310),²⁶ and a possible model for its appearance has been found in the earlier hall at Winchester Castle.²⁷ The Durham House hall was therefore longitudinal and comprised a central vessel bordered by aisles. That this hall was identified as distinctively ecclesiastical in its appearance is suggested by a petition from the nearby parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields.²⁸ In 1625, the parishioners petitioned to convert the hall of Durham House into their parish church. Despite recent extensions, the existing church was proving too small for the expanding congregation. The petition was unsuccessful, and some of the strain on St Martin's was finally alleviated by the construction of the Broadway Chapel as a chapel of ease to the adjacent parish of St Margaret's, Westminster.²⁹ The resulting cruciform building bore no direct relationship to the hall of Durham House. However, the significance of its cruciform groundplan as an imitation of Early Christian precedents, coupled with traceried windows, demonstrates the associative power of architectural forms in the period.³⁰ What may underlie this petition is an identification of Durham House hall as a building already appropriate for an ecclesiastical function. It is argued here that the petition was made in conscious recognition not just of the latter, but also the suitability of the hall's architecture as a setting for public worship. Such identification indicates the assimilation of inherited buildings and their salient features into the wider cultural experience of architecture. The mediaeval function of the hall has clearly been disregarded in favour of its appeal to seventeenth-century notions of ecclesiastical architecture; an identification doubly significant for a period which saw extensive renovations of the City of London's churches.³¹ It is indicative that established Protestant

²⁶ Survey, ii: 90.

²⁷ Schofield, 1994a: 212.

²⁸ CSPD Charles I, i: 525.

²⁹ Built 1635-39. For the significance of its design see Guillery, 2005: 72-81.

³⁰ *ibid.*: 80-82.

³¹ Merritt, 1998: 935-60.

religion had synthetically assimilated the architectural environment inherited from the preceding era without qualm or compromise; this was an assimilation from which episcopal chapels were by no means immune.

Whilst this associative power of architectural forms can be claimed for the vestrymen of St Martin-in-the-Fields, can the same be said for members of the episcopate themselves?

Architectural evidence to support this in relation to Durham House emerges after the Restoration, in John Cosin's reconstruction of Bishop Auckland Castle.³² The focal point of this project was the conversion of the mediaeval great hall into an episcopal chapel,³³ and its significance as a reassertion of pre-Civil War ecclesiastical policy has long been recognised.³⁴

The castle's original chapel had been demolished by Arthur Hazelrigg during the Commonwealth,³⁵ and the refurbished hall gained a new clerestory whilst its interior was divided into a stalled chapel and antechapel. It must be more than coincidence that Cosin, who had served as Neile's chaplain, was identified as a builder in his funeral sermon, following Neile's example:

he was a good imitator of his great Patron Bishop *Neile*, who in less than ten years did bestow upon the same (as I am informed) about seven thousand pounds, for indeed he was *Vir Architectonicus* [a patron of architecture].³⁶

Cosin had been a member of the Durham House Group, and he would therefore have had first-hand experience of Durham House during his formative apprenticeship. His penchant for mediaeval architectural forms marks him out, for no one patron of the period so merits

³² This campaign lasted from 1661-65.

³³ Surviving papers recording this project are published in Cosin, *Correspondence*, ii: 356-77.

³⁴ Ricketts, 2007: 150-51.

³⁵ Basire, 1673: 77-78.

³⁶ *ibid.*: 77.

the appellation 'Gothic Revivalist'. The inspiration for Cosin's ambitious reassertion of the episcopal chapel has never been traced, beyond the claim that the mason responsible was provided "a patterne, which is taken from the best built plaine chappell in London".³⁷ No obvious source presents itself amongst new buildings of the period, but it is suggested here that the great hall of Durham House offered Cosin the model for his conversion of the hall at Bishop Auckland.

Admittedly, the supporting evidence is circumstantial, but not unconnected to the associative awareness of episcopal architecture under investigation here. By the 1660s Durham House's hall could be termed a 'chapel' since it had been used by a Huguenot congregation during the Commonwealth.³⁸ Cosin was also attempting to recover Durham House from the estate of the Earl of Pembroke, to whom it had been leased in 1641 by Act of Parliament.³⁹ He noted that since payments had long lapsed according to the Act, Durham House should "from thenceforth ... revert unto the Bishops of Durham, as if that Act had never bin made ... which clause I was perswaded was on purpose inserted ... in hopes that in better times the See might recover its just rights".⁴⁰ Significantly, the halls at Durham House and Auckland Castle both had arcades of black 'marble' piers: a feature singled out for comment by Norden. This shared characteristic might well have appealed to the associative pattern of architectural patronage. If this hypothesis is correct, it indicates that Cosin's architectural patronage was deeply indebted to his experience of the inherited architecture of the episcopal household, as embodied by Durham House. By converting the Auckland great

³⁷ Raine, 1852: 85.

³⁸ Survey of London: St Martin-in-the-Fields II: The Strand (1937): 89-90.

³⁹ *ibid.*: 91.

⁴⁰ Cosin, Correspondence, ii: 149.

hall into an episcopal chapel, he attested to this informing influence, absorbed whilst he had been Neile's chaplain. This example further suggests that a distinctive episcopal style was present within the architectural consciousness of the seventeenth century. That this found expression in the creation of an episcopal chapel underlines the importance of such chapels to the reformed episcopate as guarantors of its identity.

Both Cosin's later building and the petition of St-Martin-in-the-Fields suggest that inherited episcopal buildings conveyed ecclesiastical connotations by their distinctive appearance. This was due in part to their fragmentary survival within the topography of early modern London, combined with the lack of sustained rebuilding of houses retained by their Sees. They were identifiable as a distinctive type of residential architecture. The latter was fluid but also distinct in its clear ecclesiastical associations, and as will be shown, such a wider cultural reception of episcopal houses was by no means antithetical to the way the reformed episcopate used their houses, and the chapels attached to them.

In the early seventeenth century one expectation of the episcopal household was that its owner promote and sustain hospitality. This was a social function which, like the houses themselves, had survived from the pre-Reformation period.⁴¹ The latter is also of great significance to recovering the immediate cultural context for episcopal London residences. A pattern of sustained social functions within inherited architectural spaces emerges here. By implication, this hypothesis of responsiveness to visual forms raises the question of

⁴¹ Heal, 1990: 223-56.

understanding the episcopal private chapel as a distinctive architectural type. If such a connection can be determined for one type of space and its usage within the episcopal household, can the same process of association be found for bishops' chapels? Felicity Heal's study of hospitality in early modern culture confirms that for the reformed episcopate, hospitality's "importance derives from its scriptural foundation, and from the knowledge that the clergy were in theory only custodians for the distribution of their wealth within their community".⁴² To identify bishops as custodians of wealth emphasises their non-dynastic succession; a crucial factor which further differentiates them and the rationale behind their patronage from secular counterparts.

Hospitality covered a wide range of social functions, from keeping an effective open house to almsgiving,⁴³ and is presented here as an intuitive social aspect to which the layout of episcopal residences conformed.⁴⁴ Through so doing, bishops themselves hoped to set an example for parochial clergy; a practice quickly showcased by the Elizabethan bishops under Matthew Parker.⁴⁵ As with the built fabric of the late-mediaeval episcopate, both the structures and their uses had continued into the early seventeenth century regardless of the religious upheavals of the preceding decades. If the four episcopal residences examined here had emerged as a distinctly *retardaire* architectural type, it would seem apposite that social conventions were maintained to reinforce the identity of bishops and the continuum of their authority. The role of munificent host also features amongst biographies of the

⁴² *ibid.*: 277.

⁴³ Its aspect as a means for diplomacy and fostering good relations is also significant. *ibid.*: 298.

⁴⁴ The impact of hospitality upon late fifteenth and early sixteenth century domestic architecture is examined in *ibid.*: 36-48.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*: 270-73.

episcopate. George Paule recorded Archbishop Whitgift's Christmastide feasting, when his great hall served several sittings to accommodate the influx of guests.⁴⁶ A similar emphasis occurs in Henry Isaacson's description of Andrewes as a host:

from the first time of his preferment (to means of any considerable value) ... he was ever Hospitable, and free in entertainment to all people of quality and worthy respect, especially to Schollars and Strangers; his Table being ever bountifully and neatly furnished with provisions and attendants answerable; to whom he committed the care of providing and expending in a plentiful yet orderly way.⁴⁷

Isaacson's account stands reading as more than hyperbole. It records the salient components of an ideal episcopal household in the early modern period; it represents the liberality of a generous patron, distributed through his household attendants to guests of suitable social or intellectual standing. The whole was undertaken within an architectural *locus* inherited from episcopal forebears and maintains a continuum with the social expectations of the episcopacy. This is confirmed by John Stow's account of episcopal houses. For Ely House he notes that "In this house for the large and commodious rooms thereof, diuers great and solemne feastes have beene kept".⁴⁸ Stow likewise records events at Durham House.⁴⁹ It is arguable that the prominent hall ranges paralleled the continuing expectation of hospitality into this period; the latter also accounting for the only gradual dissolution of the great hall within contemporary great house layouts.⁵⁰ This in turn reasserts the importance of inherited architectural settings and their perpetuated social function as part of the experience of domestic architecture within the early seventeenth century.

⁴⁶ Paule, 1612: 77.

⁴⁷ Isaacson, 1650: sig. **2v.

⁴⁸ Survey, ii: 36.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*: 99.

⁵⁰ Girouard, 2009: 74-75.

It is difficult to demonstrate the direct associations outlined here, dependant as they are upon pre-existing domestic spaces and patterns of use. This endurance of inherited conventions is often overlooked within existing architectural scholarship, which emphasises the role of newly commissioned architecture, so eclipsing the inherited elements of architectural experience.⁵¹ Built evidence indicating the association between episcopal identity and residences exists in the post-Restoration reconstruction of the great hall at Lambeth Palace (Figures 26 & 27).⁵² This was begun by the aged William Juxon. As the most senior surviving bishop from the pre-Civil War bench, his promotion to succeed Laud was an assertion of the continuing validity of the episcopal estate.⁵³ It is Juxon's seniority which is of value to the present argument. Having spent his formative years within the milieu of Oxford and cathedral posts,⁵⁴ his ambition to reassert the archiepiscopal rank through architectural patronage corroborates the associational expectations discussed previously. The new hall not only confirms the archbishop's role as a generous host, but does so through deliberate recourse to its lost predecessor.⁵⁵ This is clear from comparison to the sole known depiction of the mediaeval hall in Hollar's view from the Thames's north bank (Figure 28). However, it remains questionable as to whether the younger generation of bishops (as represented by Gilbert Sheldon) would have proceeded differently from Juxon's restorative programme. The only divergences between Juxon's hall and its predecessor are the new emphasis upon symmetry in its western façade and the classicising ornament on the external entablature. By imitating the earlier hall, and in as much as Juxon had a formative role in

⁵¹ A standard model of this 'progressive trajectory' for this period is Summerson, 1963: 50-59.

⁵² A detailed description of the hall is given in RCHM London: 84-85.

⁵³ Tyacke & Fincham, 2007: 307. Juxon was appointed archbishop in September 1660. Brian Quintrell, 'Juxon, William (*bap.1582, d.1663*)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.co/view/article/15179> (accessed 25 June 2009).

⁵⁴ Brian Quintrell, 'Juxon, William (*bap.1582, d.1663*)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.co/view/article/15179> (accessed 25 June 2009).

⁵⁵ This is argued against Tatton-Brown's interpretation of the design as departing from its predecessor. Tatton-Brown, 2000: 77.

these aesthetic considerations, it expresses an aspect of archiepiscopal identity through visual forms which testify to its patron's position.

Such visual references are made not only by the general profile of the hall, but also by the conspicuous use of traceried windows, in conjunction with the central lantern, hammerbeam roof and projecting bays at either end (Figure 26).⁵⁶ Traceried windows had been deployed by successive archbishops to demonstrate ecclesiastical connotations. To this pattern Juxon's patronage conforms.⁵⁷ These elements have often been presented as anachronistic and anomalous for a prestigious London building of the mid-seventeenth century.⁵⁸ However, they would not be so construed within the context of comparative halls built by the Inns of Court during the later sixteenth century.⁵⁹ Examples such as the halls at Gray's Inn (1556-60) and the Middle Temple (1562-70) ably demonstrate that the cultural resonance of a hammerbeam-roofed hall had not entirely passed from the experience of architecture by this period.⁶⁰ The relationship of Juxon's hall to these halls can be understood as a shared expectation by their separate patrons that the architectural *locus* of hospitality necessitated the creation of a hall of this type. Such a consistent model does more than demonstrate the practical logistics and traditional training of carpenters.⁶¹ It suggests that early modern patrons preferred to affirm established connotations and experiences for certain building types, rather than consistently adopt novel models offered by architectural treatises.⁶²

⁵⁶ The architect behind the design and construction is not recorded. *ibid.*

⁵⁷ This will be discussed subsequently in relation to archiepiscopal patronage under John Whitgift and George Abbot.

⁵⁸ Haslam, 1990: 77-78. Tatton-Brown, 2000: 77.

⁵⁹ The latter's topographical proximity to Lambeth may also be an influential factor.

⁶⁰ Further examples within the domestic and collegiate sphere are given in Girouard, 2009: 367-68.

⁶¹ *ibid.*: 376.

⁶² The role of the architectural treatise is discussed in Anderson, 1995.

The primary influence upon architectural commissioning here is associational experience not bookish erudition. Within these parameters, notions of stylistic exclusivity have little place above deference to architectural forms deployed as apposite for the building's function and its patronal pedigree.

The recreated "new old-fashioned hall" at Lambeth therefore throws valuable light onto the associational power and experience of architectural forms and buildings belonging to an episcopal household.⁶³ It is presented here as a built testament to the patronal influence of Juxon. The hall's apparent irresolution is arguably symptomatic of an architectural commission by a prelate who had far outlived his generation.⁶⁴ As such, Juxon offers a valuable view of the early seventeenth-century's informing principles for architectural engagement. The rebuilt Lambeth great hall is presented as a built testament to the associational resonances of architectural forms and their domestic and social function. These existed symbiotically and were integral to the identity of the episcopate, which had assimilated existing social conventions and perpetuated them. If the Lambeth hall can be taken as indicative of episcopal attitudes to architecture, its message is one strongly influenced by association and, as will be examined subsequently, it consciously uses visual forms already redolent of episcopal architecture and identity. By implication, the same responsiveness to the architecture of episcopal chapels is suggested for the period, the same audience responding to connotations and experience through immediate exposure to such structures.

⁶³ This famous appellation was made by Samuel Pepys, quoted in Tatton-Brown, 2000: 77.

⁶⁴ Brian Quintrell, 'Juxon, William (*bap.*1582, *d.*1663)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.co./view/article/15179> (accessed 25 June 2009).

With the immediate context of episcopal residences as the locations of hospitality, their temporary use by visiting ambassadors can be understood as a perverse means of asserting their hosts' generosity. Such appropriation occurred at both Ely and Durham houses during the successive marriage negotiations with Spain and France. The process suggests the continuing status of episcopal residences for accommodating prestigious diplomatic envoys. Furthermore, the use of their chapels by Catholic ambassadors and their retainers, as was the case in Ely House, directly relates to the issues under examination. Ely House itself had been alienated from its See by James I,⁶⁵ and served from 1619 as the accommodation of the Spanish ambassador, the Marquis of St Germain. From the works account for 1619-20, it is clear that substantial repairs were required, and these works for "the great Spaniard" were noted by Joseph Hall, when writing to Dudley Carleton on 22 September 1619.⁶⁶ An expenditure of £203 13s. 5d. is recorded for the first year, with works concentrating upon the kitchen, repairs to floorboards and the provision of "newe ledges in three greate rooms for hangings".⁶⁷ These works also included "making upp with deales some lights of windows broken in the roome under the chappell to make a storehouse of it",⁶⁸ indicating the perfunctory use of such chapel undercrofts in this period.⁶⁹ This campaign continued into 1620-21, with substantial repairs to the tiled roofs over the kitchen block and stables, and in "mending and sodering diverse faults and cracks in the Leades and gutters over the Ambassador's Lodgings, the gallerie, the chappell and the hall".⁷⁰ Repairs also involved "stopping of glasse in the chappell and in diverse other places about the house".⁷¹ This

⁶⁵ This act is frequently understood as demonstrating the low regard for Andrewes' successor at Ely, Nicholas Felton.

⁶⁶ CSPD James I, xi: 79.

⁶⁷ NA E351/3253.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ The undercroft of the chapel at Richmond Palace was likewise given over to amenities and storage. Parliamentary Survey: 78-79.

⁷⁰ NA E351/3254.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

year's campaign cost £67 14s. 2d., and suggests nothing extraordinary by way of aesthetic alteration to the parts of Ely House concerned. In 1622-23 the approach to the house was improved by the paving of the adjacent street and laying a path to the hall door.⁷² Upon entering the ambassadorial Ely House, the impression would not have been one of bareness, as these structural works were accompanied by sumptuously furnished apartments and a lavish reception.⁷³ Such outlay attests to the logistical ability of Ely House to accommodate the ambassador's retinue. It also demonstrates the continuing status of this episcopal London residence for the Jacobean court's involvement in the sphere of international diplomacy.

Whilst such repairs might well be expected of a royal court entertaining an ambassador, the latter's use of the chapel became a point of religious contention. John Chamberlain's letter to Dudley Carleton of 30 October 1622 records that Mass for the Ambassador and his household would be celebrated within the episcopal chapel, bemoaning that: "it will disgrace religion to have mass publicly said in a bishop's chapel" (Figures 31 & 32).⁷⁴ After diplomatic relations had cooled in the summer of 1623, Chamberlain noted that St Germain still wished to lodge at Ely House, primarily in consideration of the English retainers amongst his retinue, who were attending Mass there.⁷⁵ These concerns over the celebration of Mass within an episcopal chapel is a valuably suggestive of how such chapels were perceived. Chamberlain's concerns suggest that more than the public spectacle of Mass, its celebration within an episcopal chapel is the actual point of contention. His comments reveal

⁷² NA E351/3255.

⁷³ CSPD James I, xi: 129.

⁷⁴ CSPD James I, xi: 88.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*: 623.

that such chapels had been wholly assimilated into the identity of the reformed episcopacy, and that they were an intrinsic part of the architectural expression of bishops' identities. The abrogation of this *status quo* for a Catholic ambassador is focused upon the *locus* where this is most acutely felt; within the setting of the reformed episcopacy's domestic worship. If such inherited buildings had been regarded either indifferently or as redolent of pre-Reformation practices, Chamberlain would surely not have reacted with such indignation.

A parallel instance of royal appropriation for diplomatic accommodation occurred when Durham House was allocated to the French Ambassador during the negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria. The works accounts record the minor expense of £12 12s. 3d. for:

fitting and repaying of Durham House in the Strond for an Abassador From France to bee lodged there viz in fitting and putting up Ledges for hangings round about the Dyning roome, and presence conteyning 240 foote in length, and bourding upp two Dore ways in the Lodginges, mending with paving tyles parte of the floore in the Vestry new matting with Bullrush matte the bedchamber, and the presence, and mending, and peeing the matts in sondry other rooms there.⁷⁶

It is clear that by the mid-1620s Durham House was maintained in markedly better condition than Ely House; a fact reflecting Richard Neile's use of his Strand mansion to host the Durham House Group.⁷⁷ Certainly, Neile was actively repairing the episcopal chapel at Bishop Auckland in 1621, work which he oversaw whilst resident at Durham House.⁷⁸ Such evidence might suggest that repairs to his London base had been completed, and that he was then focusing attention and revenue upon his northern estates. As at Ely House,

⁷⁶ NA E351/3259.

⁷⁷ Tyacke, 1987b: 106-24.

⁷⁸ Hodgson, 1919: 124.

contemporaneous accounts make clear that the episcopal chapel provided the setting for Catholic worship.⁷⁹ This again may be said to have gone against this chapel's resonances and validity within early seventeenth-century culture. Such an interpretation is supported by the popular fracas which occurred at Durham House on 26 February 1626 (Figure 25).⁸⁰ This was occasioned not by the ambassador's household itself, but rather by the "great libertie taken by divers of his [Charles's] Subjects ... hearing of Masse at Durham House, which as it is very scandalous ... and of ill example to be suffered".⁸¹ The account explicitly states that the Durham House chapel had been given over to the Ambassador for this purpose.⁸² It is suggested here that the setting of an episcopal chapel was no circumstantial detail in this event. Rather it acted as an architectural surrogate for protestant identity, threatened by the attendance at Mass of those from outside the diplomatic retinue. As an expedient of diplomacy, Durham House chapel had become a site of subversion, rather than an affirmation of the reformed episcopacy's pedigree.

These examples offered by Ely House and Durham House reveal the potential for episcopal chapels to become sites of religious contention, arising from diplomatic necessity. This is arguably a by-product of the continuing use of such residences for sizeable retinues after the Reformation, building upon their connotations of hospitality for the purposes of dynastic marriage and Court politics. What is also implicit in the chapels' use for Catholic worship, albeit for a finite period, is a perceptible lack of any correlation between religious divisions and stylistic forms. For the orthodox architectural interpretation, it is paradoxical that

⁷⁹ NA SP/77/78 f. 301v.

⁸⁰ An eyewitness account of this incident survives in *ibid.* f. 300r-303v.

⁸¹ *ibid.* f. 300r.

⁸² *ibid.* f. 301v.

successive ambassadors should experience Catholic worship in mediaeval settings, whilst Inigo Jones's unabashedly classical chapel was under erection at St James's Palace, as a direct result of on-going negotiations (Figure 33).⁸³ It is possible to see this allocation of existing episcopal chapels as something more than an arbitrary exercise in logistics, for as has been emphasised here, their architectural significance did not go unacknowledged. By implication, their use makes an insightful commentary upon Jones's design and the intentions underlying it.

Recent commentators have argued that Jones's design shows a Protestant astringency on its exterior to mask an opulently popish interior.⁸⁴ Alternatively, the St James's Palace chapel can be seen to demonstrate an international aesthetic harnessed to provide an apposite setting for a future royal consort.⁸⁵ Its regally decorous aesthetic is perhaps of greater significance than any demonstration through architectural forms of its Catholicism. For example, the often-cited Serlian east window, rather than representing a specific architectural *motif* carrying papal connotations,⁸⁶ has a more immediately reginal source in Elizabeth I's tomb. Seen within the context of appropriated episcopal chapels discussed previously, and compared to the example of Ely House, the importance of locations redolent of a sustained history of precedence, manifest within those buildings, is brought to the fore. Acknowledgment of these parameters of cultural expectation allows the connotations of religion and style in the early seventeenth century to be disregarded. Of greater bearing was the attitude towards inherited architecture, as demonstrated by the chapels of Ely House and

⁸³ The chapel is dated to 1623-26. Its interpretation as a Catholic structure is given in Hart, 2010: 23-26.

⁸⁴ Hart, 2011: 173-74.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*: 25.

⁸⁶ Worsley, 2007: 137-55.

Durham House. That they can feature in this account suggests that their cultural currency had endured unabated. Having set the episcopal chapel within the wider cultural and diplomatic spheres, its resonance and significance to the episcopate itself can be focused upon.

iii:- THE IMMEDIATE EPISCOPAL ENVIRONMENT: HERALDRY AND PROTESTANT ANTIQUARIANISM

Given the scant commentary upon the meaning and resonance of episcopal chapel architecture in this period, evidence for the latter must be gleaned from indirect sources. This approach does not seek to gloss over the absence of evidence about how such spaces were understood in the ways outlined in this argument. Exploring the intellectual climate of the episcopate offers a means of contextualising how episcopal chapels could come to embody connotations of antiquity and precedent. Admittedly, evidence to support this hypothesis is circumstantial, but it acknowledges the intellectual parameters which could condition the bishops' own experience of episcopal chapels. Arguments defending the reformed English Church habitually drew upon justification in the light of early Christian precedents, in answer to both Roman Catholic and Puritan criticisms. It is the origin of a reformed English confessional identity which is of paramount importance to placing episcopal chapels within the intellectual *schema* of the early modern episcopate, and their engagement with antiquarian research.

The involvement of bishops with antiquarian research in the post-Reformation period has a secure grounding, originating in the campaign instigated under Matthew Parker as patron of the first Society of Antiquaries, founded in 1572.⁸⁷ A collection of archivists, churchmen, heralds, linguists and theologians was created to form an erudite arsenal against detractions targeted at the religious and political *status quo*. Their research encompassed historical and patristic sources to demonstrate the independence of the Church in England and to show that it had been reformed to return it to a state comparable to the purity of the Early Christian Church. As has been outlined by recent commentators, the *modus operandi* for Parker's involvement with the Society and his amassing of historical manuscripts at Lambeth was to disclose: "Reformed tenets in the practices of the early church and in the decisions of its councils, medieval evidence for papal usurpation ... and early translations of scripture".⁸⁸ Such intellectual grounding could well be construed as of little relevance to the comprehension of episcopal domestic chapels in the period. Rather, this interest in precedent and antiquity was of fundamental importance to the reformed English Church. It not only suggest a responsiveness to elements of architectural display, but also to the liturgical practices within episcopal chapels. These aspects can be explored through commentaries upon the episcopal houses being considered, and by the actions of bishops themselves. With such intellectual parameters outlined, the ability for the architectural forms of episcopal chapels to be signifiers of the wider identity of the episcopal estate and the antiquity of the English Church can be examined. The first instances lie with those patrons (from avant-garde conformists to Laud himself) whose theological position would arguably make them more responsive to such concerns.

⁸⁷ Archbishop of Canterbury, 1559-75. Schuyler, 1946: 91.

⁸⁸ David J. Crankshaw & Alexandra Gillespie. 'Parker, Matthew (1504-1575)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.co/view/article/21327> (accessed 07/02/2010).

The importance of the private domestic chapel to the reformed episcopate is ably revealed by the singular case of Parker. Alone out of his fellow bishops, Parker was buried within the chapel at Lambeth beneath a marble slab. As Peter Sherlock's survey of episcopal burials in the period has shown, the reformed episcopate generally chose burial within parochial churches where they had a familial or patronal connection, and not within their domestic chapels.⁸⁹ Parker's burial is doubly famous due to his disinterment during the Commonwealth and his reburial under the tomb created by Gilbert Sheldon in the antechapel (Figure 29). The significance of the *locus* of burial was clearly not lost upon his successors, and it strikes at a fundamentally important part of the reformed episcopate's validity and identity. This was the continuum of authority through the act of episcopal consecration: an act always performed at this period within episcopal chapels.⁹⁰ The circumstances and legitimacy of Parker's consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury were hotly contested, since it had been undertaken as a compromise, given the refusal of surviving Marian bishops to participate and the uncertain legal status of the ordinal used for the ceremony.⁹¹ Regardless of their immediate forebears' allegiance to the Papacy, the sure succession of English episcopacy was of paramount importance. Parker's decision to be interred within the chapel at Lambeth, the *locus* where this succession was created, undoubtedly reflects this vital facet of the reformed episcopate's identity. By implication, it also draws attention to the architectural setting of consecration itself: the act and its location existing together as guarantors of legitimacy. The later fable that the consecration was performed in a Cheapside tavern surely underlines this point.⁹² Through his internment

⁸⁹ Sherlock, 2004: 654-80.

⁹⁰ Lambeth Palace chapel appears to have been used most often for this. Prynne, 1646: 61.

⁹¹ David J. Crankshaw & Alexandra Gillespie. 'Parker, Matthew (1504-1575)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.co/view/article/21327> (accessed 07/02/2010).

⁹² *ibid.*

Parker was in death making a posthumous justification of the reformed bishops' validity as successors to Early Christian bishops and ultimately to the apostles. Parker's burial at Lambeth serves to cement the continuum of authority within the very chapel which witnessed the creation of successive reformed bishops. Such claims of legitimate inheritance likewise influenced the understanding of episcopal architecture in the period, as can be shown.

The most obvious issues surrounding episcopal architecture in the early seventeenth century centred on patronage. This was apparent in the heraldry of successive patrons which provided direct evidence of the antiquity of episcopal buildings. Whilst there have been attempts to indicate the impact of the Reformation upon aspects of heraldic display, it is notable that the arms of Sees continued utterly unshaken by the wider ramifications of the Reformation.⁹³ The Virgin and Child remained on the arms of Lincoln and Salisbury, likewise Christ of the Apocalypse on those of Chichester, and even despite the vestment controversies of the Elizabethan period, Parker and his successors retained the pallium of Canterbury upon their arms.⁹⁴ Similarly, within the forum of sepulchral monuments, heraldic display was indispensable to even the most astringently non-figural memorials, and was seen in the light of ancient Roman civic commemoration.⁹⁵ The citation of episcopal arms as supporting evidence of the antiquity of bishops' houses occurs clearly in John Stow's description of Ely House:

⁹³ This endurance is discussed in Aston, 1999.

⁹⁴ Parker's involvement in this dispute is discussed in Primus, 1960.

⁹⁵ Llewellyn, 2000: 223; 309-310.

Thomas Arundell Bishoppe of Elie beautifully builded of new his Pallace at Elie, and likewise his Mannors in diuers places, especially this in Oldborne, which he did not onely repaire, but rather new builded, and augmented it with a large Port, gate house, or front towards the street or high way: his armes are yet to bee discerned in the stone worke thereof.⁹⁶

The display of episcopal arms therefore demonstrates a continuous action of consolidation and display upon a site associated with earlier bishops. In Stow's description there is no apparent censure that Arundel acted in ways antithetical to sixteenth-century notions of reformed episcopal identity. As a lay commentator, Stow uses Arundel's arms as an attributive source, occurring upon the main façade in conjunction with the prime entrance in conformity with standard late-mediaeval practice. Stow's use of heraldry evidence is not dissimilar from that of heralds such as William Camden, both men having been patronised by Parker.⁹⁷ It is possible that Stow's description of Ely House as "beautifully builded" reflected not only his aesthetic appreciation of late-mediaeval architecture, but also his recognition of its decorous suitability for an episcopal residence in this period (Figures 31 & 32).⁹⁸ The continuing presence of arms on public display can be interpreted as testimony to the enduring presence of Arundel's successors at Ely House. The built fabric and the continuum of the episcopate have been assimilated into the reformed position without ambivalence. The pedigree of Ely House, and by implication the endurance of the episcopal estate, is literally built into its material fabric.

⁹⁶ Survey, ii: 35.

⁹⁷ David J. Crankshaw & Alexandra Gillespie. 'Parker, Matthew (1504-1575)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.co./view/article/21327> (accessed 07/02/2011).

⁹⁸ Survey, ii: 35.

There is clear evidence that the early seventeenth-century bishops used such heraldic evidence as a means of justifying their own actions. Perhaps such heraldry had no greater resonance than within the episcopal chapels themselves. This evidence can be gleaned from Laud's trial, and clearly demonstrates that existing heraldry within his own chapels vindicated his own repairs. Laud presents himself working within the permissible parameters of his episcopal forebears as much as within the architecture inherited from them. The evidence derives not from the famous repairs to the glazing scheme at Lambeth Palace chapel, but from that at Croydon, of which much less is recorded.⁹⁹ Laud stated that Adam Browne "who was trusted by me for all the work of the windows at Lambeth and Croydon":¹⁰⁰

says expressly on his oath ... 'he found a picture of God the Father in a window at Croydon, and Archbishop Cranmer's arms under it, and that he pulled it down'. So it appears this picture was there before my time; and continued there in so zealous an Archbishop's time as Cranmer was well known to be, and it was pulled down in my time.¹⁰¹

Laud here clearly uses his forebear's arms to exonerate himself from any charge of idolatry in the glazing at Croydon. The citation of Cranmer's arms reaffirms the continuing validity of heraldry as evidence of precedent and patronal pedigree. Within the setting of a bishop's chapel, it is presented as a vindication of continuum with Laud's archiepiscopal forebears, and a justification of his own actions.

⁹⁹ Laud's repairs at Lambeth are discussed subsequently.

¹⁰⁰ Laud, *Works*, iv: 209.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

Laud was similarly responsive to heraldry's use to affirm the continuation of archiepiscopal succession at Lambeth Palace, demonstrated through the display of his own arms. Through their media and location, Laud respected established visual precedents. Whilst undertaking repairs to the chapel, Richard Butler's bill also records that in the great hall he charged: "for the Kings Armes and my Lord grace's in the great Windows att the upper end Glasse 15 foote ½ att 6s. a foote: £4 13s."¹⁰² Laud also displayed his arms in a conspicuous position over the western door to the chapel, which from the surviving accounts were perhaps installed to mark the completion of the chapel's refurbishment (Figure 29). A bill from November 1635 records: "Imprimed his grace's armses with gilding over the Chappell dore: £2 3s."¹⁰³ and it seems likely that this followed closely upon Laud setting them up.¹⁰⁴ In both instances Laud is demonstrating his place within the continuum of the archiepiscopate through the display of heraldry which consciously conforms to inherited precedents. This appears most emphatically in the arms inserted into the thirteenth-century west portal of Lambeth Palace chapel.¹⁰⁵ Laud has not only assimilated the inherited space of the chapel beyond into his own identity, but given its entrance additional emphasis and clarification at the point where its architecture was arguably most immediately experienced by visitors. The arms attest to the continuing significance of heraldry as the *sigillum* by which architectural forms, and the spaces they delineate, were made comprehensible. However, this is not to suggest that architectural forms and heraldic display were interchangeable. Rather, such heraldry allowed the antiquarian-attuned mind to assimilate the framing architecture into a *schema* of comprehensibility. The positioning of arms in

¹⁰² NA SP/16/288: 25.

¹⁰³ NA SP/16: 302.

¹⁰⁴ It is possibly that the current arms are part of Juxon's reconstruction of the chapel, if so they are a reinstatement of a Laudian feature.

¹⁰⁵ In this regard, it should be noted that the arms, in keeping in contemporaneous practice, are never stylistically anachronised but use a contemporaneous cartouche profile.

conjunction with architectural members, either between the mullions of the great hall windows or in the quatrefoil over the chapel doorway, perpetuated earlier practices, implying at least a response to such features as the sites for armorial display. The Lambeth arms serve as a microcosm, as much as a frontispiece, for Laud's understanding of the chapel beyond and his repairs undertaken within it. The visual elements, centuries apart, should perhaps be viewed as an affirmation of continuity; Laud metaphorically set himself within the parameters inherited from his archiepiscopal predecessors.

iv:-PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY AND 'PASTOR BONUS': THE CASE OF LANCELOT ANDREWES

A further extension of the interest in antiquarian researches amongst Jacobean bishops is offered by Lancelot Andrewes. Despite his presentation as a proponent of avant-garde conformity against the dominance of orthodox Calvinism,¹⁰⁶ it is clear from his writings that he endorsed the historical justifications for the English Church commenced by Parker. His own position on 'justification by antiquity' is given in his *Tortura Torti*, where writing against Catholic apologists he states:

Our religion you miscall modern sectarian opinions. I tell you if they are modern, they are not ours; our appeal is to antiquity - yea, even the most extreme antiquity. We do not innovate; it may be we *renovate* what was customary with those same ancients, but with you has disappeared in novelties.¹⁰⁷

Whilst the language of such theological controversies was reiterative and formulaic, there is little reason to believe that Andrewes was insincere when he made this claim. What emerges

¹⁰⁶ This in connexion with his Court sermons is discussed in Lake, 1991.

¹⁰⁷ *Tortura Torti* in Andrewes, Works, viii: 96. This translation is given in Welsby, 1958: 149.

strongly is an appeal to antiquity as the source for authority and precedent. As such, this sentiment is explored in the current argument as the intellectual basis for the often-celebrated liturgical practices of his own episcopal chapel, first at Ely House and finally at Winchester House (Figure 30). Whilst an examination of Andrewes's sources lies beyond the scope of this discussion, what is implicit within his liturgical practices is the value of his episcopal chapel itself. It is suggested here that such ceremonies were not experienced in isolation from their surroundings, and that they can be understood as responses to episcopal chapels serving as the *loci* for expected confirmation of a bishop's position. As inherited spaces redolent of episcopacy's antiquity, they must surely have seemed the most apposite stage for Andrewes's highly personal attempts to "*renovate* what was customary";¹⁰⁸ sentiments which parallel the wider responses to the repair of episcopal residences themselves.

Andrewes's own interest in antiquarian research is clear from his letter of November 1604, asking the Society of Antiquaries' secretary to confirm his election to the Society.¹⁰⁹ In the letter, Andrewes indicates his own pursuit of research:

you have vouchsafed me the favour, then you shall perceive well that I will not fail in obedience, though unless it be that I dare not promise, because I cannot perform aught else, for I learn every day more and more gladly.¹¹⁰

Previous commentators have registered surprise that Andrewes should have wished to join a Society whose members were primarily legal by profession, rather than clerical.¹¹¹ There is no peculiarity in Andrewes wishing to join the Antiquaries. Whilst the fields of their

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ The Society was disbanded in 1605 at the behest of James I. *ibid.*: 150.

¹¹⁰ Andrewes' letter is only known from *Archaeologica* i: xlii.

¹¹¹ Welsby, 1958: 85.

research were different, the securing of antiquarian precedents which informed contemporaneous practice was a common goal. This interest in such research has primarily been associated with a younger generation of churchmen, such as those who succeeded to the Chapter of Durham Cathedral in the 1620s.¹¹² Their investigations into the history of the foundation at Durham have previously been interpreted as afflicted by the sense of decay from past glories.¹¹³ However, they can be more constructively understood when seen in conjunction with the liturgical practices associated with John Cosin, as part of a programme renovating and reclaiming historical sources to consolidate Durham Cathedral's reformed identity.¹¹⁴ Likewise, it emerges that Andrewes's own antiquarian interests were not intellectual escapism but attempts to recover precedents which found their foremost expression within the setting of his domestic chapel. The architectural forms of the latter were therefore experienced in unison with recovered liturgical performances echoing early Christian precedents.

Contemporaneous accounts of Andrewes's own practices within his chapels indicate what could be witnessed within these spaces. The most laudatory occur in John Buckeridge's funeral sermon of 1626,¹¹⁵ and Henry Isaacson's account of Andrewes's piety. The latter is a significant record of the experience of episcopal domestic worship:

¹¹² Tyacke, 1987b: 118.

¹¹³ *ibid.*: 118-19.

¹¹⁴ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 117-18.

¹¹⁵ Buckeridge, 1634: 21.

His Chappell (in which he had monthly Communion) was so decently and reverently adorned, and God served their with so holy and reverend behaviour of himselfe and his Family (by his patterne) that the soules of many (that *obiter*) came thither in time of Divine Service) were very much elevated, and they stired up to the like reverend deportment: yea, some that had bin there, were so taken with it, that they desired to end their days in the Bishop of *Elyes* Chappell.¹¹⁶

This experience, very likely that of an eyewitness, can be broken down into component parts.

At first, the *locus* of worship is noticed for its visual arrangements, which frame the conduct of Andrewes himself. That the experience was efficacious is clear by the sustained attendance at such services, and its influence upon the congregations. This also suggests relatively free access to Andrewes's chapel, and so could be read as a spiritual parallel to the hospitality displayed by using the great hall. It is Isaacson's final statement on Ely House chapel which is of especial note. It suggests that the architectural setting of Andrewes's services was of great significance to their reception. That he should set this account within Ely House chapel, rather than Andrewes's more famous Winchester House chapel, is notable.¹¹⁷ Isaacson's choice becomes clear when the architectural setting is taken into account. Despite heavy restoration in the nineteenth century,¹¹⁸ Ely House chapel still possesses an elaborately articulated interior (Figure 31). Ascribed to William de Luda (†1298), like other episcopal chapels it was raised over an undercroft.¹¹⁹ It had a much more assertive presence than the smaller Winchester House chapel. These aesthetic qualities perhaps not only served as the precedential parameters for Andrewes's domestic worship, but actively accentuated their impact upon congregations. The efficacious qualities of Andrewes's reverent services are therefore interwoven with the architectural setting within which they were witnessed.

¹¹⁶ Isaacson, 1650: sig. *3r-v.

¹¹⁷ Andrewes was Bishop of Ely 1609-19.

¹¹⁸ RCHM London: 44-45.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*: 192.

It is clear that such an associative capacity is circumstantial, and could be divergent from Andrewes's own rationale for his liturgical practices. That these were to be viewed as integral and decorous to their setting can be argued in the light of further observations upon them. Andrewes received congratulatory remarks upon his celebration of Communion from the leading international scholar and controversialist, Isaac Casaubon, a scholar who would clearly have recognised their debt to early Christian practices.¹²⁰ The same awareness of Andrewes's liturgical antiquarianism was made by William Twiss, in a disparaging letter to Joseph Mede of 20 March 1636, in which the author claims that "I heard ... the practice of Bishop *Andrewes's* Chappel was that which first cast you upon such a way, so as from thence to observe the course and practice of Antiquity".¹²¹ Both sources therefore indicate that the rationale underlying Andrewes's practices was the recovery of liturgical forms known from Primitive Christianity. There is no evidence that this was deemed antithetical to the setting of a mediaeval episcopal chapel, or that Andrewes was attempting a chronological elision between separate historical eras.¹²² Rather, it confirms that such an architectural environment was apposite for the renovation of ancient practices which were integral to the identity of the reformed English Church. The *locus* of this appeal to antiquity is doubly significant, since it suggests that such a chapel bore the cultural connotations of antiquity and episcopal presence, which Andrewes reaffirmed to his contemporaries. What appears consistent here is a pattern by which the Jacobean episcopate conforms to the social and cultural expectations of their rank. This conformity is made all the more apparent by being witnessed and experienced within the architectural fabric built for the same pattern of conduct by their forebears.

¹²⁰ Welsby, 1958: 129.

¹²¹ Mede, 1664: 1038.

¹²² That Mede should focus deeply upon the architecture of the Temple of Solomon in his works perhaps affirmed the efficaciousness of the architectural setting here. Du Prey, 2000: 24-26.

Whilst the direct evidence for the correlation between episcopal chapels and Christian antiquity is circumstantial, evidence for this association exists within an object commissioned for use within an episcopal chapel. This is the Good Shepherd chalice at St John's College, Oxford (Figure 42). As a visual demonstration of how the early seventeenth century embodied patristic learning in visual form, it is worth examining in depth. The chalice, based upon mediaeval models, is distinct from the communion cups adopted at parochial level from the mid-sixteenth century.¹²³ The replacement of chalices by such cups makes distinct the association between doctrinal theology and apposite visual forms. The associated paten is engraved with a twelve-rayed star, and the chalice's bowl depicts the Good Shepherd. Some confusion exists over its provenance. Whilst frequently associated Laud's presidency of St John's, it does not appear in an inventory of College plate taken in 1618.¹²⁴ It has been dated to before 1620, though without any clear evidence, and its maker's mark remains unattributed.¹²⁵ The suggestion that the chalice was given to the college by the executors of Laud's will is not impossible, but highly unlikely given the political climate of the mid-1640s.¹²⁶ That this chalice can be taken as evidence of Laud's personal theological position on Communion during his presidency is therefore circumstantial.¹²⁷ This is demonstrated by the Communion cup he gave to Manningtree church, Essex, prior to his elevation to Canterbury (Figure 43).¹²⁸ Engraved with his arms impaling the See of London, it conforms to the standard reformed model by not emulating the chalice form. This example confirms the difficulty earlier scholarship found in securely attributing elements of

¹²³ Oman, 1957: 133-34. Tyacke & Fincham, 2007: 40-41.

¹²⁴ Tyacke, 1987b: 71, footnote 83.

¹²⁵ An FS monogram. Oman, 1957: 313.

¹²⁶ *ibid.* Laud bequeathed his "chapel plate, gilt or parcel gilt" and "all my chapel furniture" to St John's College. Laud, Works, iv: 442.

¹²⁷ Tyacke, 1987b: 71.

¹²⁸ V&A, Loan/Manningtree.1. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O109393/chalice-and-paten> (accessed 12/02/2011).

'Gothic revival' to Laud himself, in terms both of sacramental metalwork and architecture.¹²⁹

The evidence that Laud was influential in selecting this chalice form is circumstantial and his involvement is not self-evident from the chalice itself.

As noted, the engraving of this chalice closely accords to another chalice recorded amongst the altar furniture used by Andrewes in his chapel at Winchester House.¹³⁰ That this is one and the same object is borne out by its iconographical subject matter, which derives from metaphorical images in Andrewes's sermons.¹³¹ The parallel between spoken word and sacramental object is highly indicative of Andrewes's own associative powers to pull both facets of the experience of private prayer into a unity of precedential forms. They also indicate the conscious absorption of early Christian sources and antiquarian learning, which provide the framework of his theological stance and the informing principles behind the Good Shepherd chalice. Andrewes's sermon preached at Whitehall on Christmas Day 1620 testifies to his knowledge of precedents for the iconography of the star:

And in the old Ritual of the Church we find that on the cover of the canister, wherein was the Sacrament of His body, there was a star engraven, to shew us that now the star leads us thither, to His body there.¹³²

The significance of the Good Shepherd was also expounded in a sermon prepared for Easter Sunday 1625, in which Andrewes refers to the biblical precedent for the Good Shepherd, and claims: "That one sheep is the image of us all".¹³³ The former reference provides a plausible *terminus post quem* with which to date the chalice. Both statements testify to the informing

¹²⁹ Oman, 1957: 205. A similar chalice was however given to St John's College in 1641, also engraved with the Good Shepherd. *ibid.*: 313.

¹³⁰ Prynne, 1646: 121. Tyacke, 1987b: 71.

¹³¹ *ibid.*

¹³² Andrewes, Works, i: 247.

¹³³ Oman, 1957: 226. Andrewes, Works, iii: 89-90.

principles which underpin the chalice's rejection of the Communion cup model, in preference for a late-mediaeval type. Andrewes's own knowledge of earlier models of communion vessels and the iconography upon them suggests that his is the guiding intellect behind the design.

That the Good Shepherd chalice should have originated with Andrewes rather than Laud, and hypothetically be dated to 1620, is corroborated by an identical chalice whose provenance is recorded.¹³⁴ Andrewes performed the consecration ceremony for the newly built Jesus Chapel at Southampton on 17 September 1620, during which a collection was taken amounting to £4 12s. 6d.¹³⁵ At Andrewes's own suggestion the collection was converted into a chalice,¹³⁶ which whilst omitting the engraved iconography of the Good Shepherd, is in other respects identical to the chalice at St John's College.¹³⁷ That the chalice for a parochial use should adopt a late-mediaeval prototype is remarkable at such an early date. This event is significantly demonstrative of the transference of exemplars of religious practice, here embodied by a communion vessel, from the space of an episcopal chapel to a parochial church, a passage facilitated by a single patron. It was ultimately prophetic of the benefactions of similar chalices to parish churches throughout the 1630s. This later phenomenon indicates the patronage networks of munificent individuals.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ This is now in Winchester Cathedral treasury.

¹³⁵ Welsby, 1958: 130. VCH Hants iii: 298-99. This was founded as a chapel of ease to St Mary's, Southampton, and survives as St Mary Extra, in a much altered condition. Pevsner & Lloyd, 1967: 592-93.

¹³⁶ VCH Hants, iii: 299.

¹³⁷ Its maker's mark is an RB monogram over a star.

¹³⁸ A notable instance is the patronage of Lady Alice Dudley and her daughter Lady Frances Kniverton, who both gave several chalices of this type to churches in Warwickshire and Derbyshire in the late 1630s. Tyacke, 1987b: 219-20.

The chalice shares characteristics with a series of late fifteenth-century chalices, which anticipate the foot knops, the hexagonal stem and the overall proportions of the Good Shepherd chalice.¹³⁹ Whilst no exemplar can be identified, it is possible that a similar chalice was amongst the plate of the Chapel Royal, of which precious little is recorded prior to the Restoration.¹⁴⁰ Such a hypothesis would further indicate how informative the experience of the Chapel Royal was for its chaplains. That such an exemplar was adopted cannot be understood solely in terms of aesthetic preference, or as a somewhat vague liking for pre-Reformation plate. It is suggested here that such a form was adopted due to its connotations with Christian antiquity. Such a precedential interpretation would agree with Andrewes's theology and understanding of his own position as a prelate within the reformed Church. The connection was surely most apposite for a bishop, cast in the role of spiritual shepherd, or *pastor*, in analogy to the image's scriptural source.¹⁴¹ With such a precedent, the subject matter might further underline the continuum of episcopal authority, stretching back through episcopal succession to the apostles, and ultimately to Christ.

The chalice form could likewise be understood as an embodiment of the theological importance given in patristic writings to the sacrament of Communion. The presence of the Good Shepherd is the decisive element here. It is a subject utterly absent from mediaeval chalices.¹⁴² As has been noted by Charles Oman, Andrewes's source can be traced directly to

¹³⁹ Classified by Oman as Group VIII. Oman, 1957: 44-45.

¹⁴⁰ That a Restoration chalice amongst the Chapel Royal plate should adopt this form could indicate the presence of this hypothetical exemplar.

¹⁴¹ John x: 11.

¹⁴² It had reappeared only recently in religious works printed in England at the close of the sixteenth century. *ibid.*: 226.

Tertullian's *De Pudicitia*.¹⁴³ This early Christian author records the practice of portraying the Good Shepherd upon chalices: "*cui ille, si forte, patrocina bitur pastor quem in calice depingis, prostitutorem et ipsum Christiani sacramenti* [the shepherd depicted on the chalice]".¹⁴⁴

However, this source's significance has been entirely overlooked. The chalice is an emulation of the practices of the Primitive Church informed by available sources, it is an exercise in antiquarian reconstruction. The chalice shows that the forms of sacred vessels surviving from late-mediaeval England could be reworked as guarantors of precedents; the selection of this form becomes the *calix* of Tertullian. Such recourse to distinctly earlier objects was made through a desire to emulate the practices of the early Christian church and gave visual expression to the same drive behind theological arguments and liturgical practices likewise justified by patristic authors. The chalice in question demonstrates an identification with mediaeval religious forms, one born of their distance from the present and their endurance into it. It is difficult to argue that such an object articulates an ostensive 'Arminian' or even 'Laudian' style. More assuredly, it testifies to a direct application of Andrewes' antiquarian investigations and readings which provided him with the iconography displayed on the chalice and paten.¹⁴⁵

As the form needs to be comprehensible within the mental parameters of its patron, so too it needs equally to be understood as belonging within the environment in which it was seen. Working upon this premise, the Good Shepherd chalice can be interpreted as a direct commentary on the architectural environment of Andrewes' own chapel. As a

¹⁴³ *ibid.* Didron, 1851-86 i: 338. However, no works by Tertullian are recorded amongst Andrewes' bequest of books to the library of Pembroke Hall. Andrewes, Works, xi: cxiv-cxviii.

¹⁴⁴ Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, ch. x, 813-14.

¹⁴⁵ This interpretation based on the premise that the engraved elements are integral.

demonstration of his erudition of the Primitive Church's practices, the selection of late-mediaeval exemplars suggests conscious identification with the wider gamut of inherited forms.¹⁴⁶ The chalice was in unison with the parameters of Andrewes's liturgical practices; equally informed by precedents. Therefore both the ceremonial actions of worship and the communion vessels are a unified expression, one which reasserted the practices of early Christianity. The value in forms distinct by their antiquity for the early seventeenth century is clearly demonstrated by such an object. By inference, it raises the question as to whether the architectural environment within which it was seen and used was held in the same regard. The inherited architectural spaces of Winchester House and Ely House chapels had been used almost continually by successive bishops from the mid-fourteenth century. Whilst it is unlikely that each chapels' chronology was still known by Andrewes's time, it would not seem unlikely, given his demonstrable responsiveness to mediaeval visual forms for their antiquity, that they provided an antithetical or indifferent setting for episcopal worship.

The Good Shepherd chalice can therefore be understood as an indication of this connotation to Andrewes. This is not proposed as peculiar to him, but rather his mental parameters for liturgical performance were in some sense assured and harmonious within such inherited episcopal chapels. The sense in which this could be understood is one of architectural decorum; *i.e.* a degree of architectural presence apposite for the status and character of its patron. As has been demonstrated, the value of this was placed in inherited forms, redolent of precedents rather than of marked departures from them. There was no intentional

¹⁴⁶ Instances of the justifiable 'antiquity' of liturgical practices from the fifteenth century were cited by Laud at his trial. Laud, Works, iv: 206.

disjunction in Andrewes's mind between the aesthetic connotations drawn from his own experience and the actual forms of early Christianity. The chalice itself testifies to a resourceful awareness of assimilation and responsiveness to such exemplars, appropriated for their connotations of an antiquity which was sufficiently distinct from the forms of the recent past. This capacity for mediaeval forms to act as both testimony and invocatory of early Christian antiquity is of paramount importance in understanding not merely how episcopal patrons regarded their own private chapels, but also the wider cultural context which informed the aesthetic trajectory of ecclesiastical and institutional architecture for the early seventeenth century.¹⁴⁷ As will be demonstrated, this transcended questions of theological standpoint, which have so polarised understanding of religious art and architecture in the period. The same associations which germinated in the fertile shade of avant-garde conformists and Arminians, can equally be found within the supposedly arid climate of Calvinism.

¹⁴⁷ This significant influence will be discussed in reference to collegiate architecture in the following chapter.

v:- SHARED EPISCOPAL PARAMETERS: THE CASE OF GEORGE ABBOT

Defence of the reformed Church by its recovery of early Christian practice was not the preserve of any one theological position. Whilst such a claim was repeated it does not mean that successive authors were insincere. One typical example is George Abbot's 1604 defence of the English ecclesiastical *status quo* against its refutation in Thomas Hill's *A Quartrion of Reasons of Catholic Religion*.¹⁴⁸ Abbot's response attests that the Primitive Church's authority, embodied in its theological writings, was part of a continuum of that authority. He therefore argued that the reformed Church maintained Catholicism in matters of doctrine, which was ensured through successive authorities:

for we ioyne in consent for all material point of the substance of salvation, not only with our selves, but with all the faithfull and rightly believing, which have bin in the world, with the Patriarkes, the Prophets, the Apostles, *the Fathers of the Primitive Church*, and the Martyrs.¹⁴⁹

The same rhetorical device was used to explain that: "the Religion which was then and is now established in England, is drawne out of the fountains of the word of God, and from the purest orders of the Primitive church, which for the ordinaire exercise thereof ... had bin collected into the booke of common Praier".¹⁵⁰ This defence of the reformed English Church is a notable indication of Abbot's own theological position; one which Fincham has characterised as that of "an evangelical Calvinist, embracing the doctrine of double predestination".¹⁵¹ Abbot also defined the visible Church in terms of predestination as a further voicing of orthodox credentials,¹⁵² and he actively maintained the hegemony of Calvinism as Vice Chancellor of Oxford.¹⁵³ It is not insignificant that Abbot's posthumous

¹⁴⁸ Kenneth Fincham. 'Abbot, George (1562-1633)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4> (accessed 10/09/2010).

¹⁴⁹ Abbot, 1604: 106. My italics.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*: 104.

¹⁵¹ Kenneth Fincham. 'Abbot, George (1562-1633)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4> (accessed 10/09/2010).

¹⁵² Tyacke, 1987b: 153, footnote 159.

¹⁵³ Welsby, 1962: 21.

reputation as a Calvinist was contested by Hammond L'Estrange, who claimed he was: "stiffly principled in the doctrine of *St Augustine* in which they who understand it not, call *Calvinism*".¹⁵⁴ His theological colouring is justified by its patristic source, rather than by continental reformers of the previous century. The appeal to early Christian antiquity as the authoritative source of the early Stuart Church's identity is demonstrably endorsed by Abbot, without conflicting with his apparent Calvinism. This implies a shared awareness and responsiveness to the issues of pedigree across the theological spectrum of the episcopate in this period, rather than it being monopolised by any particular position on either doctrine or ceremonial practice.

The question remains whether Abbot made any connection between antiquity and ecclesiastical architecture as proposed here. His defence of the Book of Common Prayer for following early Christian practice is significant. Does this imply that the spaces within which its liturgy was performed bore the same connotations? It is suggested here that this was his position and that Abbot endorsed the values of pedigree and precedent which have largely been associated with avant-garde conformists and proto-Laudians.¹⁵⁵ The initial evidence for his attitude to the architectural setting of worship appears to be damning, confirming the established association between Calvinist theology and apathy towards the environment of prayer.¹⁵⁶ His chapel at Lambeth serves as his indictment. Testimonial evidence from Laud's trial presents Abbot as disinterested in the latter's appearance. Laud noted that Abbot's former chaplain stated "in downright terms, 'that the chapel lay nastily, all the time

¹⁵⁴ L'Estrange, 1655: 127.

¹⁵⁵ The latter are often seen as influenced by Richard Hooker's writings. Parry, 2005: 16-18.

¹⁵⁶ For instance, Parry, 2006: 43.

he served in the house”¹⁵⁷. This is unsurprising for Abbot has been presented as an archbishop whose unwavering Calvinism made him tolerant towards puritan nonconformity. Coupled with ineptitude at court politics he was ostracised from ecclesiastical affairs by the mid-1620s and spent his remaining years in semi-retirement.¹⁵⁸ The condition of Lambeth chapel as stumbled upon by Laud in September 1633 must be understood with these circumstances in mind. Furthermore, the description only emerges in the polarised climate of the mid 1640s and its sentiments have been reiterated by Laud’s apologists, beginning with his hagiographer Peter Heylyn.¹⁵⁹ The condition of Lambeth chapel under successive archbishops is taken as symptomatic of their divergence in wider ecclesiastical policies: a neglected chapel with patched windows and no Communion table under Abbot being fastidiously rectified under Laud.¹⁶⁰

An indication of Abbot’s apathy towards inherited religious architecture can be found in his 1601 tract *Cheap-side Crosse censured and condemned*. This monument was one of the crosses erected by Edward I after the death of Eleanor of Castile. A restoration campaign had been instigated by the then bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, with the support of Elizabeth (Figure 34).¹⁶¹ The tract, first published in 1643 when the cross itself was demolished,¹⁶² was written in response to appeals from London citizenry reluctant to renew the crucified Christ

¹⁵⁷ Daniel Featley. *Laud, Works*, iv: 198. Featley served as Abbot’s chaplain c.1614-25. *Laud, Works*, iv: 198, footnote a.

¹⁵⁸ Kenneth Fincham. ‘Abbot, George (1562-1633)’, ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4> (accessed 10/09/2010).

¹⁵⁹ Heylyn, 1668.

¹⁶⁰ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 189.

¹⁶¹ Welsby, 1962: 19.

¹⁶² This event of popular iconoclasm was recorded by Laud’s diary. *Laud, Works*, iii: 251.

at its apex.¹⁶³ It is a valuable insight into a Calvinist divine's response to an inherited architectural monument whose figurative iconography was being contested. Abbot lambasts the crucifix figure as "a very ready way unto Superstition",¹⁶⁴ and demonstrates his value in precedents by citing the biblical iconoclasm of Hezekiah, the writings of Cyprian and the destruction of images by Epiphanius amongst other early Christian examples.¹⁶⁵ The argument uses the same rhetorical marshalling of precedents to justify his decision, and thereby himself, as being consistent with historical exemplars. Despite this, Abbot is by no means antithetical to visual aesthetics. He reasons that the crucifix's place should be filled by "some *Pyramis* or other matter of mere beauty, and not an Angell or such like whatever".¹⁶⁶ Clearly Abbot considers that the crucifix's replacement is preferable to the marked absence of any visual termination. He was no doubt aware of the legal protection afforded to funeral monuments and by not countenancing wholesale demolition, he acknowledges the Cross's origin as a royal commemorative monument. What is significance for the current argument is the personal anecdote Abbot relates on the idolatrous effect a crucifix had for his contemporaries:

I remember in that Colledge [Baliol] where I first lived, a young man was taken praying and beating his brest before a Crucifix in a window, which caused the Master and Fellows to pull it down, and set up some other glass.¹⁶⁷

This vignette of Abbot's own experience appears to confirm wariness towards portrayals of the crucifix. By inference, it suggests that their *locus* can actively increase their potential for idolatrous abuse. It is then not surprising that Laud found the Lambeth chapel windows disfigured by rudimentary repairs. With regard to the Cheapside Cross, the fact of *locus* was

¹⁶³ Figures of the other two persons of the Trinity are also recorded. Kenneth Fincham. 'Abbot, George (1562-1633)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4> (accessed 10/09/2010).

¹⁶⁴ Abbot, 1643: 5.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*: 5-9.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*: 9. This is mistakenly given as an "obelisk" in Welsby, 1962: 20.

¹⁶⁷ Abbot, 1643: 6-7.

certainly recognised by Abbot, wary that Papists would gain in confidence since “their Monuments are not extinguished in the chiefest street of our greatest City”.¹⁶⁸ Set within the college chapel, the place appointed for Prayer Book services, the image proved efficacious enough to induce one of Abbot’s fellow undergraduates to such devotional extremity. The stained-glass image therefore had the capacity to subvert the reformed position within the space dedicated to expounding it. What cannot be determined from these sentiments is any antipathy towards the architectural forms which delineated that space; perhaps most readily experienced in the window’s stonework which contained the crucifix. As with the Cheapside Cross, the contention rests upon the figurative iconographic elements as subversive totems which challenge the tenants of Protestantism.

However, nowhere does Abbot claim that such elements tainted the architectural structure which supported them. Nor does the removal of such figures diminish a need to preserve the aesthetic integrity of the whole. At Balliol the offending image was replaced with “some other glass”;¹⁶⁹ a phrase which suggests more than plain quarries.¹⁷⁰ At Cheapside, the crucifix could be replaced by a pyramid, which given the amorphous nomenclature of the period could stand for an endorsement of classical or mediaeval architectural forms.

Distinctions of ‘style’ and their associational baggage are probably not as significant as a suitable degree of richness which affirms the status of the structure concerned; *i.e.* an aesthetic of decorum. In both instances, Abbot’s theology has not tempered his appreciation of the need to maintain visual decorum for both monument and chapel, thereby assuring

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*: 7.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ The glazing from the original chapel at Balliol, which Abbot would have known, is discussed in Wayment, 1985-86: 512-14.

their perpetuation into the present. The Cheapside tract ultimately confirms that Abbot was not apathetic towards architectural settings with the potential to be redolent of precedent. The condition of Lambeth chapel in 1633 therefore does not suggest a Calvinist indifference to the setting of archiepiscopal prayer.

Any response by Abbot to inherited architectural forms would provide a foundation to reconstruct his own idea of an archiepiscopal chapel. Given the lack of surviving evidence for interventions or alterations to Lambeth chapel, the sources for reassembling this must be drawn from elsewhere. The evidence of Abbot's mental *schema* of buildings is recoverable from what he built. This recourse does not elide distinct architectural typologies, but rather presents it within a context of contemporaneous patronage which possessed shared characteristics. As a patron, he clarifies his position by reference to existing exemplars but also draws upon the wider circuit of architectural practice. The shared characteristics indicate networks of association and patronage and recover the wider cultural expectations of a specific type of ecclesiastical architecture before the polarisation in the 1640s. The episcopal chapel for the early seventeenth century can therefore be reconceptualised as an architectural type integrated into its present, responsively embodying values of antiquity and patronal lineage, expressed through suitable visual means. It is with no intentional irony that the course of architectural patronage concentrates upon protagonists whose religious position opposed that characterised as 'Arminian'. This narrative runs as a Calvinist parody of the presentation of Laud and his adherents in order to demonstrate the common ground existing between shades of theological opinion.

Having been discussed Abbot the theologian and controversialist, it remains to present Abbot as archbishop. He was not unresponsive to the inherited expectations of his position and cast himself in a mould which maintained continuum with his forebears. By doing this, Abbot demonstrated that his social and cultural *rôles* were still informed by pre-Reformation practices, which the reformed Church had wholly assimilated. His 'Calvinism' was not irreconcilable with the habits of the episcopal hierarchy,¹⁷¹ nor did it provide an impetus to reform social practices. For instance, he fulfilled the expectation of hospitality to the point of strain: "my house being like a great Hostry every Thursday, in Term; and for my Expenses, no man giving me so much as thanks".¹⁷² The resilience of some pre-Reformation practices is also demonstrated by Abbot's will which, like those of his benchfellows Andrewes and Laud, made generous bequests to his birthplace.¹⁷³ Abbot also left his library to his successors; his collection comprising Church histories, Protestant theological debate and, significantly, architectural treatises.¹⁷⁴ Through this bequest, Abbot consciously built upon an existing monument to his immediate predecessor, Richard Bancroft, who likewise gave his extensive library to Lambeth in perpetuity.¹⁷⁵ Abbot's will lay stress on his direct involvement in safeguarding the built legacy and estates of his predecessors. The importance of maintenance consolidates his tenure, with a clear eye upon their value to his posthumous legacy.

¹⁷¹ Welsby, 1962: 149.

¹⁷² Quoted in Welsby, 1962: 122.

¹⁷³ For Laud's bequests to his birthplace, Reading, see Laud, Works, iv: 446.

¹⁷⁴ Cox-Johnson, 1955: 108.

¹⁷⁵ Nicholas W.S. Cranfield. 'Bancroft, Richard (1544-1610)' ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1272> (accessed 20/09/2010).

It appeareth to the world how careful I have been in repairing all the houses belonging to the See of Canterbury, beyond that which my predecessors have done in the memory of man, and that I have bestowed divers thousands of pounds upon the same ... I have bought timber to the value of some hundreds of pounds to repair my houses, because I would not cut young tress, but let them grow up to the benefit of my successors.¹⁷⁶

Abbot's will therefore makes clear that his identity as a primate was informed by precedential actions in which he claims to have surpassed his immediate forebears. The multi-faceted personality which emerges - the keeper of hospitality, the philanthropic patron, the promoter of learning and the renovating administrator - fulfils the roles expected of an early Stuart bishop during his tenure of office. These roles follow the pattern of expected conduct which had endured as a synthetic connotation of episcopacy. This associative pattern had largely been unaffected by the Reformation and successive bishops had endorsed them regardless of their theological colouring. These facets were those expected by contemporaries and so Abbot responded to them. His clauses, like the benefactions they record, followed the precedential model of his predecessors. The renovation and maintenance of built fabric, the manors and palaces which attested to the antiquity and endurance of the archiepiscopate, indicate Abbot's responsiveness to the value of architectural patronage as a material means of perpetuation.

Abbot's endorsement of established parameters for patronage found expression in his most famous architectural project: the Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford (Figures 35 & 36). As a philanthropic enterprise it consciously followed existing models and raises the potential for a distinct 'episcopal manner' of architecture to be examined. This manner of building served to declare the ecclesiastical identity of its patron. In so doing, it also responded to the

¹⁷⁶ Quoted in Welsby, 1962: 146.

connotations of the episcopal chapel through the creation of a new chapel as part of a patron-attuned aesthetic. What emerges from this examination again indicates that ecclesiastical decorum, as much as it can be categorised for the period, was informed by inherited architectural forms and visual aesthetics. This shared experience was neither restricted to nor monopolised by any one theological faction. Architecture is here presented as a mirror of its age, in which inherited architectural forms and spaces are clearly reflected, the episcopal chapel being prominent amongst them. It is within these parameters that Abbot's own hospital at Guildford can be understood (Figure 35).

The Hospital's foundation stone was laid on 6 April 1619; the building was to have accommodation for a Master, twelve brethren and eight sisters.¹⁷⁷ The individual lodgings were arranged around an open quadrangle, with chapel and hall positioned adjacently at the extreme north-east corner, an arrangement with obvious affinities to collegiate architecture.¹⁷⁸ The most assertive architectural statement is made by the Hospital's gatehouse, which rises above the street facade with octagonal corner turrets capped with ogee domes (Figure 36). This recourse to early Tudor architecture has frequently been dismissed without explanation as blind anachronism.¹⁷⁹ However, within this context of episcopal patronage it positions new architecture into existing visual patterns and attests to the social status and identity of its patron. A similar, and earlier, identification with this form of gatehouse exists at William Cecil's Burghley House, where the same debt to Tudor palatial architecture is unequivocally present.¹⁸⁰ Distinctions of chronology tend to de-

¹⁷⁷ Wale, 1933: 9.

¹⁷⁸ Pevsner, Nairn & Cherry, 1971: 279.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*: 278. Summerson, 1963: 105.

¹⁸⁰ Howard, 2002: 64-65.

emphasise the fact that such architectural forms were part of the immediate experience for patrons such as Burghley and Abbot. Buildings may pre-date a select period of history, but this does not mean that they disappear from associational experience of subsequent generations. Such imitation within their own commissions makes clear both Burghley's and Abbot's responsiveness to such entrances. At Guildford, the gatehouse positions the Hospital within established visual parameters of architectural patronage. It is also monopolised to display the institution's patrimony; an articulation which underlines the endurance of architectural form and display into the early Stuart period. The gates are ornamented with Abbot's initials either side of his arms impaled by Canterbury, surmounted by an archiepiscopal mitre (Figure 37). The positioning of arms upon the gates, rather than within the surrounding Doric portal, finds a curious parallel in the near-contemporaneous gates of the Schools Quadrangle at Oxford; a project still on-going during the Hospital's construction. The Guildford gatehouse, like the institution it gives entry to, demonstrates Abbot as an architectural patron positioning his building, and by implication himself, within inherited patterns of patronage which attest to his archiepiscopal identity.

This presentation of Guildford hospital as a building conforming to established models and expectations is not without certain restrictions. With the argument's emphasis upon patronal and design conformity, was there any alternative course for Abbot to pursue? Within the wider corpus of philanthropic foundations, there appears a clear pattern of conformity to inherited notions of institutional composition and architectural disposition; a pattern highlighted by recent commentators.¹⁸¹ Such acquiescence to existing architectural

¹⁸¹ Howard, 2007b: 89.

practices in part suggests an effort to reinforce an established typology of philanthropic building. This can also be seen as conditioned by the adaptation of existing buildings into almshouses and hospitals, such as Robert Dudley's hospital at Warwick, after their original use had ceased during the Reformation.¹⁸² This is not to present this type of foundation as one bereft of architectural innovation: the circular hospital founded by Margaret Russell at Beamsley clearly demonstrates this.¹⁸³ That Abbot chose to follow existing models is entirely consistent with his intellectual and theological outlook presented here. There was no clear impetus to depart from existing exemplars or inherited conventions since such variations would not integrate the new hospital within the expected patterns of episcopal patronage. Novelty was not a guiding principle for an intellect attuned to the importance of pedigree.

That Abbot perpetuated a distinct 'episcopal' manner of philanthropy is clear from characteristics the Guildford hospital shares with that founded by John Whitgift at Croydon in 1595.¹⁸⁴ The similarities, from the dedication onwards, indicate Abbot's adoption of Croydon as his model. At an institutional level, the statutes for Guildford closely follow those which Whitgift laid down for Croydon.¹⁸⁵ With an institutional structure modelled on an existing exemplar, it would seem natural that Guildford hospital's architecture should likewise follow suit. Each hospital adopts a quadrangular plan, with a prominent entrance gatehouse articulated with the founder's heraldry (**Figures 37 & 38**). The entrance portal is also expressed in classical terms, using the Doric order perhaps also attesting to their

¹⁸² *ibid.*

¹⁸³ Discussed in Spence, 1997: 10-11.

¹⁸⁴ William Sheils. 'Whitgift, John (1530/31-1604)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29311> (accessed 20/09/2010).

¹⁸⁵ VCH Surrey, iii: 195

patrons' identities.¹⁸⁶ Whilst the forms are divergent their declaration of patronal pedigree is consistent. The recourse to a quadrangular plan could be read as emphasising each primate's own position and involvement within the universities.¹⁸⁷ This is not to suggest a conflation of building and institution occurs through the plan and disposition of the hospitals' elevations (Figure 36). Rather, both buildings employ a lexicon of architectural emphasis to affirm their status and patronal origin. It can also be claimed that they consciously share affinities with bishops' residences; an appropriate similarity since Abbot kept rooms at the Hospital.¹⁸⁸ At one level, this interpretation suggest some inter-changeability of building types, but more importantly that the architectural experience for an early modern audience was one still actively shaped by the buildings of the later Middle Ages. These parameters of conditioned experience and expectation are readily testified to in the remarkable chapels of these hospitals, which are valuable indications that the reformed episcopal position endorsed the salient forms present in their own personal episcopal chapels.

The respective hospital chapels at Croydon and Guildford are not presented here as substitute episcopal chapels. They did not accommodate the worship of the episcopal household but were institutional. Their value to the current argument lies in their articulation by architectural and figurative elements. Such chapels displayed the same associational connotations of pedigree within precedents present in the rest of the buildings.

¹⁸⁶ As both institutions admitted male and female inmates, if a gendered implication is meant in the order it most likely refers to patronage.

¹⁸⁷ Howard, 2007b: 138.

¹⁸⁸ Kenneth Fincham. 'Abbot, George (1562-1633)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4> (accessed 10/09/2010).

These chapels are integrated into this philanthropic architecture, but are visually defined. Both terminate a wing of the quadrangle and use traceried windows as distinct from the rest of the hospital (Figures 39 & 40). This suggests the endurance of earlier patterns of design at a point where for a post-Reformation building some marked variance from earlier models might be sought. That traceried windows are used solely for the chapel's elevations makes clear the identification of this architectural form as one apposite for ecclesiastical architecture. Occurring at both Guildford and Croydon, this feature demonstrates that for archiepiscopal patrons such stylistic choices existed outside theological partisanship. Such capacity for the protestant position to assimilate existing aspects of culture has been ably demonstrated by Patrick Collinson.¹⁸⁹ In discussing the emergence of protestant drama in the sixteenth century, he notes that:

Protestantism embraced the cultural forms which already existed and employed them for its own purposes, both instructively and as polemical weapons against its opponents ... early Protestantism was troubled by these cultural media as potential vehicles of false religion, not as inherently false and deceptive. There was hostility to mendacious art but not to art itself.¹⁹⁰

In a further strand of this cultural phenomenon, it suggested here that architectural forms, of which traceried windows are a prime example, continued to carry resonances and connotations by no means antithetic to protestant sentiments. Within such examples of institutional architecture combinations of mediaeval and classical forms do not suggest indecision but multiple registers of cultural familiarity.¹⁹¹ Traceried windows make clear the associative relevance this type of fenestration had for early modern patrons. It was an exclusively ecclesiastical form whose presence was part of a wider cultural understanding of specific building typologies. Indeed the appeal of traceried windows was noted in 1603 by

¹⁸⁹ Collinson, 1988.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*: 102.

¹⁹¹ Aspects of the historiography of combined styles are discussed in Howard, 2002: 55-58.

Sir Roger Willbraham, who celebrated the Divinity School as the “chiefest wonder in Oxford ... with church windows”.¹⁹² Such windows in the chapels at Guildford and Croydon make apparent the long endurance of window tracery beyond the mediaeval period. They had successfully been assimilated into the architectural setting of worship; an endorsement to which Whitgift and Abbot readily acquiesce in their own philanthropic patronage. They are presented here as clear evidence of identification with inherited architectural forms which whilst originating in the past, retained their cultural currency for the early-modern present. At a wider level, the chapel windows can be understood as mirrors, reflecting the visual typology of forms embodied by both archbishops’ domestic chapels. Clearly neither chapel was intended to be a facsimile of an episcopal chapel, but rather to frame the architectural environment of collective worship with fenestration which expressed their religious function. They evidence that Whitgift and Abbot responded to the cultural connotations of architectural forms, and thereby pulled their inherited episcopal chapels and those of their hospitals into typological unity.

This synthetic assimilation, independent of any theological allegiance, is further demonstrated by the stained glass installed in Abbot’s hospital chapel ([Figure 40](#)).¹⁹³ Such a feature would appear inexplicable within the conventional polarisation of art-historical discourse. Religious figurative art of this type is often taken as symptomatic of a ‘Laudian’ theological outlook.¹⁹⁴ That any potential disquiet is mitigated by the use of an Old Testament narrative (here the Lives of Jacob and Esau) only offers a partial explanation.

¹⁹² Quoted without reference in Girouard, 2009: 433.

¹⁹³ These windows are attributed to Baptist Sutton. Lane, 2005: 52.

¹⁹⁴ Parry, 2006: 105-109.

Instead of presenting such pictorial glazing as hedged with ambiguity, it is more constructive to understand these windows as a display of assimilated precedential forms which underlie the entire programme of Abbot's patronage. *In tandem* with chapel windows, the expectation for an archiepiscopal chapel is also for narrative glazing.¹⁹⁵ Regardless of his Calvinist position Abbot has maintained a synthetic responsiveness to the parameters and precedential forms which underscore his foundation as archiepiscopal. It appears clear that Abbot responded to architecture which consolidated his status and asserted the lineage of his office through the conscious mirroring of exemplars. To realise this, Abbot's arms appear again within the pinnacled canopies over each of the lights to record his advance through successive episcopal offices.¹⁹⁶ Whilst the medium is different the intention is identical to Laud placing his arms over the chapel door at Lambeth. Both archbishops' identities are framed and delineated by the visual patterns of precedent. This shared experience and common ground between different shades of theology is perhaps all too easily overlooked amongst the bishops of this period.

The evidence outlined above is valuable for disclosing Abbot's responsiveness to episcopal chapels. To a degree, it can be taken as representing a wider cultural consensus where affirmations of pedigree and precedent demonstrate the assimilation of pre-Reformation forms. The astringent doctrines of Calvinism perhaps had limited relevance to the immediate architectural experience of worship, especially outside parochial settings. A curious addendum to this point is offered by a window dated 1621 for a funerary chapel at

¹⁹⁵ Whilst the Guildford windows do not possess tracery, the lights have cinquefoil heads.

¹⁹⁶ A similar heraldic conceit occurred at Lincoln College chapel, discussed in Chapter III.

Apethorpe church.¹⁹⁷ Attributed to the same artist as those at Guildford, its biblical scenes present a synopsis of human history, from the Fall of Man to the Last Judgement (Figure 41). It unabashedly displays both the Crucifixion and Resurrection, here assimilated into the reformed parameters of religious imagery. The commission here may indicate a patronal network involving Abbot, for the chapel houses the tomb of Anthony Mildmay and his wife, Grace. That the former was the son of Walter Mildmay, founder of the resolutely Puritan Emmanuel College, is startling.¹⁹⁸ If the direct association between Abbot and Mildmay can be made, its architectural legacy could be construed as a Calvinist parody of Laud's involvement in John Scudamore's reconstruction of Abbey Dore.¹⁹⁹ The coincidence further suggests that the responses to and expectations of such spaces deeply permeated the wider culture of the period. With this apparently shared expectation in mind, the works undertaken by Laud within his chapel at Lambeth can be considered afresh.

¹⁹⁷ Pevsner & Cherry, 1973: 83.

¹⁹⁸ For both Mildmays' careers see L.L. Ford. 'Mildmay, Sir Walter (1520/21-1589)', ODNB - <http://www.odnb.com/view/article/18696> (accessed 3 April 2011).

¹⁹⁹ Parry, 2006: 37-39. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 254. Laud's correspondence with Scudamore is given in Trevor-Roper, 1962: 437-56.

vi:- APOTHEOSIS: THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL CHAPEL AT LAMBETH UNDER WILLIAM LAUD

No other episcopal chapel holds such prominence within writing on this period than that of Lambeth Palace as it was during the archiepiscopacy of William Laud (Figures 44 & 45).²⁰⁰

There would seem little more to extrapolate from his sustained campaign of refurbishment undertaken from 1633-35, and the arguments over its underlying motivation as represented at Laud's trial.²⁰¹ The chapel's identity has remained transfixed in the amber of the 1640s, seen only through the calumny of William Prynne and the defence of Peter Heylyn.²⁰²

Rather than presenting a synopsis of the refurbishment and interpreting the latter to vindicate Laud,²⁰³ it is of greater significance to the wider argument to understand these works firstly as an assertion of an archiepiscopal ideal, and secondly as an undertaking which correlates with the pattern of such patronage as discussed previously. Whether a clear trajectory emerges for these works from the example of royal chapels.

The chapel at Lambeth forms a salient part of the nucleus of the palace, and has been dated to the early thirteenth century.²⁰⁴ Its original clarity was by the seventeenth century compromised by the addition of Chichele's Tower against its western wall and Cranmer's Tower on the northern side of the easternmost bay.²⁰⁵ As with the surviving episcopal chapels elsewhere, this space was redolent of the antiquity and continuum of the archbishops of Canterbury; associations made directly apparent by the presence of Matthew

²⁰⁰ Parry, 2006: 43-44.

²⁰¹ Laud, Works, iv: 197-210.

²⁰² Prynne, 1646: 58-66. Heylyn, 1668: 249.

²⁰³ An approach undertaken in Parry, 2006: 44-46.

²⁰⁴ Haslam, 1990: 161.

²⁰⁵ Tatton-Brown, 2000: 49-53.

Parker's tomb.²⁰⁶ The furnishings of collegiate return stalls against an antechapel screen survive from Laud's refurbishment, though like the chapel itself, in a heavily disrupted condition.²⁰⁷ It is no doubt thanks to Juxon's reconstruction after the Restoration that so much of Laud's work survives, and the surviving bill from the joiner Adam Browne indicates that Laud must have commissioned Browne before his transferral to Lambeth.²⁰⁸ These joinery works spread to the domestic rooms of the palaces, but those of the chapel involved a new altar rail, new wainscot, a pulpit and an altar table, and totalled £19 16s 0d.²⁰⁹ Whilst the arrangement of the altar table and rails marked a departure from his predecessor's practice,²¹⁰ the act of asserting episcopal identity within the setting of the domestic chapel conforms to a pattern Laud had demonstrated throughout his career.²¹¹ His earlier chapel at Aberguwili, built whilst he was Bishop of St Davids, was as much an assertion of his episcopal position as an enshrinement of his own liturgical ideals.²¹² The former impetus is surely of equal significance for his later work at Lambeth; the conventional pattern of episcopal reparations consolidated his identity and the apparent liturgical richness differing only from his fellow prelates by degrees.

²⁰⁶ This survives in a reconstructed condition adjacent to the western door. RCHM London: 82.

²⁰⁷ The chapel was first restored under Juxon, twice re-ordered in the nineteenth century, and restored after damage in the Second World War. Haslam, 1990: 76.

²⁰⁸ SP/16/246: f 88 r. Browne's bill is dated 27 September 1633, Laud have moved his household to Lambeth on 19 September. Laud, Works iii: 219. A synopsis of Browne's career is given in Colvin, 1995: 170.

²⁰⁹ SP/16/246: f 88 r.

²¹⁰ Prynne, 1646: 62.

²¹¹ Heylyn, 1668: 294.

²¹² Laud, Works, iii: 170-71; iv: 250-51.

The surviving stall fronts and prominent screen indicate the characteristics classified as 'artisan mannerist', which in itself is surprising.²¹³ The raised panels of the dado, the swelling terms, the pierced ovals and the strap triglyphs wrapping over the entablature (Figures 46 & 47) are characteristic. Where the classicism of Inigo Jones could have been deployed to display his proximity to the Court, or the appeal to ecclesiastical precedent affirmed through the adoption of mediaeval forms as demonstrated by John Cosin, Laud does neither. Rather, he displays a preference for a visual manner whose closest affinities are found in earlier refurbishments of London chapels. Such examples as the chapel at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and more significantly the Charterhouse School where Laud had been Governor, parallel most closely to Browne's aesthetic manner.²¹⁴ It seems highly likely that the Lambeth chapel screen took for its model a screen Laud had commissioned from Browne for the chapel at St John's College, Oxford.²¹⁵ As has been demonstrated, such apparent relish for novelty in the Lambeth screen is justified through its emulation of decorous precedents, and stylistic distinction is a secondary consideration. That Laud saw Browne's work as a perpetuation of the inherited parameters of his patronage emerges in his defence of the screen: "the partition or screen of the chapel, which makes it two, was just in the same place where now it stands, from the very building of the chapel, for aught can be proved to the contrary."²¹⁶ It is clear that Laud saw the refurbishing of Lambeth chapel as renovating inherited precedents of hierarchical division and disposition. His new screen and stalls served to perpetuate the arrangements of his archiepiscopal forebears. This was a response to expectations of episcopal patronage and took an aesthetic lead from recent significant examples of refurbishment. Through maintaining the previous arrangements, and being

²¹³ The characteristics of this manner are discussed in Summerson, 1963: 89-98.

²¹⁴ For the significance of the Charterhouse, see Oswald, 1959: 538-41.

²¹⁵ Colvin, 1995: 170.

²¹⁶ Laud, Works, iv: 210.

witnesses within the inherited architectural environment, Laud's refurbishment clearly works within parameters expressive of continuum and renovation not innovation.

The same guiding principle of renovation was not antithetical to endowing the interior with a similar aesthetic to the Chapel Royal. This aspect, if not readily discernable in Browne's work, was present in the sound of Lambeth chapel. Heylyn records this transference thus:

He [Laud] put himself to some cost also in repairing and beautifying the Organs, which he found to be very much out of tune, and made great use of them in the celebrating of divine Service on Sundaies and Holidaiies, when his leisure could permit him to be present at it; some Gentlemen of his Majesties Chappel assisting many times to make up the Consort when the solemnity required it.²¹⁷

This demonstrates the difficulty in recovering the holistic impression of the refurbished chapel. Laud's intention was evidently for an experience dependent upon both sight and sound, and the choral practice of the Chapel Royal clearly offered an ideal. The appropriation of the latter can be understood as a facet of the wider programme of renovation, as is evidenced by the accounts for repairs to the organ, undertaken by Robert Dallam.²¹⁸ These consisted of the refurbishment of an existing instrument and not the creation of a new organ. Dallam refashioned three bellows and the windtrunk and provided a new set of keys in a campaign which lasted five weeks, costing £13 10s 0d.²¹⁹ That Laud valued a suitable provision of liturgical music is indicated by his bequest of the organ in his will "to my successor ... provided that he leave it to the see for ever".²²⁰ If this can be understood as the rehabilitation of an existing organ within the chapel, then Laud could well

²¹⁷ Heylyn, 1668: 294.

²¹⁸ SP/16 301 f.68v.

²¹⁹ *ibid.*

²²⁰ Laud, Works, iv: 448.

have deduced that elaborate musical provisions had been observed by his predecessors, and *in tandem* with his wider programme of renovation. The organ can be claimed to have given Laud the secure archiepiscopal precedent for assimilating the musical practices of the Chapel Royal into Lambeth chapel. These separate components were therefore fused within the programme of renovation.

The clear wish to act within the precedential parameters existing within Lambeth chapel is further demonstrated by the most contentious aesthetic element of the renovations: the chapel's stained glass. Through the deliberate retention of existing glazing, it can be claimed that Laud was acting within the inherited parameters established by his predecessors, and thereby consolidating his place as their successor. The surviving contemporaneous debate over the Lambeth glazing demonstrates the direct engagement of a leading churchman with an inherited visual cycle within his own episcopal chapel, and the accusations of William Prynne reveal an acute visual familiarity with iconographic and pictorial conventions. Prynne's claims that the images were derived from engraved sources is suggestive of the design process for pictorial glazing in the early seventeenth century, and raises the question of stylistic homogeneity being maintained by the glass-painter in response to the conventions of a century before.²²¹ This presentation of glazing repairs at Lambeth chapel consciously disassociates the renovations from their supposed correlation to Laud's theological position, and demonstrates that the windows were themselves appurtenances and guarantors of the decorum suitable for an archiepiscopal chapel; their decayed and damaged condition detracting from the chapel's unity with other inherited high-status

²²¹ Prynne, 1646: 58-61.

chapels which possessed comparative iconographic visual cycles in their windows. In renovating them, Laud was effectively reasserting the antiquity and pedigree of his office; valuing them as an indication of the latter, and identifying himself with the pattern of reparations the seventeenth century episcopate had absorbed into its reformed identity.

The restoration of the chapel windows was clearly of great importance to Laud. It was the most expensive item of work undertaken in the renovation campaign, Heylyn supplying a total of £148 7s. 6.²²² The surviving bills indicate three phases of work, commencing with the eastern lancets, for which Laud employed the prominent glazier, Richard Butler.²²³

Surviving bills bear out Laud's claim that the project was one of reparation rather than total replacement: The itemised account of work to the east lancets distinguished between the re-leading of "old glasse" and the introduction of "new glasse at 6s. a foote".²²⁴ This work was evidently complete by 2 May 1634, when Butler received payment of £40 8s. 6. for his repairs. Work then proceeded with the chapel's side windows, where again a substantial amount of existing glass was retained. The west and northern windows were repaired for £62 7s. 6d. by 4 June 1635, and the southern windows completed by 12 November 1635, the total cost being £35 11s.²²⁵ Such careful retention of the surviving glazing appears in marked contrast to Browne's wholesale refurbishing of the chapel. It clearly indicates the continuing value of such glazing, both in material and aesthetic terms, which Laud's outlay indicates he was responding to. As has been demonstrated in the case of Abbot, Laud's actions imply a shared acknowledgement of the connotations of such windows and their setting. Seen

²²² Heylyn, 1668: 249.

²²³ For Butler's career see Archer, 1990: 308-315.

²²⁴ NA (PRO) SP/16/288 f.25r.

²²⁵ *ibid.*: f.68v.

within the grouped lancets of Lambeth chapel, they must surely have attested to the decorum of an archiepiscopal chapel. Their potency was not as Prynne attempted to argue, as subversive badges of popery,²²⁶ but as indispensable components of the architectural environment of worship which Laud inherited from his predecessors.

Interpreting the arrangement of the glazing repaired by Laud must take into account the successive encroachments upon the original fenestration. From its construction, the lancets on the north side of the chapel had been proportionally longer than those on the south owing to a cloister passage behind them. The central lancet of each bay is higher and wider than the side lights; the same expansion is reflected in the arrangement of the east and west lancets. By 1633, the easternmost window on the north side of the chapel has also been internalised by the building of Cranmer's Tower immediately behind it.²²⁷ The latter contains the chapel vestry, which is accessible via a doorway of the same date into the chapel, above which is now placed the organ.²²⁸ Prynne's detailed survey of the windows was recounted during Laud's trial,²²⁹ and subsequently printed in *Canterburies Doome*.²³⁰ Laud had earlier confirmed that the glazing was arranged in a juxtaposition of type and antitype: "The windows contain the whole story from the creation to the day of judgement: three lights in a window: the two side-lights contain the types in the Old Testament, and the Middle light the antitype and verity of Christ in the New."²³¹ As with his justification for Browne's recent screen, Laud makes clear that his repairs merely rehabilitated components

²²⁶ Prynne, 1646: 58.

²²⁷ Tatton-Brown, 2000: 62-62.

²²⁸ RCHM, London: 82-84. This bay was substantially altered during restoration of the chapel in 1846. Tatton-Brown, 2000: 92.

²²⁹ Laud, Works, iv: 209.

²³⁰ Prynne, 1646: 59-62.

²³¹ Laud, Works, iv: 199.

which he had inherited from his predecessors. In response to Prynne's claims, Laud again invoked the heraldic evidence present in the glass itself to refute the assertion: "He [Prynne] says 'the pictures of these stories are in the Mass-book'. If it be so, yet they were not taken thence by me. Archbishop Morton did that work, as appears by his device in the windows".²³² The heraldic evidence thereby acquits Laud of Prynne's assertions, and provides dates of 1486-1500 for the glazing in question.

The sequence of typological juxtaposition places the Lambeth windows within a set pattern for prestigious chapels, inherited from the early sixteenth century, and retained their glazing until the outbreak of the civil war. This will be further discussed in relation to their aesthetic qualities and attribution subsequently. Whilst the theological associations were first manifest in the high Middle Ages, the juxtaposition of the Old Testament prefiguring the New was given additional impetus through the circulation of illustrated woodcut editions of the *Biblia Pauperum*, which have been shown to have played a significant part in the conception of high-status glazing campaigns of the early sixteenth century.²³³ The Lambeth windows fell victim to the surge of popular iconoclasm on 1 May 1643,²³⁴ and the circumstance of their destruction some two years prior to their featuring in the trail should perhaps condition the reading of Prynne's survey; these were arguments ascertained from receipts and witnesses testimonies which could not be verified against the windows themselves.

²³² *ibid.*: 209.

²³³ Brown, 1997: 52-54.

²³⁴ The event is recorded in Laud's diary. Laud, Works, iii: 251.

Prynne outlines the subject matter of the windows, running from the east end along the south wall and back along the north wall. In doing so, he confirms that it was arranged as typological juxtaposition but also demonstrated acuteness to the formulae of iconography. The exacting detail allows for the entire arrangement to be reconstructed, though not entirely free from uncertainties and discrepancies between Laud's own statements (Figure 48).²³⁵ The three centre-lancets of the east window depicted a Crucifixion (I), which conformed to late-medieval iconographic practice by including extensive Calvary figures, such as the two thieves in the lights on either side and "High Priests with their Officers on horse-backe, and some Souldiers with others who crucified Christ".²³⁶ This depiction was balanced in the outermost lights by Abraham sacrificing Isaac and Moses setting up the Brazen Serpent,²³⁷ with additional inscriptions beneath which recorded the date of the restoration (1634) and reaffirmed the typological juxtaposition.²³⁸ As such, these relate the windows to comparative typological windows, such as the east windows of Hatfield House and Lincoln College chapels, where scriptural subjects are justified by textual authority. The discussion of this window demonstrates Prynne's clear wish to isolate the Crucifixion from the narrative of the event itself, by his repeated reference to "the Crucifix".²³⁹ Disassociated from the iconographic series, this choice of nomenclature is perhaps intentionally emotive and implies that this subject held the strongest connotations of Roman Catholicism, particularly when viewed as indicative of transubstantiation.

²³⁵ The numbering of the windows follows the model given by the international *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*.

²³⁶ Prynne, 1646: 59.

²³⁷ *ibid.*: 60.

²³⁸ *ibid.*: 59-60.

²³⁹ *ibid.*

The implicit connotations aside, what seems to have received little attention in Prynne's survey is its value as an account of a contemporaneous witness to an extensive, newly-repaired, glazing scheme. Subsequent commentators have chosen to emphasise the vitriolic prose of his account over what it actually demonstrates of Prynne's visual perceptiveness. Despite his marked antithetical statements as regards the legality of such glazing, he displays a clear ability to identify the iconographic conventions with their correct scriptural event, in a process which can only be the result of previous exposure to, and digestion of, figurative religious art.

Prynne's account of the four southern windows (s.II to s.V) reflects a succinct series of Old Testament types framing single-light depictions of the Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost and the Last Judgment.²⁴⁰ He singles out s.II as "newly repaired", suggesting a visual discrepancy between these lights and the original glazing elsewhere in the chapel.²⁴¹ The position of the Last Judgment is evidently not in the western lancets as has been supposed elsewhere;²⁴² Prynne referring to it as the "fourth Southerne Window of three Panes".²⁴³ The omission of the western lancets suggests that they were either unglazed or glazed with non-pictorial glass, which would have received little or no illumination given the rooms immediately behind them. What emerges from the account is a consistent iconographic sequence which parallels comparative schemes undertaken elsewhere for equally prestigious patrons during the early Tudor period. Such sequences were regarded as more than arbitrary. The value attached to inherited depictions in the early seventeenth century is

²⁴⁰ *ibid.*: 60

²⁴¹ *ibid.*

²⁴² Parry, 2006: 44.

²⁴³ Prynne, 1646: 60.

countered not only by Laud's repairs to the Lambeth glass, but by comparative sequences appearing elsewhere, quite removed from any direct recourse either to Laud or specifically to the example of Lambeth.

Prynne's account of the windows on the north side is more problematic (north III-north V), given the apparent conflation of subject matter into the lancets and the disruption of the typological iconography. This is only in part explained by the greater length of the lights: the proportions for individual scenes perhaps responding to the smaller space available on the south side, permitted additional subject matter within the north side windows. The "uppermost window"²⁴⁴ on the north side is identifiable as north III, and contained the Raising of Lazarus, coupled with its Old Testament types in the side lancets. The central light also included a depiction of the Descent of Manna in the Wilderness; a combination which disrupts the logical rhythm established by the southern windows. Its accompanying antitype, the Last Supper, appears in the next window (north IV) though not in the central lancet which in Prynne's account is wholly occupied by the Adoration of the Magi.²⁴⁵ The latter's conventional Old Testament types occur in the side lancets,²⁴⁶ along with a scene which Prynne identifies as: "the picture of an old man, with a glory round about his head, representing God the Father, striking Miriam with Leprosie".²⁴⁷ Assuming that Prynne was correct in this identification,²⁴⁸ this subject would appear to be a variant type for the Last Supper; this subject being selected in favour of Melchizedek bringing bread and wine to

²⁴⁴ Prynne, 1646: 60.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*

²⁴⁶ The visit of Sheba to Solomon and the Coronation of David. *ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *ibid.*

²⁴⁸ Numbers xii: 10.

Abraham.²⁴⁹ These two subjects would appear to relate to the Descent of the Manna in n.III and this apparent anomaly demonstrates that by the time of Prynne's survey, the original iconographic rhythm of the glazing had been compromised. Given what is known of the chapel, it seems likely that this disruption was caused by the need to incorporate displaced scenes from north II upon the completion of Cranmer's Tower. The original arrangement would have placed the Last Supper in the central lancet, with the Descent of Manna in the left-hand light and Miriam in that on the right; the portrayals of beneficence and malfeasance allotted by God paralleling the variants on the theme of Judgment which accompanied the Last Judgment in south V. As such, it would appear that despite his objections to Laud's repairs, it is Prynne's account which notes this otherwise unrecorded disruption within the iconographical cycle of the Lambeth glazing. The greater height of the lancets on the north side of the chapel also had greater room to accommodate the displayed scenes after the completion of Cranmer's tower.

It remains to propose that more visual evidence of the glazing's appearance is recoverable from Laud's record of John Morton's insignia within the existing glass. Demonstrating a re-glazing of the chapel within the closing decades of the fifteenth century, this record could well suggest that the glazier concerned was none other than the royal glazier, Barnard Flower.²⁵⁰ Whilst this is speculative, the example of his work afforded by the surviving glazing at Fairford, displays not only a similar typological sequence, but furthermore, the etiolated compositions could well reflect an earlier use of the same designs for the equally

²⁴⁹ Genesis xiv: 18-20.

²⁵⁰ For Flower's career see Oswald, 1952: 8-21.

vertical lancets of Lambeth Chapel (Figure 49).²⁵¹ It would seem more than mere coincidence that the early-sixteenth glass at Fairford was receiving favourable appreciation from academic and clerical circles (within which Laud had been and was still involved) including Richard Corbert, at precisely the same time that Butler's restoration was under way. This suggestion is admittedly slight, though not altogether impossible, since the renovation of such inherited glazing would accord with Laud's underlying agenda to work within the patronal parameters which had been bequeathed to him by his archiepiscopal forebears. What is paradoxical regarding the repairs to the glazing is the evident attentiveness paid to them by Laud and Prynne. This in itself would further suggest the significance vested within the architectural spaces of the episcopal residences in this period: both men carefully examining the inherited narrative glass, held within the lancet lights of a chapel redolent of the unbroken continuum of the archiepiscopal estate, with utterly divergent motives.

Laud's renovation can therefore be seen as a response, by no means individualistic or theologically led, to facets of episcopal identity. The reparation of an inherited episcopal space was in itself part of the wider pattern of actions to which the bishops seem to have responded. Laud's work does not demonstrate the sharp distinctions of visual association between his and a 'Calvinist' position as has often been supposed. What distinguishes Laud is a question of degree, not of diametric opposition. It can therefore easily be understood as an act of consolidation, both of his own identity and that of his place within the succession of archbishops. It remains to be determined whether his impetus was derived from his exposure to the environment of the royal chapels, thereby marking the transference of this

²⁵¹ Brown, 1997: 49-56.

regal exemplar to a new location within the forum of the episcopal chapel. This would seem obvious, especially given the statements recorded at Laud's trial, where the practices decried at Lambeth are paralleled by those of the Royal chapel at Whitehall: "it was in my chapel, as it was at White-hall; no difference"²⁵² The example offered by Andrewes' chapel at Southwark has been drawn upon as the direct source for the arrangements of Lambeth chapel ever since Laud's trial (Figure 30). If Laud so directly emulated the practices of Andrewes, it would be symbolic of the mantle passing from one prelate to the other, in the campaign for greater formality of worship which used private chapels as liturgical crucibles for this end.²⁵³ Indeed, that Laud should come into the possession of such a diagram of the Andrewes's liturgical arrangements would suggest that he intended to replicate them.

Laud himself appears to have admired Andrewes. When noting his death on 21 September 1626, Laud calls him "meritissimus, lumen orbis Christiani [that most worthy man, the light of the Christian world]",²⁵⁴ and he succeeded Andrewes to the deanship of the Chapel Royal on 3 October that year.²⁵⁵ The exact parameters of emulation had in all likelihood been blurred by the time of Laud's trial, and the practice of the Chapel Royal had emerged strongly as a legitimising presence within the polemic debates of the 1630s.²⁵⁶ As with the wider pattern of architectural association and identification examined previously, the process of assimilation was often synthetically fluid; part of a shared cultural expectation which can be determined by degrees, rather than stark contrasts. That Andrewes's chapel at

²⁵² Laud, Works, iv: 201.

²⁵³ Parry, 2006: 19.

²⁵⁴ Laud, Works, iii: 196.

²⁵⁵ *ibid.*

²⁵⁶ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 354.

Southwark was so absorbed by Laud emerges from the account of the plan being produced at his trial.²⁵⁷ It appears the Prynne had misconstrued its significance, presenting it as the arrangement of Laud's chapel at Abergwili:

At the reading of this paper I was a little troubled. I knew I was not then so rich as to have such plate, or furniture ... I soon as I saw it I found there was nothing in it in my hand but the indorsement, which told the reader plainly that it was the model of the reverend Bishop Andrewes' chapel, with the furniture, plate, ceremonies therein used ... it would have made any man ashamed but Mr Pryn, who had delivered upon oath that it was a paper of my chapel furniture at Aberbuilly, contrary to his conscience, and his own eyesight of the paper.²⁵⁸

At this last, and often overlooked detail of his trial, Laud's exact source of emulation in Andrewes evaporates. As has been outlined here, the cultural assimilation of the episcopal chapel could offer individual bishops their own parameters for definition, whilst existing as an acknowledged component of their household and architectural identity. The same process is perhaps true in Laud's renovations at Lambeth. Direct models of liturgical excellence were arguably offered by both Andrewes's Southwark chapel and the royal chapels, and by the 1640s such clear distinctions as may have been found in preceding decades had largely blurred. Even so, Laud's agenda can be justified through Andrewes's own defence: "We do not innovate; it may be we *renovate* what was customary".²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Laud, Works, iv: 250-51.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*: 251.

²⁵⁹ Andrewes, Works, viii: 96. This translation is given in Welsby, 1958: 149.

This recurring aspect of renovation within the expectations dictated by the conventions of the episcopal office has not perhaps been understood as a contributing factor to the Lambeth works, due both to the subsequent literature quite literally viewing such works through the polarising lens of the 1644 trial, and to the black and white associations for the underlying agenda of Laud's actions. This has persisted to the present, emerging as the difficult question in determining what correlations of aesthetic forms within religious spaces constitute a 'Laudian' agenda, or indeed, if a 'Laudian style' is discernible. Such an action can therefore be understood in terms of asserting a decorum of typological status, rather than an indication of theological distinction. This had been marshalled in the Chapel Royal as a diplomatic emblem of royal policy during James' reign, for both internal and international policies, as has been examined previously. That Laud, whose formative years prior to his ascent to the episcopate should have been spent witnessing such aesthetic rehabilitation of the royal chapels, should do so at Lambeth when made archbishop, in itself is perhaps surprisingly unsurprising. It is only that so much more hangs on his work here, that the question of degrees between Laud, his predecessors and his contemporaries, is almost always discussed in terms of opposition, rather than similarity. One result of this is that the material works to the fabric of Lambeth chapel from 1634 are still largely viewed in relation to the reductive vehemence of sources which are far removed from objectivity or impartiality.

vii:- CONCLUSION: THE EPISCOPAL CHAPEL IN EARLY STUART ENGLAND

From the four examples selected, and the diverse comparative sources considered, both the general and the specific resonances of the episcopal chapel have been considered. After the losses sustained in the sixteenth century, the surviving examples of episcopal houses in and near the capital fast acquired the connotations of age and pedigree which were to provide the foundation for their respective owners' identities. Such chapels were an integral part of the wider household, and as has been shown in the case of Durham House, had the ability to reinforce associations with similar building types, both collegiate and ecclesiastical. Their appreciable antiquity and their precedents for hospitality continued to be of cultural significance into the early seventeenth century, with Juxon's restoration of the Great Hall at Lambeth testifying to the associational presence such houses, and the architectural spaces within them, possessed. Bishops' residences and their chapels came to be understood as the architectural affirmation of the reformed episcopacy, which had assimilated the social roles and spaces which accommodated them into their identity.

The appropriation of Durham House and Ely House serves to indicate their continued status, and the use of their chapels for Catholic worship casts a new light onto the all too readily made claims for the correlation between religion and aesthetics in this period. The use by Lancelot Andrewes of his chapel at Ely House clearly demonstrates how such inherited architectural settings could accommodate the recovery of Primitive Christian practices. Here, the architectural environment was by no means disjunctive to his intentions but actively enhanced the *locus* of public worship, and affirmed the institutional purity of the reformed English Church. Its architecture could be experienced in harmony with both such

practices and the liturgical objects used within them, a phenomenon suggested by the 'Good Shepherd' chalice. That this redolence of episcopal decorum was not the preserve of any partisan theological persuasion has been indicated through the example offered by Abbot who, despite the evidence mounted against him, also appears here in a new light. The appeal of pedigree and precedent, of consolidating the present identity of the episcopacy through conscious emulation of existing models, was clearly of as much importance to him as to his apparent intellectual opponents.

The recovering of the contemporaneous environment within which episcopal chapels existed in this period therefore has implications for understanding the repairs to Lambeth Palace chapel undertaken by Laud. As much as the promotion of a 'beauty of holiness' ideal, these repairs are potentially more significant as an act of reparation to the inherited fabric of an episcopal chapel, uniquely demonstrative of the episcopacy's endurance and pedigree. The programme was clearly one of renovation, rather than innovation. Apparent departure in the new furnishing's aesthetic manner (*i.e.* Browne's mannerist idiom) reflects comparable examples of reparation, and is also a response to a sense of decorum for their environment. This apparently contrasts with the care taken to repair the surviving late-mediaeval glazing, which by its iconography and recorded donor is tentatively associated with the surviving glass at Fairford. Any single liturgical *exemplum* for Laud's renovations was perhaps an abstract and synthetic ideal, which was filtered his experience of the royal chapels and identification with its previous Dean, Lancelot Andrewes.

The investigation into the place of episcopal chapels has looked to sources apparently peripheral to their immediate context. However, this is essential if the wider connotations of such inherited architectural spaces are to be recovered for the period; without them it is difficult to understand their significance. As already existing structures, their presence often disappears from standard 'progressive' discussions of architecture. They have here been shown to play no passive role within the experience of built fabrics, and to be of paramount significance to the identities of the successive bishops for whom they provided a *locus* of public worship. William Prynne was evidently aware of the interest such an experience held for his contemporaries.²⁶⁰ This experience was enclosed not only within their material confines, but also as is suggested, the redolently evocative presence this possessed. This influence, noted by Heylyn, proved efficacious, and travelled with those who witnessed Laud's renovated chapel at Lambeth: "according to which example ... the principle Colledges in *Oxon.* beautified their Chappels".²⁶¹ With such sentiments, the seed of influence takes root elsewhere, upon ground which will be shown to have already responded to the wider cultural associations of architecture and pedigree which the episcopal chapels made manifest.

²⁶⁰ Prynne, 1646: 61.

²⁶¹ Heylyn, 1668: 294.

THE
DISSEMINATION AND
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PRIVATE RELIGIOUS SPACE
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ENGLAND
1600-1660

An Examination of the
Cultural Contexts surrounding
Royal, Episcopal & Collegiate Chapels
from the Accession of
James I to the
Restoration



James Sherrington Jago

Two Volumes

Volume Two

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TABLE OF CONTENTS - VOLUME ONE

Abstract	2
Tables of Contents	3
List of Illustrations	6
Note on Transcription Conventions	14
Acknowledgements	15
Introduction: The Historiography of Post-Reformation Religious Architecture in England	16
i:- Interpretation & Meaning: The Case of Red House Chapel.....	17
ii:- Architectural History & the Re-assessment of Post-Reformation Religious Architecture	22
iii:- Early Stuart Church History & the Value of an Interdisciplinary Approach.....	31
iv:- ‘Dissemination’ & ‘Reassessment’: The Hypothesis & Structure	37
Chapter One: The Place & Significance of Royal Chapels in Early Stuart England.....	42
i:- Introduction.....	43
ii:- The Inherited Architecture of Royal Chapels	45
iii:- James I & Religious Policy: The Hampton Court Conference & the Chapel Royal.....	61
iv:- The Use of Royal Chapels by the Jacobean Court	70
v:- The Jacobean Royal Chapels: Hampton Court & Greenwich Palace Chapels	76
vii:- The Chapel Royal as Exponent of Royal Policy: A Caledonian Prologue	93
viii:- The Chapel Royal as Exponent of Royal Policy: Holyrood House Chapel	98
ix:- Conclusion: The Royal Chapel in Early Stuart England	111
Chapter Two: The Place & Significance of Episcopal Chapels in Early Stuart England	113
i:- Introduction.....	114
ii:- The Wider Cultural Environment: Hospitality & Diplomacy.....	117
iii:- The Immediate Episcopal Environment: Heraldry & Protestant Antiquarianism	136
iv:- Primitive Christianity & <i>Pastor Bonus</i> : The Case of Lancelot Andrewes	143
v:- Shared Episcopal Parameters: The Case of George Abbot.....	155
vi:- Apotheosis: The Archbishopal Chapel at Lambeth under William Laud.....	171
vii:- Conclusion: The Episcopal Chapel in Early Stuart England	187

TABLE OF CONTENTS - VOLUME TWO

Chapter Three: The Collegiate Chapel in Early Modern Oxford, c.1620-c.1660	193
i:- Introduction.....	194
ii:- Exeter College Chapel & the Reformed Architectural Position	197
iii:- The House of Prayer: Prideaux & the Exposition of Ecclesiastical Architecture	207
iv:- Richard Hooker & the Temple as Architectural Progenitor	216
v:- Episcopal Patronage & Identity: John Williams & the Immediate Context of Lincoln College....	225
vi:- <i>Meruerit Mecænatem</i> : The Decorum of Style & St John's College Library, Cambridge	229
vii:- Episcopal Lineage: Westminster Abbey & Buckden Palace	241
viii:- Episcopal Affirmation: Williams & the Collegiate Chapel	256
ix:- Brasenose College Chapel: Posthumous Intent & the Endurance of Association.....	280
x:- The Realization of Radcliffe's College Chapel.....	286
xi:- Symbolic Meaning? - Sacred Commemoration & Collegiate Rivalry	294
xii:- Conclusion: The Collegiate Chapel in Early Modern Oxford	305
Conclusion.....	310
List of Abbreviations.....	316
Bibliography	320
Primary Sources, Manuscript	320
Primary Sources, Printed	321
Secondary Sources, Unpublished.....	325
Secondary Sources, Printed.....	326
Secondary Sources, Electronic.....	338
Illustrations.....	339

CHAPTER THREE

The Collegiate Chapel in Early Modern Oxford *c.1620 - c.1660*



CHAPTER THREE

THE COLLEGIATE CHAPEL IN EARLY MODERN OXFORD CIRCA 1620 - CIRCA 1660

i:-INTRODUCTION

Magdalen College antechapel may seem an unlikely place to begin a discussion of collegiate architecture in early modern England (Figures 50 & 51). Completed in 1480, it was over a century old when the period in question, and its religious contentions, emerged.¹ Despite this fact, the connotations of its architecture with patronal munificence and sacred decorum still held currency amongst the reformed university. The endurance of aesthetic values is an essential premise in order to understand the subsequent course of new building undertaken by Oxford colleges throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. The architectural identity of the present was shaped by the claims of legitimate identity drawn from the past. Whilst often accounted in terms of 'Gothic Survival' or 'Gothic Revival',² there is scant evidence that contemporaneous patrons and commentators conceived of the buildings they funded and saw in such terms. The mind-set within which the context of Oxford's architecture must be set is primarily that of the reformed theologian, not the Renaissance architectural *virtuosi*. Granting this, there is no more evocative setting for entering this mental topography than the antechapel at Magdalen. It attests to the inter-relationship between the mediaeval past and the reformed early modern position.³ Though altered and repaired, its windows still contain the monochrome images installed from 1637-40 under the aegis of the College's head, Accepted Frewen.⁴ They are the sole surviving component of the

¹ RCHM Oxon: 71-72. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 151.

² Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 34-35.

³ For wider discussion of post-Reformation art see Howard, 2007a: 267-71.

⁴ Newman, 1997: 165.

chapel's refurbishment to expound the aesthetic ideals which have become characterised as 'Laudian',⁵ and here, the nomenclature is appropriate, for Frewen was an adherent, or lackey, of Laud's policies. The completed effect was intended to infuse a transferable model of sacredness upon its audience. The surviving windows convey the atmosphere of 'dim religious light' so valued by as a means for inducing pious thoughts appropriate for a religious structure. The forty eight saints portrayed by Richard Greenbury at first baffle the scrutiny of commentators.⁶ If controlled by a single idea, there emphasis is weighted upon saints and writers associated with the Early Christian Church.⁷ The presence of these saints, some virtuosic for their obscurity, betrays the assimilative associative pull of mediaeval sacred architecture to serve the purposes of the early Stuart Church. The exemplary authority of the pure Church of the first centuries after Christ appears personified in its witnesses, themselves commemorated and framed within the traceried windows, inherited from an earlier period of history.⁸

Undoubtedly, the associative process is selective: it elides the factual history of the antechapel in order to demonstrate the claims of inheritance and legitimate legacy of fundamental moment to the reformed English Church. As the subsequent discussion will attempt to demonstrate, such values and their manifestation in visual forms was not the preserve of the Laudian faction. Whilst those examples considered needs must be selective, they can be taken as symptomatic of a shared consensus amongst patrons of collegiate architecture. Oxford's early seventeenth-century intellectual engagement with architecture

⁵ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 184-85.

⁶ Koller, 1998: 1-12. Parry, 2006: 72.

⁷ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 229-30.

⁸ For the use of patristic authors by Laudian apologists see Quantin, 2009: 155-202.

has recently been addressed in Anthony Gerbino and Stephen Johnson's discussion of Henry Saville.⁹ Examined as a practical demonstration of geometrical harmonies, these authors focus solely upon classical forms, which are still presented as dissonant from the contemporaneous Gothic which surrounds them.¹⁰ What these authors demonstrate for Geometry, this examination attempts to demonstrate for the highest level of university learning in the period: Divinity. This approach does not attempt to homogenise the examples under consideration. Distinctions between separate instances are undoubtedly present, but they can be understood as variations on of a consistent ideal which is tailored to the individual circumstances of patrons and institutions. For the reformed and ardently protestant position on this inherited architectural legacy, the lost chapel at Exeter College offers penetrating and unexpected revelations. That of Lincoln offers a powerful testament to the shared values of aesthetic richness which could be deployed by an episcopal patron who was himself no Laudian fellow-traveller. The endurance of such architectural values beyond the Laudian hegemony of the 1630s is ably demonstrated by the chapel at Brasenose, a structure which demonstrates the synthetic absorption and transference of ideas between separate colleges. In the picture of collegiate chapel architecture which emerges, shared values and associations are given deliberate emphasis. Whilst this may arguably be grounded with too great a prominence, it is a necessary hypothesis in order to explore the ideas underpinning the values attached to religious architecture in early modern England.

⁹ For Savile's career see R.D. Goulding, 'Savile, Sir Henry (1549-1622)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24737> (accessed 06/07/2010).

¹⁰ *ibid.*:76.

ii:- EXETER COLLEGE CHAPEL: THE IMMEDIATE CONTEXT FOR A PROTESTANT COLLEGIATE CHAPEL?

Amongst the sources for seventeenth-century attitudes to religion and architecture, the main quadrangle of Exeter College is unlikely to find inclusion. Its dominating, arguably over-dominating, feature is the mid-Victorian chapel by George Gilbert Scott.¹¹ Unsurprisingly denounced by mid-twentieth century commentators as “a machine-made imitation of the Sainte Chapelle”,¹² it replaces what was the most remarkable college chapel to be built in early modern Oxford. The loss of this earlier structure creates a poignant absence in any discussion of the early modern attitude towards religious and collegiate architecture. Whilst its aesthetic significance can now only be gleaned from visual sources, the intellectual processes by which it was positioned within the reformed Church’s understanding of its own architectural identity has survived. Consecrated on 5 October 1624, the sermon preached by the College’s Rector John Prideaux offers an unrivalled exposition of the new chapel’s position within the continuum of religious architecture.¹³ It is the claims to precedent and lineage expressed in Prideaux’s sermon which are the basis of this discussion. The lost chapel serves as a synecdoche for the assimilated identification with the inherited legacy of mediaeval religious architecture, and how its presence was by no means antithetical to the reformed orthodox position of the early-seventeenth century.¹⁴ The intellectual process of legitimising identification can also be compared to the shared processes found not only within the leading biblical scholarship of the time, but within the liturgical writings which adopt a very different stance to those of Calvinist orthodoxy. What once more is emphasised is the shared ground between the partisan factions within the

¹¹ Built 1854-60. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 136-137.

¹² Lamborn, 1944: 137.

¹³ Prideaux, 1625.

¹⁴ For discussion of this in relation to Oxford see Tyacke, 1987b: 59-62.

reformed English Church, a fact ably manifest in the architectural legacies from this period. The lost chapel at Exeter College therefore opens up the potential resonances and significance underpinning stylistic decisions within both the university and beyond. Before considering these wider matters, determining how they were present in the chapel itself must first be considered through recovering as much as possible of its original form and appearance.

Before the ambitious reconstructions of Oriel and University Colleges in the 1630s, Exeter College has seen the most substantial campaign of architectural expansion of any college. The desultory elevation recorded in Queen Elizabeth's *Book of Oxford* was transformed from 1616, over the course of a decade,¹⁵ into the assertive institution recorded by Loggan (Figure 52). Expansion was necessitated by the increase of resident commoners in the college, and a sustained building campaign saw the creation of new chambers, a new hall and new chapel, three structures each largely funded by private munificence in a campaign without equal amongst Oxford colleges in the period.¹⁶ The chapel's site was purchased from the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford in 1622, undoubtedly with support from the Court.¹⁷ Given the pronounced deference to established models of inherited collegiate architecture, manifest in the new hall,¹⁸ the projected chapel might well have been expected to assert the same significance of mediaeval precedents to early modern colleges. Funded by alumnus George Hakewill's donation of £1,200,¹⁹ the structure was both respectful and revisionist towards the immediate models for college chapels. The most remarkable departure from precedents was

¹⁵ Reproduced in Durning, 2006: 62. Newman, 1997: 136.

¹⁶ Newman, 1997: 143.

¹⁷ *ibid.*: 144.

¹⁸ For an account of the hall see RCHM Oxon: 56-57.

¹⁹ Newman, 1997: 144.

its plan, which consisted of two aisles running longitudinally under separate roofs; than on the south or inner side being slightly narrower than the other. This is patently clear in Loggan's aerial view of the College (Figure 53), and raises obvious problems of interpretation: why should the established model for an Oxford college chapel be rejected here? The question can be addressed with reference to the leading protagonists behind the project, the rector John Prideaux and the donor Geroge Hakewill. Their shared shade of reformed theology might well provide the impetus for rejecting, or revising, the suitability of architecturally-inherited models for their new collegiate chapel. Such a course seems implicit in the surviving evidence of the new chapel's appearance, and the projects realisation can be understood as the outcome of collaboration between these two clerics.²⁰ To understand the religious architecture of reformed clerics, and working on the premise of an associational relationship, something must first be said of their theological mind-set.

Hakewill and Prideaux were of the same academic generation; graduating from Exeter College as Bachelors of Arts in 1599 and 1600 respectively.²¹ Characteristically from scholars trained in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, their religious outlook was to remain markedly Calvinist in outlook throughout their careers. Indeed, Hakewill had direct experience of the Swiss and German Calvinist churches during his formative years.²² Prideaux likewise fostered a convivial atmosphere within Exeter College itself for Calvinist

²⁰ The possible effects of collaboration upon collegiate architecture will be further addressed with reference to Lincoln College chapel subsequently.

²¹ Hegarty, A.J. 'Prideaux, John (1578-1650)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22785> (accessed 29 November 2011). McCullough, P.E. 'Hakewill, George (*bap*.1578, *d*.1649)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22785> (accessed 16 December 2011).

²² *ibid.*

orthodoxy after being elected as Rector in 1612,²³ and maintained a consistent ideological stance whilst serving as the university's Vice-Chancellor.²⁴ Resigning from the Rectorship of Exeter on 12 July 1642 amidst the birth pangs of the Civil War, Prideaux had arguably come to embody Calvinist orthodoxy against the onslaught of Laud's revisionist policies.²⁵ From such a quarter, an ambiguous response to the material remains of pre-Reformation religion might well be expected. The selection of a two-aisled plan, whilst being hitherto unknown amongst collegiate chapels, does have an acknowledged place within parochial church architecture after the Reformation. As present in several instances, it has persuasively been presented by Maurice Howard as a conscious realignment of ecclesiastical architecture which emphasises the communality of the congregation around the pulpit.²⁶ In accordance with protestant strictures, the sermon rather than the Communion is the defining exposition of reformed Christianity, and consequently the architectural coordination shifts in response to the abandonment of mediaeval religious practices.²⁷ That the dual-aisle plan was a distinct architectural type of reformed riposte to inherited ecclesiastical models appears to be confirmed by the unfinished church begun by Robert Dudley at Denbigh.²⁸ Whilst deliberate identification with this unrealised project is unlikely, it can be taken as symptomatic that when given the opportunity, the tenets of Calvinism informed architectural design so as to make it distinct from its mediaeval antecedents.

²³ Hegarty, A.J. 'Prideaux, John (1578-1650)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22785> (accessed 29 November 2011).

²⁴ In two phases 1619-1621 and 1624-1626. Prideaux also served as Regius Professor of Divinity. *ibid.*

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ Howard, 2007b: 61-71.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ Begun 1578. Butler, 1974: 40-62.

However, the wish to re-assess collegiate chapel architecture in response to theological leanings only offers a partial explanation of the design of Exeter College chapel, for it undoubtedly owed a debt to the cultural connotations of inherited architectural forms. The chapel's arcade, rather than being classical as would have been the case in Leicester's church,²⁹ (and as at several recently rebuilt churches)³⁰ was clearly derived from the models offered by the antechapels of New and Magdalen Colleges (Figure 54). The vast windows likewise demonstrate a clear recourse to New College chapel, whilst such features as battlements and the grotesques on the bellcote were undoubtedly so immediately prevalent as to not require a specific precedent. As much as apparent innovations are present in plan, in elevation the new chapel was characterised by conformity to the most obvious exemplars Oxford offered. The reformed theological position, albeit tempered with Calvinist theology, did not set itself in opposition to the inherited forms of ecclesiastical architecture; it was not a catalyst for innovatory change in the material expression of worship. The chapel at Exeter was arguably built into the existing expectations of collegiate architecture because these forms were still appealed to early modern visual culture, and were still part of the lived experience of the University as a whole. Their appeal is likewise comprehensible when they are understood in terms of patronage and munificence; such earlier acts of built benefaction still having the capacity to influence those of the early seventeenth century in order for the latter to be comprehensible to their immediate audience. The underlying principles of architectural conformity expressed in Exeter College chapel therefore are not symptomatic of a blind veneration for the pre-Reformation past, but an affirming confirmation of the early modern present. This deferential spirit had already been demonstrated in the building of the Bodleian Library and Schools Quadrangle, which likewise proclaim how fully mediaeval

²⁹ *ibid.*: 50-54.

³⁰ Or classicizing in motifs. For comparative Elizabethan examples see Airs, 1984: 368-73.

architectural forms had been assimilated into the reformed University's most conspicuous expression of itself as a unified educational institution.³¹ The new buildings here absorbed the aesthetic bequest of the Duke Humphrey Library, expanding it to validate the modern work and demonstrating the connotations of learning with mediaeval forms.³² However, the expanded collections responded to the intellectual climate of their time, and demonstrate a discernible penchant for protestant, reformist texts, against those of patristic or scholastic authors. It cannot be coincidental that such sentiments appear expressed in stone, and in such close proximity, in the new chapel at Exeter College. The latter displays the shared tendency to conceive of architecture as being built into an inherited and culturally relevant model, regardless of the alleged rupture of the Reformation.

Whilst such consistency allows the mediaeval aspects of the chapel to be contextualised, the departure from existing architectural models remains unanswered. One possible explanation for the double-aisled plan comes again from the shared experiences of college rector and benefactor. Both Hakewill and Prideaux had been born in the southwest of England; the latter in Devon and the former, given his baptism, in Exeter.³³ When examined in terms of its salient components, Exeter College chapel's sizable windows and arcade stand reading as a transposed West Country church realised in paraphrase, with its elements assimilated into an Oxonian idiom. Such a hypothesis is dependent upon the self-same associative hold of mediaeval architectural forms which underpin contemporaneous new college building just discussed. To further support this premise, this region saw a noticeable

³¹ For the protracted building campaign see Newman, 1997: 137-40; 147-54. Girouard, 2009: 432-35.

³² RCHM Oxon: 1-10. Newman, 1997: 150.

³³ Hegarty, A.J. 'Prideaux, John (1578-1650)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22785> - accessed 29 November 2011. McCullough, P.E. 'Hakewill, George (bap.1578, d.1649)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22785> (accessed 16 December 2011).

campaign of extension and reconstruction throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; a fact which implies that ecclesiastical architecture was still soliciting the attentions of patrons and craftsmen.³⁴ The reflection of such recent ecclesiastical building might well have been shared between patron and mason. Whilst the chapel has resisted attribution, it is possible that a comparable familial patronage network to that which brought William Arnold to Oxford for the building of Wadham College operated in the case of Exeter College chapel.³⁵ Its apparently innovative plan can therefore be understood as a reflection of the formative experiences of ecclesiastical architecture, perhaps shared between both patron and workman. Whilst idiosyncratic, it still operates within the deferential parameters outlined here as integral and apposite for an early modern patron of collegiate architecture. The peculiarities of Exeter College chapel betray an experience of parochial architecture which whilst conditioned by recourse to Oxonian antecedents, is undeniably pronounced. As it was Hakewill who laid the foundation stone on 11 March 1623, it is not unreasonable to apportion responsibility for this idea to him.³⁶

That the finished structure proclaimed its patron's identity is clear from surviving evidence. Prominent upon entering the interior were Hakewill's arms, displayed in the elaborate strapwork cresting of the antechapel screen (Figures 54 & 55).³⁷ His arms appear to have provided a *leitmotif* to the stalls and screenwork; in such profusion where the arms of the College itself might have been deemed more suitable.³⁸ Their presence was also recorded on

³⁴ Colvin, 1999: 22-51.

³⁵ Davies, 2003: 895-96.

³⁶ McCullough, P.E. 'Hakewill, George (*bap.*1578, *d.*1649)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22785> - accessed 16 December 2011.

³⁷ A bend between six trefoils with a molet upon it. Greening Lamborn, 1944: 137.

³⁸ *ibid.*

the ceiling by Anthony à Wood, and if this heraldic profusion needed justification, the inscription in the east window read: “Georgius Hakewill Exoniensis Et Hujus Collegii Quondam Socius Hoc Sacellum Fundavit 1624 [George Hakewill of Exeter and sometime Fellow of this College founded this Chapel 1624]”.³⁹ Whilst heraldry had been continuously used to display patronal identity throughout this period,⁴⁰ its presence within this collegiate chapel is doubly significant. It suggests that heraldic display provided the identifying *sigillum* for architectural patronage, and that it was included so prominently at Exeter implies that it retained the same value for seventeenth-century viewers of inherited mediaeval architecture.⁴¹ The recent work may therefore represent another strand in the understanding of mediaeval architecture which had endured into the early modern present, that of the inter-relationship between architectural form and heraldic display.⁴²

Apparent innovation in response to recent exemplars can also be determined in the lavish furnishings. Though surviving only in part as dispersed fragments,⁴³ what can be gleaned of their original appearance suggests an adoption of the model offered by the slightly earlier stalls and screen and Wadham College chapel.⁴⁴ The similarity is not coincidental, since the shared characteristics between the hall screens at Wadham, Jesus and Exeter Colleges suggest that they shared a common authorship in John Bolton.⁴⁵ The chapel’s furnishings therefore serve to pull the new interior into aesthetic unity with the most recent comparable

³⁹ Wood, 1786: 121.

⁴⁰ Girouard, 2009: 225-29.

⁴¹ This association is considered in Chapter II, and discussed in relation to Lincoln College Chapel subsequently.

⁴² This is not to suggest that architecture and heraldry were understood as comparative systems. Hart, 2011: 91-111.

⁴³ The surviving fragments and their locations are recorded in Greening Lamborn, 1944.

⁴⁴ RCHM Oxon: 120-21. The hall screen at Exeter is now topped by the crested tympanums from the antechapel screen. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 136.

⁴⁵ Newman, 1997: 157. Compare RCHM Oxon: plates 114 & 115.

carpentry projects; the consistency assured by the probable employment of the same craftsman by Hakewill. The stylistic distinction between furnishings and architecture is a long acknowledged characteristic of collegiate architecture in this period.⁴⁶ In itself, this phenomenon demonstrates the associative influence of experience upon new collegiate building; just as the inherited mediaeval spaces had been refitted with classical woodwork so to were new architectural spaces. The same distinction occurred in the entrance from the quadrangle, which was articulated with a Doric aedicule; suggestive in itself of the influence of engraved frontispieces upon literate scholarly patrons. Any concern over eclecticism is nowhere apparent: the conditioned expectations are more synthetic than dogmatic in order to build the new chapel into a present experience of collegiate architecture where past structures and new furnishings co-exist. Hakewill's patronage therefore displays the attitude to contemporaneous college architecture which arguably seeks to reinforce these associative parameters in order to meet the expectations of an early modern college.

Exeter College chapel can therefore be understood as a building which betrays the shared influences of the two men who oversaw its construction; Rector Prideaux and George Hakewill. It manifests the experiences and expectations of reformed clerics towards the constituent features of a collegiate chapel. The possible motivation for departure from inherited models owing to the theological stance of both men pales against the ways of accounting for apparent innovation by reference to a shared experience of mediaeval parochial architecture. Reformed Calvinist theology was no barrier to an assimilation and conditioning of architectural expectations by the inherited forms of mediaeval religious

⁴⁶ Mowl, 2002: 84. Girouard, 2009: 436.

buildings. When the latter are understood as testaments to patronal munificence, the wish to build into an expectation of forms becomes clear. It can be read as a demonstration of the architectural values prevalent across the university as a whole; the same powers of association and assimilation as are demonstrable at the Bodleian Library and Schools Quadrangle are manifest in Hakewill's chapel at Exeter. Whilst the orthodox reformed mind set did not eschew its mediaeval architectural inheritance, it was able to consciously adapt it to frame a distinct message which reflected the wider institutional concerns of the early modern era. So far, the interpretation offered is based on certain premises deemed integral to the selection of visual forms. An impression of Exeter College chapel has been reconstructed on paper, as far as feasibly possible, but this leaves unanswered how the new chapel was understood by its first congregation on 5 October 1624. For any in doubt, its function was made clear through the inscription repeated in every clear-glazed light: "*Domus Mea, Domus Orationis* [My House (shall be called) the House of Prayer]"⁴⁷ This mantra had previously appeared carved over the eastern battlements of the chapel at Trinity College, Cambridge (Figure 56).⁴⁸ Dated to 1564, it stands reading as an affirmation of Catholic reaction or reformed exposition in the face of the religious flux of that decade. As a scriptural reference, it is singularly apposite for the claims of lineage and pedigree which were made by Prideaux in Exeter College chapel in his consecration sermon. As the historical conflux of Old and New Dispensations, when Christ, physically present within the Temple, expelled the moneylenders,⁴⁹ it offered Prideaux an ideal text for this reformed sermon. Preached on the day that Prince Charles returned from his abortive visit to Spain to

⁴⁷ Wood, 1786: 117. Matthew xxi: 13 & Luke, xix: 46. The absence of pictorial glazing should be read against that at Wadham and mediaeval college chapels.

⁴⁸ Consecrated 1567. For its construction and description see RCHM Cantab: 218-22. Pevsner, 1970: 166-67.

⁴⁹ Matthew, xxi: 12-16 & Luke, xix: 45-48.

secure the Spanish Match, Providence must have seemed to be smiling upon the reformed English cause.⁵⁰

iii:- THE HOUSE OF PRAYER: PRIDEAUX AND THE EXPOSITION OF ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

Prideaux's consecration sermon offers a rare and valuable insight into the reformed attitude towards religious architecture in early modern England. Amidst a dearth of direct commentary before the 1630s,⁵¹ it provides an unrivalled insight into the assimilative powers of protestant rhetoric. It would seem reasonable to assume that the intellectual agenda it expounds reflects a consistency with the architectural environment which first framed it. Prideaux's words serve not merely as an *apologia* for the new chapel, but an attempt to position it within the history of religious architecture as a means to legitimise both the building and its function. The claims of continuum with biblical precedents are combined with an astute refutation of Catholic practices in order to validate the reformed position. As an argument, it positions the chapel within the obvious parameters of reference which goes to the heart of religious architecture's place for the reformed English Church. Such an exposition appears to parallel in significance the clear association the new chapel's form makes to parochial architecture. This conceit of uniformity across distinctive types of ecclesiastical structure can almost be read as an orthodox Calvinist alternative to the Laudian use of royal and collegiate chapels in the drive for uniformity. As an exposition of religious architecture throughout time, Prideaux displays his own intellectual inheritance from earlier

⁵⁰ Prideaux, 1625: sig. ¶4v.

⁵¹ Those in response to Laud's campaign for uniformity are examined in Newman, 1993: 168-86.

reformed commentaries; most clearly the writings of Richard Hooker and the Elizabethan Homilies. Enshrining an attitude towards the distinctiveness of places of worship, they testify to a reformed position which valued detachment and sanctity which is easy to regard as a latent strand in theological thought until the advent of Arminian revisions during the 1630s.⁵² This was demonstrably not the case, as Prideaux's argument makes clear. What emerges is a shared common ground of reformed theological opinion towards the distinctness of places of worship, and the means by which their sanctity can be justified with reference to biblical and historical precedents. Couched in these arguments is an understanding of architecture which identifies with a common cultural experience of religious architecture as mediaeval. To claim that the English Reformation rendered mediaeval ecclesiastical architecture "obsolete" could not be more wrong.⁵³

Taking for his text the scriptural affirmation written in the new chapel's windows, Prideaux sets out at the start that his discussion will be an affirmation of the virtues of reformed religion against those of corrupt Catholicism. With Christ's purging of the Temple as his exemplar, he asks: "what *zeale* and *resolution* is to be used of those whom it truly concerns; when *Religion* is prophaned, *Temples* polluted, *holy things* perverted".⁵⁴ The argument moves on to consider the distinction made for religious structures "this *House* must appeare to be his *peculiar*; this *peculiar* must not be made *common* ... but reserved as a *sacred Congregation-house*".⁵⁵ In relation to the architecture of Exeter College chapel, the distinctiveness of a religious building serves to express its purpose. That the visual forms most apposite to

⁵² Parry, 2006: 14-18.

⁵³ Summerson, 1963: 99.

⁵⁴ Prideaux, 1625: sig. A1r.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*: sig. A2v-A3r.

realise this are those inherited from earlier mediaeval examples demonstrates how a reformed protestant divine could actively identify with the architectural legacy antecedent to the Reformation without ambivalence. Prideaux's words imply that this desire for visual distinction was widely held across early modern culture; for such forms as traceried windows to convey meaning, their meaning must be comprehensible to their audience. Any inherent taint of Catholic practice, such as eastern orientation Prideaux dispenses with through claiming that "we *disallow* not, as in it selfe *meerely indiefferent*; yet *imbrace* it not, on such *Jesuiticall inducements*, but in regard of a *commendable conformity*".⁵⁶ Therefore, the retention of inherited practices is justified theologically as adiaphoron, and retained as a practice which pulls the new chapel into concordance with existing religious structures. Prideaux is however not implying any affinity to Catholic practices. He makes this clear through a withering but well informed account of Catholic consecrations,⁵⁷ which he juxtaposes with the earlier practice when: "a Church by a *plaine benediction*, may be destined to the *ministry* of sacred things".⁵⁸ The chief targets of such claims are the Counter-Reformation writings of Roberto Bellarmino, whose confutation of Protestant opinions made him a stalwart adversary for reformed apologists.⁵⁹ Throughout, Prideaux celebrates the advantages of the reformed religious position against the "*superstitious and ridiculous ceremonies*" of Rome,⁶⁰ his sentiments summarised with the rhetorical question: "how *blessed* our case is, who so fairely are *freed* from them"?⁶¹

⁵⁶ *ibid.*: sig. B1r. Hakewill's chapel was so orientated.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*: sig. B4v-C1r.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*: sig. B4r.

⁵⁹ Hamberg, 2002: 10-11. For Lancelot Andrewes' defence against Bellarmino, see Chapter II.

⁶⁰ Prideaux: sig. B4v.

⁶¹ *ibid.*: sig. C2r.

Thus far Prideaux's sermon displays characteristics Anthony Milton has identified as those of moderate Calvinists who built upon and refined the justifications for the Reformation promulgated by John Foxe.⁶² Its validation of the reformed English Church as a purified of accumulated corruptions agrees with Prideaux's theological position in his writings.⁶³ Such a position was representative of the 'Jacobean consensus' later challenged and subverted by Laudian apologists in the 1630s. Anti-Catholic polemic is by no means the sole drive of Prideaux's words. Part of the vindication of the new chapel, and by implication reformed religious architecture, is an appeal to historical precedents which are antecedent to the enormities of Catholic corruption. The argument demonstrates the assimilatory powers of protestant apologists to justify their present through recourse to the past; a shared factor which arguably influenced the identification with inherited architectural forms. Exeter College chapel is therefore presented as built into a tradition of church building, deriving from the practices of the Primitive Church, which the Reformation has recovered. The reformed present is validated through the precedents of the past. The church-building by early Christians begins after the Edict of Milan, when "every good mans devotion was set on fire ... his purse open for Churches and Chapels".⁶⁴ Eusebius provides Prideaux with an account of Constantine's benefactions, which he checks as "magnificence, to be admired rather than imitated".⁶⁵ Justinian is praised as outdoing the latter with "the incomparable Church of Sophia",⁶⁶ and Charlemagne remembered for "erecting so many Churches as there be letters in the Roman Alphabet".⁶⁷ Constantine also provides a legitimate precedent for consecrating churches;⁶⁸ his actions and those of later emperors demonstrating the valid

⁶² Milton, 1993: 202-203.

⁶³ *ibid.*: 203, endnote 41.

⁶⁴ Prideaux, 1625: sig. A2v-A3r.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*: sig. A3r.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*: sig. A3r.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*: sig. A3r.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*: sig. B4r.

reasons for church building. The process Prideaux summarised as: “true *devotion* first grounded, *necessity* urged, *conveniency* furered, *holy ability* perfected, and *God* blessed”.⁶⁹ These qualifying factors position the new chapel at Exeter College within a lineage of pious benefaction which takes as its model the historical evidence from the first centuries of Christianity. Such building is legitimised by the immediate necessity for building, which finds divine favour. As far as such sentiments underpin the design of the new chapel, whilst drawing upon immediate examples of religious architecture, it is ideologically built into an early-Christian pattern in order to make it comprehensible to a reformed seventeenth-century present.

Claims of a return to Early-Christian practices are self-evidently problematic when they are compared to the chapel as realised. Obviously, its antecedents are securely English and mediaeval and it stands no comparable relationship to the architectural patterns of Early Christianity. This identification not only creates a disjunction with the sentiments of reverence for the latter, but also Prideaux’s scornful attitude towards the immediate pre-Reformation past. His distrust of the Middle Ages is conditioned by his intellectual model of it as a period of decline.⁷⁰ The only admirable interpretation of ecclesiastical architecture and patronage he finds in this period is, surprisingly, that of Bernard of Clairvaux.⁷¹ The sainted abbot’s *Apologia* to Abbot William offers Prideaux with an exemplar who: “desired to restraine *excesse*, curbe *ostentation*, stop *superstition*”.⁷² It is not however architectural excess

⁶⁹ *ibid.*: sig. A3r.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*: sig. A3v-A4r.

⁷¹ He was not the first English author to use Bernard’s writing, see Milton, 1993: 192, footnote 12.

⁷² Prideaux, 1625: sig. A4r.

itself, but the superabundance of material richness within church buildings which Prideaux highlights:

Proh Deum! Si non pudeat ineptiarum, cur vel non piget expensarum? [Good Lord, even if the foolishness of it all occasion no shame, at least one might balk at the expense.]⁷³ By which it is cleare, that unnecessary *structures*, superfluous *charges*, ambitious *pompe* are the things they strike at; where the *painting* of the *house*, is the *impovering* of the *household*. Otherwise they *applauded* the work; *Sainted* (in a manner) the Founders".⁷⁴

In drawing upon Bernard's text, Prideaux enters into strange company with the prime reformer of mediaeval monasticism; an identification his Calvinist credentials might be expected to resist. Such a citation demonstrates the assimilatory powers of apologists for the reformed English Church to draw selectively upon the legacy of the mediaeval past to legitimise the protestant present. However, this selectivity is not unproblematic is viewed as an indicating the associations between collegiate architecture and scholastic learning. Here is Prideaux's account of ecclesiastical decline:

Libertie brake out into *luxurie*: *Superseminations* and *Superstructions*, overgrew and obscured the good *seede* and *building*. Which *Addition* and *Multiplication*, not onely of *points of Doctrine*, but *superstitious* and *ridiculous ceremonies* ... began to worke a *Subtraction* of other *Churches* of *Rome*.⁷⁵

The picture is one of superfluous complexity, contriving to obscure the primary clarity of religious architecture. Prideaux's narrative associates this invasion of multiplicity in similar ways to the decial of mediaeval scholastic method voiced earlier in Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*.⁷⁶ Bacon characterised scholastic writings as: "those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books ... cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fitness of thread and work, but of no substance of profit".⁷⁷ Whilst targeted at thought processes, contained within these sentiments, by implication, is that the architecture associated with

⁷³ Translated in Casey, 1970: 66.

⁷⁴ Prideaux, 1625: sig. A4r-A4v.

⁷⁵ Prideaux, 1625: sig. B3v.

⁷⁶ First published in 1605.

⁷⁷ Quoted in Henderson, 1967: 184.

scholastic exposition likewise shared these characteristics.⁷⁸ For Bacon and Prideaux,⁷⁹ what more apposite manifestation of scholastic complexity could be offered than the vault of the Divinity School, built to house exactly the type of over-subtle theological exposition both authors decry?⁸⁰ Such antipathy towards inherited architectural forms and their connotations can be found within Prideaux's closing remarks. Whilst invoking forgiveness for the misuse of religious structures, he states amongst possible transgressions "our barbarousnesse in polluting them".⁸¹ The epithet of barbarity was common amongst critics of scholasticism, but its use here suggests a distinctive meaning on Prideaux's part. In this context, consideration can profitably turn to sentiments expressed in print by Henry Wotton in the same year as Prideaux's sermon. Upon the use of the pointed arch, Wotton is direct in his condemnation:

for the natural imbecility of the sharp angle itself, and likewise for the very uncomeliness, [the pointed arch] ought to be exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their first inventors, the Goths and Lombards, among other reliques of that barbarous age.⁸²

Though the agreement between Wotton and Prideaux's sentiments is not exact, it indicates how the derogatory name of 'Gothic' came to be applied in England to mediaeval architecture.⁸³ As mediaeval scholasticism was symptomatic of the decline in literary standards, the "*combustions and tumults of the middle Age had uncivilized*"⁸⁴ practices in architecture also. However, Prideaux's comprehension of barbarousness is still removed from specific application to ecclesiastical architecture: it is a reprehensible action undertaken within and upon sacred edifices and not a characteristic of the latter themselves. However,

⁷⁸ For a classic case study as regards the influence of scholasticism upon architectural design is Panofsky, 1958.

⁷⁹ Prideaux likewise castigates "*Schoole Divinity*". Prideaux, 1625: sig. A4v.

⁸⁰ Described in RCHM Oxon: 5-8. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 257-58.

⁸¹ Prideaux, 1625: sig. D1r.

⁸² Wotton, 1624: 51.

⁸³ Problems of exact terminology and nomenclature in this period are discussed in Horsfall Turner, 2011: 171-93.

⁸⁴ Wotton, 1624: sig. ¶4r.

the identification of barbarity with religious architecture is present in embryo. If Exeter College chapel was intended to overcome the litany of possible abuses religious structures were subject to as part of a reformed programme, the pressures of appealing to shared expectations of visual forms and their connotations has arguably triumphed. As a statement of reformed collegiate identity, it could be read as symptomatic of ambivalence and ambiguity, rather than affirmative identification.⁸⁵

To present Exeter College chapel in such a light need not cloud its ostensibly reformed message. Its debt to the experience of parochial church architecture supplies the associative power such buildings had upon reformed early modern clerics. One further example of this assimilative process provides a counter-argument to validate to justify the recourse to mediaeval architectural forms to hammer home a reformist message. Whilst shared characteristics may well be incidental rather than intentional, if one reformed church had the reformed credentials Hakewill and Prideaux adopt here, it was the church of the Austin Friars in London. Dissolved at the Reformation, the nave of this sizable and prestigious church had been given to the Dutch refugee protestant church under the leadership of Jan Łaski in 1550.⁸⁶ The gift was one of politically motivated munificence towards a reformed community and served as a check upon the radicalism of the refugees from the Netherlands.⁸⁷ By continental standards, their reformed theology was in the vanguard when compared to the condition of the English Church at the time. The fourteenth-century building they inherited was characterised by the light spaciousness which was a hallmark of

⁸⁵ For this reading of religious architecture see Mowl, 2002.

⁸⁶ Sometimes anglicised as John à Lasco. MacCullough, 1999: 141. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 163.

⁸⁷ MacCullough, 1999: 141.

the Mendicant Orders' churches. Indeed, the very connotations with active preaching might well have made the gift all the more apposite as a demonstration of active revision of existing connotations. Whilst a direct association between the Austin Friars church and Exeter College chapel is not explicitly demonstrated by the latter, it is not impossible to perceive the shared characteristics between both structures as significant. If this reformed church offered a model for Exeter College, it was more absorbed and generically manifest in the new chapel than specifically alluded to. For an orthodox Calvinist college with a reputation for such a theological leaning under Prideaux's rectorship, it seems clear that the opportunity to express this stance through the architecture of the new chapel was not overlooked. The sermon itself reinforces that expounding the Word of God assured the correct use of the chapel: "Let *Preaching* therefore so *possesse* the *Pulpit*, that *Prayer* may *name* the *Church* ... that God may have the *glory*, and *God's people* the *benefit*. For such *purposes*, this and the like *Chappels* are *built* and *consecrated*".⁸⁸ It seems clear that mediaeval architectural forms held in themselves no connotations which were adverse to their deployment as an architectural statement of the reformed English Church's identity. Any disjunction between Prideaux's sentiments and those of Wotton indicate the separate intellectual parameters within which they understood architecture. Prideaux came to it primarily from the stance of a reformed apologist. To understand the assimilative process by which mediaeval forms could be synonymous with the pure centuries of Primitive Christianity and make claims to a legitimate pedigree of religious architecture, his debt to an earlier generation of reformist scholarship must be addressed.

⁸⁸ Prideaux, 1625: sig. D1r.

iv:- RICHARD HOOKER AND THE TEMPLE AS ARCHITECTURAL PROGENITOR

One facet of Prideaux's argument for justifying the new chapel at Exeter College was its place within a lineage which reached back to the Temple of Solomon. His recourse to this biblical precedent itself betrays an intellectual debt to the justifications made by earlier reformed texts which served as the sanctioned pronouncements of the reformed English Church's attitude towards its architectural identity. Though underlying his sermon, in drawing upon existing apologies for religious architecture, Prideaux positions the new collegiate chapel into the wider issues affecting the understanding of church architecture in general. Given the parochial derivation of the new chapel, this fact again suggests a consistent intellectual agenda underlay both the edifice and the sermon which explained and legitimised it. The reiteration of the building's relationship to the Temple demonstrates not only the means by which the present was positioned in relation to the past, but goes to the crux of how inherited mediaeval architecture became allied to a reformed identity. This reference further displays the shared ground between separate theological factions which emerged in the 1630s. Prideaux's first comparison pulls the religious edifices of ancient Israel into direct comparison with that familiar to his audience, which has been legitimised through the use of the early Church:

this glorious cathedral Temple, excluded not amongst the Jewes their *Parochiall Synagogues*, or (as they may be termed by Analogie) *Chappels of ease*. Those our *Saviour* and his *Apostles* never spake against ... and therefore left a *warrantable example* for all *succeeding ages* to follow.⁸⁹

The pattern offered by the Jewish practices of synagogues subservient to the Temple is understood as the precedent for hierarchical distinctions between parish churches and chapels of ease, inherited from before the Reformation. This retention Prideaux can support

⁸⁹ *ibid.*: sig. A2v.

through finding no antithetical sentiments to them in scripture, though he is certainly aware of more extreme protestant antipathy towards building churches. Prideaux characterises his opponents as Anabaptists, outlining their argument as; “that the *Jewish Temple* was but a *type* of *Christ*, to vanish; & therefore not a *patterne* for *Christian Churches*”.⁹⁰ This claim he counters with reference to the passage from the Old to the New Dispensations; of religious legitimacy from the Jewish priesthood to Christian Church. Even though “the *Temple* were a *type* ... our *Churches* are not now so; and therefore that [Temple] *demolished*, ours may *stand* and *multiply*”;⁹¹ its validity lies in its use as “a *place* of *public worship*”.⁹² The Temple therefore offers Prideaux a legitimising historical precedent through reference to which the new chapel can be positioned within a continuum of religious architecture. This lineage does not draw the new chapel into direct synergy with the Temple, but validates the reformed present by positioning it and its architecture as the successor to historical prototypes.

In asserting these claims, Prideaux was not demonstrating original thought, but reiterating an attitude to religious architecture itself inherited from an earlier generation of reformed apologists. His most obvious source was Richard Hooker’s fifth book of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. Published in 1597 and written at the behest of Archbishop John Whitgift, its position was unique amongst the religious literature of the period, offering a defence of the reformed Church in England as an institution, rather than upon its theological basis.⁹³ Hooker’s sentiments regarding the function and suitability of material places of worship have often been associated with a line of intellectual descent passing through Lancelot

⁹⁰ ‘Type’ is meant here in the theological sense of prefiguration. *ibid.*: sig. B1v.

⁹¹ *ibid.*: sig. B2r.

⁹² *ibid.*

⁹³ Hill, 1977: xiii. Though this should be read in the light of John Jewel’s *Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae* (1562).

Andrewes to Laud and his fellow travellers.⁹⁴ Prideaux's recourse to Hooker demonstrates that his arguments could be effectively drawn upon across the theological spectrum in defence of a common cause. Prideaux's debts are sometimes explicit, as in his vindication of building churches. The charted course through the patriarchs to the Temple reads as a selective *précis* of Hooker's comparative account, though the former omits to give a fulsome account of the Temple.⁹⁵ A similar concordance appears between both authors' description of the emergence of early-Christian churches.⁹⁶ Prideaux's emphasis on the distinction of appearance appropriate to a church is prefigured in Hooker's rhetorical question: "Can we judge it a thinge seemelie for anie man to goe aboute the buildinge of an howse to the God of heaven with no other appearance, then if his ende were to reare up a kitchen, or parlor [?]"⁹⁷ This distinctiveness of appearance is the germ of stylistic distinction; that which I grounded upon a shared experience of religious architecture conditioned by the continual exposure to the legacy of the Middle Ages. Hooker's 'seemelie' is dependant upon this foundation, and Exeter College chapel undoubtedly conforms to it. Yet there are distinctions between both authors, for Prideaux takes what fulfils his purposes, and his omissions are as significant as his borrowings. He does not pursue Hooker's emphasis upon realising the aesthetics of a place of worship where:

the verie majestie and holiness of the place, where God is worshipped, hath *in regarde of us* great virtue force and efficacie, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stirre up devotion.⁹⁸

This insightful claim provides a further reason for the seemly connotations of inherited mediaeval architecture: it was an active agent in stimulating devotion, not the passive delineation of the place set apart for sacred offices. Prideaux seems deliberately resistant to

⁹⁴ Parry, 2006: 23.

⁹⁵ Prideaux, 1625: sig. B2r as against Polity: xi, 1: 47.

⁹⁶ Prideaux, 1625: sig. A2v-A3r as against Polity: xi, 1-2: 47-48.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*: xii, 1, 50-51.

⁹⁸ *ibid.*: xvi, 2, 61.

claiming such efficaciousness for the new chapel at Exeter College; a moderate Calvinist stance might well be distrustful of such potentially intrusive factors upon the reformed use of a church building.⁹⁹ Prideaux position the new college chapel within an established pattern of exposition, but tellingly he responds to Hooker's precedent with selective reserve.

This selectivity is nowhere more apparent than when Prideaux is reticent to describe the Temple in the fulsome manner adopted by Hooker. For Prideaux, the Temple is fixed in a historical moment and lineage: it worth as an exemplar part of a train of legitimacy leading to the practices of the early Christians.¹⁰⁰ For Hooker, the Temple offers an *exemplum ne plus ultra* of sacred architecture. In examining the question of sumptuousness in church architecture, he contrasts the premise that: "rooms borrowed within the howses of poore men ... [were] suteable unto the nakedness of Jesus Christ and the simplicitie of his Gospell",¹⁰¹ with the Temple.

Even then was the Lord as acceptablie honoured of his people as ever, when the stateliest places and thinges in the whole world were sought out to adorn his temple. This most suteable decent and fit for the greatnes of Jesus Christ, for the sublimitie of his Gospell.¹⁰²

This rapturous celebration of material richness embodied in the Temple risks misreading as being directly applicable to the circumstances of Elizabethan England. Hooker goes on to make clear that both situations are suitable to the Early Christian Church during separate historical periods, before and after successive persecutions. In drawing upon Eusebius, Hooker can exclaim: "wee see how most Christian minds stood then affected, wee see how

⁹⁹ Calvin's own statements in this regard are addressed subsequently in connection with Lincoln College.

¹⁰⁰ Prideaux, 1625: sig. B3r.

¹⁰¹ Polity: xv, 1, 56-57.

¹⁰² *ibid.*: xv, 2, 57.

joyfull they were to beholde the sumptuous stateliness of houses built unto God's glorie".¹⁰³ Against opponents who reason that such circumstances applied only to a separate moment in history, Hooker reasons that by the example of David: "such kinde of bounteous expences have ... that we doe thereby give unto God a testimonie of our cheerfull affection which thinketh nothing so deare to be bestowed about the furniture of his service".¹⁰⁴ Such sentiments appear nowhere in Prideaux's sermon. The rallying sentiments of Hooker's invocation have been omitted so as to draw the explanation of the new chapel towards its sacred function. Prideaux's stance indicates an awareness of the same claims to lineage and pedigree, but the difference appears in their perception of immediacy and efficacy for the reformed present. The sacred examples of the past are not disputed by both authors; it is a question of their significance for the practices of the early-seventeenth century which demarcates their differences.

The intellectual association drawn between the Temple and the architecture of the reformed English Church, which Prideaux consciously de-emphasised in his sermon, had a pedigree longer than Hooker's sentiments. Recourse to this exemplar of religious architecture exposes the intellectual processes by which apologists for the reformed Church in England understood and applied scriptural history to vindicate present circumstances. Given its parochial accent, it seems evident that the new college chapel was responding to these wider concerns and claims of legitimizing pedigree. The Temple was too obvious an example of religious architecture to be overlooked. This is demonstrated in the second Book of Homilies, issued in 1563 as part of the reassertion of protestant doctrine. In the discussion of

¹⁰³ *ibid.*: xv, 3, 59.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*: xv, 4, 59.

the right (*i.e.* reformed) use of churches, the homily affirmed that: “the materiall Church or Temple is a place appointed aswell by the usage and continuall examples expressed in the olde Testament, as in the New, for the people of God to resort together unto”.¹⁰⁵ The immediate justification for the material presence of ecclesiastical architecture is proven through exemplars of the Old Testament. That such exemplars still carry efficacy is clear from the rhetorical question: “how well it doeth become us Christian men reverently to use the Church and holy house of our prayers, by considering in how great reverence and veneration in the Jewes in the olde law had their Temple”.¹⁰⁶ To pull the experience of ecclesiastical architecture into synergy with the ‘olde law’ appears a peculiar elision of historical chronology. The reason for this is apparent from the following homily which dealt with the ‘Peril of Idolatry’; presenting a justification for the iconoclastic policies of the immediate and recent past.¹⁰⁷ The justification for this systematic programme of destruction is ably demonstrated in a famous visual synopsis of the reign of Edward VI. This occurs in John Foxe’s extended 1570 edition of his *Acts and Monuments* (Figure 57). Questions of historical accuracy aside, it presents the emptying of a generic ecclesiastical structure, explained by a cartouche inscribed: “The Temple well purged”. The implication again suggests the same theological expedient; to justify the practices of the present through their biblical exemplars. It is as though the typological comparisons between Old and New Testaments had outstepped the confines of theology and liturgy into the immediate circumstances of the English Reformation. Framing the iconoclastic policies in terms of the purging of the Temple was most clearly made during the reign of Edward VI, who became a new Josiah to reforming evangelicals.¹⁰⁸ One result of this legitimising identification was to

¹⁰⁵ Homilies, Book II, i: 154.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*: 160.

¹⁰⁷ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 42-43.

¹⁰⁸ II Kings, xxiii: 4-24. MacCullough, 1999: 104-105.

present the corpus of religious architecture as legitimate when purged of the accretions and enormities of Catholicism.

It is this ideological foundation which must be borne in mind when addressing the reformed attitude towards religious architecture in early modern England. Existing mediaeval architecture was therefore legitimate as a testament to earlier munificence and piety. It had become choked with subsequent corruptions which Prideaux termed an affair of: "*May-game and outward pomp, which best contented the sense*".¹⁰⁹ The Reformation was actively purged these offensive elements from churches, thereby recovering their primitive innocence before "*Gods word and preaching [were] once laid aside*".¹¹⁰ As the institution and its liturgies had been restored to a state comparable to those of early Christianity, so to had the architectural environment which framed and witnessed. Undoubtedly, the process betrays an elision of historical fact, since the larger part of ecclesiastical edifices belonged to a more recent date than might have been convenient, but their identification with 'antiquity', as distinct from the immediate present, appears to have been self-evident enough to permit the association to be accepted. This understanding of ecclesiastical architecture accounts for Prideaux's singular notion of "*barbarousnesse in polluting them*", set against Wotton's rebuttal of the pointed arch as 'Gothic'. Prideaux assimilates this through reference to the ideological model outlined above, and treats barbarity as an intrusion into sacred architecture, not as an attribute integral to it. The disjunction of meaning indicates the divergent intellectual parameters between both authors; that of Prideaux offering a tentative glimpse into the understanding of a reformed divine. It also provides the grounding upon which the

¹⁰⁹ Prideaux, 1625: sig. A3v.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*: sig. A3v.

nomenclature 'Gothic' might first have been assimilated into common parlance. By implication, this accounts for the overtly mediaeval aspect of Exeter College chapel, whilst being married to a clear, reformed ideological agenda.

One component of this intellectual model was the positioning of new structures within a legitimate lineage of divinely-sanctioned religious structures. As is clear, the Temple offered an obvious precedent and an authoritative bridge between the Old and New Dispensations. Such references are not, in a literal sense, analogies to make new structures ape their precedents in the sense of archaeological emulation.¹¹¹ The references made by Prideaux serve to position the new collegiate chapel within a line of legitimate descent; the sacred edifices of the past providing the legitimising lineage for that built for the early modern present. As is clear, such a process of identification was not the preserve of any one faction of the reformed theological position, but like the inherited bequest of mediaeval architecture itself, offered a common ground of institutional identity. This rhetorical device, declaring the precedents of the past to consolidate the reformed *status quo* of the present, is demonstrable from the most conspicuous furnishing of the new college chapel's interior. As recorded in Joseph Nash's study, the pulpit from which Prideaux gave his sermon was unique amongst its compeers, not only for its prominent tester, but for the spiral-shafted columns which supported it (Figure 54). They offer a fitting codicil to this examination. What is to be made of such a decorative feature? They predate those of the porch of St Mary's by over a decade, and undoubtedly serve to make the same claims of sanctity and inheritance.¹¹² The latter are taken as declamatory of the sacredness suitable for the University Church in part of the

¹¹¹ This is argued against Delbeke & Morel, 2011: 110-12.

¹¹² Newman, 1997: 160.

Laudian programme to remove the secular intrusion of the University Act.¹¹³ The spiral shafts on Exeter College chapel's pulpit demonstrate that such aesthetics forms, and their implicit message, were not the preserve of Laudian apologists but belonged to the wider visual culture of early modern England. The distinction here is a matter of application, undoubtedly influenced by shades of theological position, though partisan exclusivity of is nowhere apparent. Likewise, to trace the columns of St Mary's porch to the Raphael cartoons or Rubens's Banqueting House ceiling is a commonplace art-historical explanation, which neglects the ability of influences to travel across and up the canon of visual arts (Figure 22).¹¹⁴ The same tendency presupposes that they were comprehensible to an exclusive few, so as to negate their efficacy at expressing the very authoritative precedents which they purport to embody. If this is only implicit in Exeter College chapel, it is irrefutably displayed in the later chapel at Lincoln College; a veritable *gesamtkunstwerk* of episcopal patronage.

¹¹³ *ibid.*: 161.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*: 160.

v:- EPISCOPAL PATRONAGE AND IDENTITY: JOHN WILLIAMS AND THE IMMEDIATE CONTEXT OF LINCOLN COLLEGE

The Form of it was Costly, Reverend, and Church-wise. The sacred Acts, and Mysteries of our Saviour, while he was on Earth, neatly colour'd on the Glass-windows. The Traverse, and lining of the Walls was of Cedar-Wood. The Copes, the Plate, the Books, and all sort of Furniture for the Holy Table, rich and suitable ... These so many costly pieces of Charity and Magnificence, are not *Opuscula*, but *Opera*, great Matters to be perform'd by one man.¹¹⁵

Presented here in isolation, the author of this evocation could well be taken for Peter Heylyn, extolling provisions for 'beauty of holiness' made by his martyred hero, William Laud. Like the chapel which this quotation describes, it comes as a disconcerting surprise to many modern commentators that the patron extolled here is Bishop John Williams; as presented in his hagiographer John Hackett's *Scrinia*.¹¹⁶ Of all the surviving chapels built in Oxford during the early seventeenth century, none has perhaps been as frequently misunderstood as that of Lincoln College (Figures 58 & 59). It both confirms and refutes the gamut of pre-supposed expectations brought to such architectural works. The chapel is at once "the most ornate Oxford chapel of its day"¹¹⁷ and "the epitome of the beauty of holiness movement".¹¹⁸ Amongst its fellow chapels, Lincoln is habitually singled out as an instance of archaeological fidelity: a chapel whose architecture is "purely Perpendicular"¹¹⁹ and "completely authentic",¹²⁰ thereby opposing the bastardised post-mediaeval Gothic employed elsewhere. Taken as a whole, from its chequered marble floor to the escutcheons on its ceiling, Lincoln College chapel most eloquently serves as "the beau ideal of a Laudian chapel".¹²¹

¹¹⁵ *Scrinia*, ii: 35.

¹¹⁶ Newman, 1997: 165. Parry, 2006: 65. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 186.

¹¹⁷ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 186.

¹¹⁸ Parry, 2006: 65.

¹¹⁹ Worsley, 1993: 109.

¹²⁰ Mowl, 2002: 84.

¹²¹ Newman, 1997: 165.

Despite the pervasiveness of this established opinion, it is an inescapable fact that the personages and circumstances which provide the context for the chapel's conception were fundamentally opposed to Laud. It is a stark fact, easily overlooked, that no ostensibly 'Laudian' chapel was built in Oxford. The colleges where Laud's protégés were appointed had sizable mediaeval chapels, and both Accepted Frewen at Magdalen and Christopher Potter at Queens framed their beautifications within existing architectural settings.¹²² In doing this, they arguably emulated Laud's own actions whilst President of St John's, when in 1619 he took in hand a substantial campaign of refurbishing the college's chapel, and not one of reconstruction.¹²³ The chapel at Lincoln, consecrated scarcely one year after Laud's election to the University chancellorship,¹²⁴ can be more productively understood as an act of independent episcopal patronage, stemming from John Williams; the "one man" of Hacket's eulogy.¹²⁵ Its completion in 1631 arguably precludes any intention on Williams's part to assert aesthetics hitherto the preserve of Laud and his adherents, and only in inference can it persuasively be read as a provocative anti-Laudian statement.¹²⁶ Brian Quintrell perhaps comes closer to the truth in claiming that Williams's chapel served as: "a timely reminder that the beauty of holiness, in a less ideologically charged form than the Laudian one, had been appreciated in godly communities and their churches long before the ascendancy of an anti-Calvinist episcopacy".¹²⁷ Inherent within the interpretation of Lincoln College chapel is the future conflict between Laud and Williams regarding the positioning, fixed or movable, of the Communion Table in parochial churches.¹²⁸ This combative rivalry, at heart one of

¹²² *ibid.* Laud however carefully recorded their respective campaigns during his chancellorship. *ibid.*: footnote 136.

¹²³ *ibid.*: 164.

¹²⁴ Laud was appointed chancellor in April 1630. An overview of the order of consecration is given in Clark, 1905: 136-140.

¹²⁵ Scrinia, ii: 35.

¹²⁶ This against the interpretation presented in Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 186.

¹²⁷ Quintrell, Brian. 'Williams, John (1582-1640)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29515> (accessed 14 September 2010).

¹²⁸ Examined in Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 254-55; 354-55.

episcopal versus metropolitan jurisdiction, had yet to grow to the acrimonious size it assumed in the later 1630s, and so reading Lincoln College chapel as a contingent element within this wider context is arguably distortive and anachronistic. In order to understand Williams's intentions in building a new chapel at Lincoln, his work must be first set within the immediate context of the college itself.

The chapel itself forms the closing work upon the college's second or 'chapel' quadrangle. This extension beyond the original fifteenth-century core first had its east range built 1608-09; its west flank from 1629-31.¹²⁹ The erection of a new quadrangle attests to the expansion in the number of college residents. Its site had previously been occupied by Hampton and Sekyll Halls, in which college members had lodged.¹³⁰ As completed, both wings closely emulate the rhythm of the earlier quadrangle; an architectural suggestion of deference to the inherited model presented by the latter (Figure 60).¹³¹ The original chapel was a single chamber located on the first floor in the north wing of the Front Quadrangle; a room which survives today as the Senior Common Room, though betraying no evidence of its original appearance.¹³² A new chapel, to complete the open south return of the quadrangle had clearly been intended by the college itself before 1629, by which date, as Green has noted, the existing chapel must have been overcrowded.¹³³ Therefore, the building a chapel *de novo* for the College itself was one foremost dictated by logistical necessity, not as far as fan be determined, the wish to make a partisan religious statement. The College was itself chronically short of funds for such expansion; the west and east wings of the new

¹²⁹ RCHM Oxon, 67. For an account of the fifteenth-century building campaigns see VCH Oxon, 163-68.

¹³⁰ Green, 1979: 164.

¹³¹ Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 147. Green, 1979: 165.

¹³² Green, 1979: 166.

¹³³ *ibid.*

quadrangle were funded by benefactions and legacies.¹³⁴ It must undoubtedly have come as a relief to the Fellows and Rector, Paul Hood, that the College's Visitor, Bishop Williams of Lincoln, was willing to finance the erection of a new chapel. Williams's motives for such munificence are not altogether clear. It is necessary first to dispel some errors which have crept into discussions of Williams's work at Lincoln. Created Bishop of Lincoln in 1621, Williams automatically became visitor to the four Oxford colleges whose foundations had been established and renewed by earlier bishops of that see. One of these was Lincoln. Williams cannot be thought of as "the Patron of the college",¹³⁵ since he only held the patronage of one fellowship,¹³⁶ and Lincoln was not "his old college".¹³⁷ A shared antipathy towards Laud by both him and Rector Hood hardly seems a compelling premise for an explanation.¹³⁸ To understand something of Williams's intention in creating a "Costly, Reverend, and Church-wise" chapel,¹³⁹ Lincoln must be set within the wider milieu of architectural patronage; one which curiously encompasses both collegiate and domestic architectural types. Lincoln College chapel can therefore be understood as part of a wider programme in which architectural patronage consolidated and affirmed the identity of a reformed episcopal patron. It is essential to recover something of this programme, not only to show Williams 'in the round', but to break the intellectual stranglehold which treats collegiate architecture as introspective and isolated from building works undertaken contemporaneously elsewhere.¹⁴⁰ This built identity further demonstrates that the polarising of architectural forms and aesthetic richness as preserve of one religious faction (be it named 'Laudian' or 'Arminian') is simply not demonstrable for this period; the respective sides

¹³⁴ *ibid.*: 165-66.

¹³⁵ Parry, 2006: 65.

¹³⁶ Clark, 1905: 136.

¹³⁷ Mowl & Earnshaw, 1995: 9. This was St John's College, Cambridge.

¹³⁸ Green, 1979: 167.

¹³⁹ Scrinia, ii: 53.

¹⁴⁰ Worsley, 1993: 109.

shared a wider common ground of conditioned expectations which has largely been overlooked.

v:- 'MERUERIT MECÆNATEM': THE DECORUM OF STYLE AND ST JOHN'S COLLEGE LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE

To understand Williams's architectural patronage at Oxford, his comparative and earlier building works at Cambridge must be considered. This focused upon the building of a new library at Williams's *alma mater*, St John's College. His support for this scheme earned him the fulsome, if sycophantic, accolade from the grateful college that: "enudem meruerit Mecænatem [the same (work) will have been worthy of Maecenas]".¹⁴¹ In contrast to cash-strapped Lincoln, St John's was a royal foundation endowed by Lady Margaret Beaufort. This pedigree is more than adequately declared by its spacious first court, erected from 1511-16, where the confidence of Tudor domestic architecture is brought into the collegiate topography of Cambridge.¹⁴² Williams matriculated here in 1598, proceeded to a BA in 1601, and became a Fellow two years later.¹⁴³ Throughout the early seventeenth century, St John's bore witness to a sustained building programme, undoubtedly reflecting the prestige with which the college was regarded, and its expanding numbers. During Williams's time here, a second court was built from 1598-1602, largely funded by Mary Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury.¹⁴⁴ As demonstrated on a smaller scale at Lincoln, the form of the new second

¹⁴¹ Mayors, 1860: 53.

¹⁴² RCHM Cantab: 188. Pevsner, 1970: 143.

¹⁴³ Quintrell, Brian. 'Williams, John (1582-1640)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29515> (accessed 14 September 2010).

¹⁴⁴ RCHM Cantab: 187.

court largely reflected the salient features of the original court.¹⁴⁵ This emulation is most conspicuously expressed in its turreted gate tower, whose form and heraldic display paraphrase the earlier dialogue of heraldry and architecture present on the college's main gateway. In the play of the Court's fenestration the masons Ralph Symons and Gilbert Wigge were contractually obliged to make the latter: "in all respect like unto the windows" of the original court.¹⁴⁶ It can be no coincidence that Williams's formative experience of collegiate life provided him not only with theological study and debate, but significantly the atmosphere of building site. The clear emulation of existing precedents displayed by the shared characteristics of the first and second courts can be taken as an eloquent demonstration of the informing principles behind collegiate architecture at the turn of the seventeenth century. Expansion and new fabric reflected inherited architectural forms and their disposition in a manner suggestive of conscious connotations between institutional identity and its attestation through the architecture which at once accommodated and represented that institution. If such new buildings looked to the past, they did so because the pedigree and precedent the latter spoke of was of paramount importance to the early modern present.

The Fellow who took holy orders in 1605 returned to patronise St John's after a successive series of promotions under James I. When the college proposed the creation of a new library in 1623, Williams was not merely Bishop of Lincoln, but also Dean of Westminster and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; the first cleric to hold the latter dignity since 1558.¹⁴⁷ Holding this

¹⁴⁵ A description of the Second Court is given in *ibid.*: 194-96.

¹⁴⁶ Quoted in Pevsner, 1970: 147.

¹⁴⁷ Quintrell, Brian. 'Williams, John (1582-1640)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29515> (accessed 14 September 2010).

plethora of offices across Church and State, in terms of political influence and revenue, his star was at its zenith. That the College should approach Williams, through the person of its master, Owen Gwyn, with the Bishop of Exeter, Valentine Carey, acting as go-between, can be explained in terms of a professional and familial network; by no means unsurprising for the period. Gwyn was Williams's cousin and Carey had served as a Fellow at St John's from 1591-96, and owed his nomination to the see of Exeter to Williams.¹⁴⁸ In one sense, the new library declares the close associations between the early modern episcopacy and university colleges in this period; associations founded upon networks of patronal influence (Figure 63). As a material testament of Williams's patronage, the library at St John's has long been afforded a seminal place in architectural historical literature. This is due to the alterations made to the original design after Williams became involved in the project. As originally designed the library was to be on first floor level, carried across the middle of the proposed third court upon pillars.¹⁴⁹ The original intention to proceed with this design is alluded to in Gwyn's letter to Carey: "Auspicato conabimur Bibliothecæ fabricam, cum tu primus proensionis et opis tuæ columnas substruis [We shall in good time undertake the building of the Library, when you, foremost through your disposition and support, set down the columns]".¹⁵⁰ Gwyn goes on to affirm that the value of such an undertaking was to perpetuate the memory of the benefactor and so demonstrate the endurance of the mediaeval identification of the patron, not the designer, as the *authoris* of the design: "perennial sane ominamur ipsa operis fundamina, non Artificis sed Authoris fama splendida [certainly we prophesy the very foundations of the building work (will be) more enduring by the distinguished report not of the artificer, but of the donor]".¹⁵¹ It cannot be

¹⁴⁸ Schwarz, Marc L. 'Carey, Valentine (d. 1626)', ODNB – <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4844> (accessed 22 October 2010).

¹⁴⁹ RCHM Cantab, 196. For Man's works at St John's, and elsewhere in Cambridge, see Colvin, 2008: 674.

¹⁵⁰ Dated to 6 June 1623. Williams, 1860: 50-51.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*: 50.

without significance that the proposed library raised upon pillars (i.e. most probably over an open arcaded loggia) pre-empts the comparative scheme undertaken by Laud at St John's, Oxford, by almost a decade.¹⁵² Quite why this proposal, without an obvious precedent amongst the collegiate architecture of either university, was rejected by Williams becomes clear when examining the library as built (Figures 63 & 64).¹⁵³

Of the library's eight bays visible from the third court, those seen from the opposite bank of the Cam, and the polygonal bay window which terminates its river elevation, all display the same elaborate stonework for the windows. These are all to the same design, slightly extemporised for the bay, which fulfil the oft-quoted words in Carey's letter to Gwyn of 19 November 1623 that:¹⁵⁴ "some men of judgment liked the best the old fashion of church window [*sic*], holding it most meet for such a building".¹⁵⁵ This was reported in response to Williams's apparent questioning of this element of the library's design, which can securely be attributed to Henry Man.¹⁵⁶ Much has been drawn out of Carey's words in regard to the longstanding question of 'Gothic Revival' as opposed to 'Gothic Survival', with more recent commentators finding in favour of the latter.¹⁵⁷ The significance of this incorporation of mediaeval traceried windows into the new library has been the subject of diverse interpretation. For Giles Worsley they are symptomatic of antiquarianism and reaction;¹⁵⁸ for Christopher Brooks they assert that education prerogative of the Anglican Church

¹⁵² For the history of the Canterbury Quadrangle, see Colvin, 1988.

¹⁵³ For accounts of the building campaign see Willis & Clark, ii: 263-271. Crook, 1980: 42-51.

¹⁵⁴ RCHM Cantab: 197.

¹⁵⁵ Quoted with misattribution in Worsley, 1993: 109. The correspondence regarding the library is published in Scott, 1893: 343-52, and is taken here as an authoritative transcription.

¹⁵⁶ Records of his payments by the college are quoted in Colvin, 2008: 674.

¹⁵⁷ Worsley, 1993: 109. Brooks, 1999: 27-30.

¹⁵⁸ Worsley, 1993: 109.

against the “irreligious ‘new learning’”.¹⁵⁹ David Howarth pursues this point *reductio ad absurdum* in claiming that Carey had: “associated learning with monks and monks with the gothic style”.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, no such associations appear implicit in either Carey’s statement or in the library itself. Both authors perceive the building as being erected against threatening traits within contemporaneous culture; thereby perpetuating the negative interpretation of mediaeval architectural forms within the post-mediaeval period.¹⁶¹ The foundation for such dismissal is an inherent presumption that architectural patrons, such as Williams, were faced with a clear stylistic choice between ‘Gothic’ and ‘Classicism’.¹⁶² The library itself demonstrates the fallacy of this conceit, for in Man’s design ‘Gothic’ windows repose between stringcourses carved as ‘classical’ entablatures (Figure 64). The polarity between respective styles is nowhere demonstrable at St John’s, and their supposed merits for Williams’s patronage here, and by implication at Lincoln College, can be discounted.

Carey’s letter is of further value for understanding the practice of architectural patronage. It records in compelling detail the discussion between benefactor and institutional go-between: the absence of which has left serious problems for recovering the meaning of architectural forms and the motivations for aesthetic selection. As such, Carey’s account merits more considered discussion within this examination of Williams, and collegiate architecture in general than the isolated excerpt has hitherto received. It is valuable evidence of how architecture was discussed in the period; and what is more how this happened between two

¹⁵⁹ Brooks, 1999: 30.

¹⁶⁰ Howarth, 1997: 15.

¹⁶¹ This despite Brooks’s and Worsley’s revisionist claims.

¹⁶² Worsley, 1993: 108.

early Stuart bishops. Carey makes clear that his discussion with Williams centred upon a visual representation of the new library:

I showed to his lordship the model of the library ... making known to his lordship that we had waited often but never found opportunity to present the same to his lordship sooner. I did demonstrate it in all the particulars submitting the liking or disliking of it to his judgment.¹⁶³

Williams's opinion on "church windows" can therefore be seen as influenced by Carey's abilities at architectural exposition. It is clear that he and the college had wished to advance the project for some time, and that he must have understood the salient elements of the design and been able to expound upon them to Williams's satisfaction. That a "model" gave visual substance to the project raises the question as to whether this existed in two or three dimensions. This could well be the same "Plats for the Librarie" for which Henry Man was paid £7 7s. by the College.¹⁶⁴ On its own, such a sum suggests a model of more substance than parchment or paper. That this payment included travel to Northamptonshire and London, the archival evidence weighs against such a hypothesis,¹⁶⁵ though it should not be entirely discounted. Carey's sense of the term could apply to model as either a drawn representation or a model as understood in current parlance. The case for the latter is clear in a compelling survival from Laudian Oxford. The model for a rebuilt University College was, in 1623, only eleven in the future,¹⁶⁶ and like the architecture it displays, stands reading as a beleaguered testimony to an established convention rather than an innovation.¹⁶⁷ This may be the earliest surviving English type of model, but any consideration of the practical and expository advantages of sculptural volume over linear presentation will raise doubts that it is the first. The "model" Carey and Williams surveyed during their discourse, designed by

¹⁶³ Scott, 1893: 343.

¹⁶⁴ Quoted in Colvin, 2008: 674.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Colvin, 1983: plate 10.

¹⁶⁷ Newman, 1997: 158-59.

master carpenter, could therefore well have been three dimensional, and reflect a wider established practice which reflected the status of projected building and patron, and as such crossed building types.¹⁶⁸ This absence of evidence is in itself is not evidence of absence and a model would surely be more likely to solicit greater munificence. Is it credible that Williams's cumulative gift of £2011 13s. 4d. rested upon drawings alone?¹⁶⁹

The values inherent in architectural design are also discernible in Carey's account. Aside from aesthetics comes logistical practicality: Carey reporting that "the fashion of the chambers below [the library] was very well pleasing to him [Williams], saying that 4 would serve the purpose of his mynd and the fifth might be at the disposing of the Master of the Colledg".¹⁷⁰ Clearly Williams was satisfied with the additional accommodation housed on the ground floor level beneath the library itself, and such an arrangement appears to anticipate Williams's own ideas. It is worthy of note is his willingness to leave aspects of the new building's exact use to Gwynn. The proportions of the library also won Williams's approval, with minor caveats: "both in length & bredth wherto his lordship gave good allowance, holding it fit that the bredth of one foote be added to the desks on ech side, and the midl walk be straitened so much lesse".¹⁷¹ A sense of function and accommodation is by no means indicated as being a separate factor from aesthetic preference and expectation. This is clear from Carey's justification for the bay window (Figure 63): "whereat no exception was taken, for I sayd that it would be an ornament & beauty to the roome, giving great light and that the inconveniency of the air from the river might easily be corrected".¹⁷² What is

¹⁶⁸ This is demonstrable from the recorded model for the roof of Brasenose College chapel; discussed subsequently.

¹⁶⁹ Williams, 1860: 55.

¹⁷⁰ Scott, 1893: 343.

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷² *ibid.*

surprising is the apparent absence of the building's designer; for Henry Man is nowhere mentioned in Carey's account. In itself, this fact indicates that a careful discussion amongst patrons and benefactors could take place without the presence of an architect. Man's absence undoubtedly reflects the social distance between patron and designer; one which gradually narrowed as the century advanced. The unity of practical provision by elements advantageous to the aesthetic enters the realm of forms and their associative potency:

After that we came to the windows the forme and fashion wherof was most doubted. I told his lordship: that some men of judgement liked best the old fashion of church windows, holding it most meet for such a building. His lordship did not dislike it but sayd he would leave it wholly to your determination and to your workmen.¹⁷³

Presented here as part of a sustained discussion between Carey and Williams, the conventional presentation of Williams as an introspective architectural patron, obsessive over traceried stonework. It is self-evident that Williams passes on this contentious point, leaving it to the discretion of Gynne and his 'workmen'. This act of deference is an arguably subtle display of patronal magnanimity. Whilst the "men of judgement" are anonymous, it cannot be doubted that the "model" attests to earlier decisions the College supported.

Whether or not Carey's presentation was intended as a fund-raising *fait accompli* but his evident glee in reporting the staggered benefactions from Williams for late November 1623 up to Easter the following year is suggestive.¹⁷⁴ Williams can therefore be re-presented as one influencing factor amongst others. Rather than actively disputing the proposed design of the windows, Williams emerges as being in general acquiescence to their presence after Carey explains their inclusion. Rather than marking a pivotal declaration of self-conscious 'Gothic Revival',¹⁷⁵ Williams's response stands reading as initial curiosity, which turned to

¹⁷³ *ibid.*: 343-44.

¹⁷⁴ In total £800. *ibid.*: 344.

¹⁷⁵ Pevsner, 1970: 132.

apathy under Carey's expostulation. Nowhere is there an indication that either bishop understood the recourse to existing mediaeval forms as the 'revival' of a distinct return to an earlier mode of architectural design. Such decisions belong more to the nineteenth-century chroniclers of the Gothic Revival, and their intellectual heirs.¹⁷⁶ These latter diverse authors are vague upon the specific exemplar drawn upon by Man, generally alighting upon fourteenth-century Decorated,¹⁷⁷ even though in execution the sinuous ogees are clunky, the eyelets botched and the quatrefoils perfunctory (Figure 64). However, when both tiers of windows are read as a single unit of fenestration, the passage upwards from plain four-centred heads to cusped tracery bears stronger affinities to the most prestigious architecture of the early sixteenth century.¹⁷⁸ The comparison is surely more than circumstantial, for the choice of brick and dressed stone pulls the new library into unity with the existing architecture of the college; a factor of clear concern whilst the second court was being built. Such intent of association appears more immediate to the parameters of Williams's patronage. The library cannot be anything but conscious in its references, though not of the reasons frequently propounded.

What can be drawn out of Carey's statement is ultimately more insightful into the aesthetic decisions Williams responded to as an episcopal patron? This is not to make the former speak for the latter, but rather to suggest shared parameters of expectation which conditioned Williams's own awareness of his role, and the architectural identity the completed library would have both for itself and its benefactor. The bald suggestion that a

¹⁷⁶ This is discussed in the Introduction.

¹⁷⁷ Pevsner, 1970: 148. Brooks, 1999: 27.

¹⁷⁸ e.g. the windows of the great hall at Hampton Court and the chapel of The Vyne.

bishop would naturally build a library that looked like a church is bathetic platitude, but that is exactly what happened. Why this happened is clear: the inherited forms of mediaeval window tracery were deemed to be the most suitable for a new college library by unnamed adjudicators whose opinion on such matters was respected. Such an aesthetic decision affirms that for the latter audience, traceried windows were more than inherited forms, but ones which readily and directly addressed contemporaneous concerns. Whilst acknowledged as originating in the past “the old fashion of church windows” they had by no means lost their cultural currency for the seventeenth-century present. Such forms arguably served to justify and validate the new library by engraining it into the acknowledged parameters of prestigious collegiate (and ecclesiastical) architecture; the power of association is clearly at work here. By doing this, architectural forms readily support Williams’s own identity as an episcopal benefactor to his old college: they are “most meet” for this project. To give such this admittedly almost circular process a name, it could be classed as typological decorum. Within this hypothetical model, architectural design is conditioned by the identity of the patron, the established parameters of building types and the status of both these components as displayed in the building’s design. For the library of St John’s, Williams’s role as an episcopal patron is cryptically alluded to by the stone initials over the oriel window: I[ohannis] L[incolniensis] C[ustos] S[igilli] (Figure 63).¹⁷⁹ The reference is deliberately opaque since Williams had first wished to fund the project anonymously,¹⁸⁰ but the arms of Williams and the See of Lincoln here abandon any concealment. The conspicuous use of traceried windows displays due deference both to the patron and to the inherited environment of institutional architecture which, as has already been demonstrated, the College wished to maintain during earlier phases of its expansion.

¹⁷⁹ RCHM Cantab: 197.

¹⁸⁰ Philips, 1700: 314-15.

Through responding to both its source of patronage and its location, the library can be understood as confirming its function and pedigree through its visual appearance. By encompassing these considerations, it stands reading as responding to the decorum of both its pedigree and position. The library builds into the existing parameters of architectural expectations, conditioned by the still relevant inherited visual forms of institutional and ecclesiastical architecture.

The example of Williams's patronage displays a conscious drive to build a college library into an existing model, where the associations of inherited architectural forms were paramount in informing the design of the building. They emerge not from a singular concern with visual forms, but from a considered discussion of architecture between social equals: two members of the reformed episcopacy, without the presence of an actual architectural practitioner. Recourse to mediaeval window tracery is evidence that such features still expressed and affirmed the status, function and pedigree of a specific building type for an early-seventeenth-century academic audience and patron. By implication, such identifications of visual forms with specific types of building (in this case collegiate and ecclesiastical) existed across boundaries of religious or theological faction; they were engendered by an experience of exposure and reinforcement common to any college graduate. Through patronising the St John's library, Williams was actively building in response these cultural connotations. It is a rationale of architectural patronage difficult for modern commentators to assess since such deference precludes any urge for innovation or progress. The prime response is to notions of typological decorum, in place of choices between stylistic polarities. Furthermore, it can be claimed that if such a library attests to

Williams's identity as its patron, the power of visual forms and their connotations positions him within a continuum with earlier benefactors. This perpetuation of inherited models of patronage to validate and make comprehensible contemporaneous works of architecture is undoubtedly a shared characteristic between St John's library and the chapel at Lincoln College. In demarking himself as one link in a chain of benefactors Williams arguably both consolidates his own academic lineage and demonstrates the continuing expectation for reformed bishops to act as builders and benefactors. If evidence that Williams actively identified with this role as a reformed churchman appears lacking at Cambridge, it was ably attested to by his reparations undertaken in his capacity of Dean of Westminster. His works here demonstrate the perpetuation of cultural values beyond the Reformation and mediaeval period into the seventeenth-century present, and further enable his chapel at Lincoln to be presented within its immediate cultural context. If Williams acted as a Maecenas at Cambridge, he was to prove a Jehoiada at Westminster.

vi:- EPISCOPAL LINEAGE: WESTMINSTER ABBEY AND BUCKDEN PALACE

Williams's repairs to the decayed fabric of Westminster Abbey may seem removed from the new quadrangle of Lincoln College. However, amongst his polymath's offices, the deanship of Westminster was of paramount importance. In terms of its institution and topography it was without parallel for its proximity to the Court and Parliament; ensuring Williams retained an attachment to the centres of influence.¹⁸¹ An indication of how deeply Williams cherished the advantages of the deanship is pointedly clear from the arms with which he declared his patronal identity at both St John's College and Lincoln College.¹⁸² Consistently his arms appear tierced in pale between those of Westminster on the dexter and Lincoln on the sinister sides (Figure 65).¹⁸³ The proposition that Williams was actively building into an inherited notion of episcopal patronage, thereby reinforcing the connotations of architectural forms, patron and institution, is nowhere so eloquently expressed as at Westminster. As recorded by Hacket, Williams is presented as a reformed cleric who clearly wished to emphasise institutional continuity regardless of the Reformation.¹⁸⁴ The perceptive commentary offered by Hacket, who himself served as chaplain to Williams, are understood here as reflecting much of Williams's own notions of his role as a restorer of the Abbey's physical fabric. It reveals a surprisingly positive attitude to pre-Reformation clergy and to architectural works associated with them. As such, it has significant implications upon the significance of his patronage of Lincoln College chapel, and further presents this building as one facet within a wider patronage programme which oversails the polarising partisan distinctions between opposed theological factions. Rather than a bishop building in revived

¹⁸¹ Quintrell, Brian. 'Williams, John (1582-1640)', ODNB – <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29515> (accessed 14 September 2010).

¹⁸² For that at St John's library see RCHM Cantab: 198 & plate 237.

¹⁸³ 'Tierced in pale' – i.e. three equal vertical divisions of the shield. *N.B.* the heraldic convention of inverting 'dexter' and 'sinister'.

¹⁸⁴ Scrinia, i: 45-46.

Gothic amongst insular, conservative colleges, through his responsiveness to the institutional lineage of Westminster, Williams appears in the vanguard of revived monumental sculpture. Whilst the means are different, the message and agenda underlying his works express a single, unified assertion of the reformed episcopate.

The emphasis upon continuity has long been recognised as a powerful influence upon the makeup of early modern Westminster. In terms of liturgical practices and institutional composition, the reformed Dean and Chapter had preserved numerous affinities with their monastic predecessors.¹⁸⁵ Whilst not itself unique in this regard amongst cathedral churches, the status of Westminster as a royal peculiar,¹⁸⁶ as the *locus* of royal and noble sepulchre, and the English monarch's coronation church undoubtedly gave it a unique cultural resonance (Figure 66). Its monumental and liturgical faces were uniquely accessible to a wider audience than the chapel royal.¹⁸⁷ The shared characteristics between the latter and Westminster point not merely to the theological climate of successive deans,¹⁸⁸ but also the fact that its successive Deans had served as royal chaplains,¹⁸⁹ and the heightened degree of ceremonial practice undoubtedly in part served to emphasise the regal status of Westminster. Whilst its direct impact upon subsequent 'Laudian' policies and practises is arguable, it appears incontrovertible that the Reformation had an exceptionally light touch here.¹⁹⁰ The sanctuary itself had been refitted with substantial gifts of plate, cloth of gold and a new organ under Richard Neile's deanship in 1606.¹⁹¹ On his accession to the deanery of

¹⁸⁵ Merritt, 2001: 623-46.

¹⁸⁶ *i.e.* a dean and chapter independent from episcopal jurisdiction and visitation, answerable directly to the Crown.

¹⁸⁷ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 82-83.

¹⁸⁸ MacCullough, 1999: 208-213.

¹⁸⁹ From Gabriel Goodman (1561-1601) to John Williams (1620-41).

¹⁹⁰ Merritt, 2001: 627-29.

¹⁹¹ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 83.

Westminster in 1620, it is clear that Williams responded to this potent institutional identity. That he expressed this through material reparation to the church's weathered fabric brought him into direct contact with the inherited forms of ecclesiastical patronage; a contact which obviously fell within the purview of the Dean.¹⁹² If Carey's missive records a discussion of architectural design, Hacket's *Scrinia* provides commentary on the intellectual basis for such work, and significantly, the process of identification between mediaeval past and early modern present which underpins it. A consistent pattern of identification with precedents of patronage and architectural form, suggested at Cambridge and reflected at Oxford, is demonstrably manifest at Westminster.

It is Hacket who makes clear that Williams identified himself with two of his predecessors whilst Dean of Westminster; "because none were comparable to them, he cast in his head to imitate".¹⁹³ The first is unsurprising. Lancelot Andrewes whose programme of "advancing learning in the School,"¹⁹⁴ Williams continued to support.¹⁹⁵ The second is unexpected. Abbot John Islip, described as "That wise and holy man ... a devout Servant of Christ and of a wakeful Conscience",¹⁹⁶ was the last pre-Reformation Abbot of Westminster to die in office. For Williams it was Islip's architectural works "Monuments of a great worth, [which] were the next Object of his Emulation" as dean.¹⁹⁷ Here the institutional rupture of the Reformation is elided: that Islip was "Abbat over the *Benedictine* Monks, who profesess'd their Vows within those Cloysters,"¹⁹⁸ in no way detracts from his significance as an

¹⁹² Foster, 2011: 262, footnote 29.

¹⁹³ *Scrinia*, i: 44.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*: 44-45.

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*: 45.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*

exemplar with which Williams wished to identify. The deliberate identification with a pre-Reformation Abbot by a reformed dean is an insight into the assimilative power of the reformed English church to maintain institutional continuity with the immediate past. The monastic vows and Order to which Islip was answerable, an anathema to the reformed temperament, is recorded by Hacket as historical circumstance. Any polarised distinction between the pre and post Reformation period cannot be found in Hacket's sentiments. It is in no way prescriptive against Williams assimilating Islip as a precedential figure who validates his own actions and vindicates the institutional continuity. By implication, the architectural testament of Islip's legacy likewise holds no connotation to militate against this assimilative process.

Hacket is eloquent about why Islip should be a significant figure of Williams in his fulsome account of the former's exertions. The passage demonstrates that for the seventeenth century, any account of architectural history was one of patronal attribution; an association of authorship within whose parameters Williams undoubtedly wished his repairs to be understood. The *Scrinia* gives clear aesthetic appreciation for the work ascribed to Islip, clarifying his place in royal service so as to imply further comparison to Williams.

he [Islip] enlarged the length of the Church at his own Cost, from the entering in of the Quire, or thereabout ... But Eternal Fame both best shine upon his Memory in the Rising-Sun, or upon the Eastern part. There this Abbat, and *John Fisher* ... laid out such Sums of Money, as that King [Henry VII] had appointed for the Noble Enterring of his own Body ... These two, like men of faithful and large Minds, built the Chappel ... called by King Henry the Seventh's Name, which nothing can surmount in Cost in Curiosity.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.*

This account not only demonstrates an awareness of the immediate pre-Reformation architectural history of Westminster, but also of the individuals behind it. That Williams identified with Islip is explained by the sustained decay to the Abbey's fabric. Hacket records that: "all that passed by, and loved the Honour of God's House, shook their Heads at the stones that drop'd down from the Pinacles".²⁰⁰ Whilst the Henry VII Chapel is described as "tight and fresh",²⁰¹ the earlier "great Buttresses were almost crumbled to Dust with the Injuries of the Weather".²⁰² To amend this, Williams had the buttresses "re-edified with durable Materials, and beautified with elegant Statues, (among whom Abbat *Islip* had a place) so that £4500 were spent in a trice on the Workmanship".²⁰³ Here Williams not only reaffirms the inherited fabric of the Abbey church, but makes clear that such work marks a deliberate identification with institutional lineage and a continuum which bridges the Reformation. These sculptures not only express these ideals in ways sympathetic to the newly repaired mediaeval architecture, but demonstrate Williams as a patron in the vanguard of a revival of monumental public sculpture prior to the Civil War. This marks an active intervention into inherited ecclesiastical architecture, expressing the symbiotic relationship between architecture and patronage, which is fundamental to understanding Williams's motivation as a clerical and episcopal patron.

²⁰⁰ Scrinia, i: 46.

²⁰¹ *ibid.*

²⁰² *ibid.*

²⁰³ *ibid.*

The visual evidence for the exact number of figures and their positions has been examined by Richard Foster.²⁰⁴ It seems incontestable that the figures in question were placed along the prominent buttresses of the nave's north aisle. Such an apparently clear source as the mid-century engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar, depicting statues in every single niche, including those of the north transept façade, is undoubtedly idealised.²⁰⁵ Whilst the exact number of original figures commissioned by Williams cannot be asserted, it seems clear that at least some of the north aisle niches retained statues associated with Williams throughout the eighteenth century.²⁰⁶ Foster associates four figures in the westernmost niches with Williams's campaign (Figure 66),²⁰⁷ and their presence being confirmed by several early nineteenth-century visual sources. Carved from Ketton stone, an attribution to James I's Master Carver Maximilian Colt is by no means unpersuasive.²⁰⁸ Their identification as Edward the Confessor; Henry III; Abbot Islip and James I is entirely plausible. If these are the statues commissioned by Williams, then they are a remarkable survival against the atmospheric damage and successive restoration campaigns to which the Abbey church has been subject. Their present condition, from photographic evidence alone, seems more to suggest the current figures are later facsimiles, no doubt preserving the salient features of pose and costume of Williams's originals.²⁰⁹ Aside from the final figure of James I, conspicuous in knee breeches, they appear removed from the conventions of comparative early-seventeenth century sculpture. Even if later paraphrases of the original figures, Williams's intentions are still discernible. To include such figures as part of his restoration programme reaffirming the institutional pedigree of which he was successor. The statues

²⁰⁴ Foster, 2011: 253-82.

²⁰⁵ *ibid.*: 263-64.

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*: 268.

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*: 263; 280.

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*: 263.

²⁰⁹ This is argued against Foster's assertion. *ibid.*: 280.

are eloquent expressions of Williams, materially and metaphorically, building into existing notion of ecclesiastical patronage to confirm his identity as a reformed clerical patron. They can therefore be interpreted as consistent with the underpinning ideology of 'typological decorum' discerned at St John's College Library, which by implication informed the chapel at Lincoln College. As with this chapel, Williams arguably pre-empted those ideals affirmed during the hegemony of Laud during the 1630s, though it is more constructive to view Williams's patronage as an expression of the common concerns of the early Stuart episcopacy. These works do not need to be read as pre-emptive actions of growing animosity. Rather, they can be understood as demonstrating the 'typological decorum' suitable for episcopal patronage.

The fallacy of rivalry between Williams and Laud as patrons can be further demonstrated by examining other sculptural programmes in close proximity of Westminster. It seems likely that Williams's benefactors were either installed, or at least conceived, by December 1628, when the Westminster Chapter records its refutation that the repairs were being duplicitously funded.²¹⁰ Williams's suspension and imprisonment on 11 July 1637 provides a logical *terminus post quem*.²¹¹ Within such a timescale, it is therefore likely that Williams's revival of monumental figural sculpture in an ecclesiastical setting pre-empted the surviving figures from 'Laudian' reredos for Charterhouse School chapel.²¹² Surviving as fragments, the imposing statues of Moses and Aaron attributed to the younger John Colt,²¹³ were installed in a refurbishment campaign over which Laud, in his capacity as chairman of the

²¹⁰ Foster, 2001: 262, footnote 32.

²¹¹ Quintrell, Brian. 'Williams, John (1582-1640)', ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29515> (accessed 14 September 2010).

²¹² Monumental in scale, and use here in the sense of being distinct from sepulchral tomb effigies.

²¹³ A nephew of Maximilian Colt, sharing the same name as his father. Porter & White, 2001: 229.

school's governors, undoubtedly influenced.²¹⁴ The figures realised in three dimensions an established convention of portraying the Decalogue supported by the two Old Testament patriarchs whose typological significance directly referred to Christ.²¹⁵ The reredos was lavishly polychromed and consisted of lost cherubs' heads and the Tetragrammaton in a glory of rays.²¹⁶ Taken as a whole, such rehabilitation of the potential of sculptural figures aside from tomb sculpture can suggest "the softening of attitudes towards religious images brought about by the High Church movement".²¹⁷ The reredos is therefore a conspicuous frontispiece to the chapel's refurbishment to "the standard Laudian pattern".²¹⁸ However, if a re-assessment of figurative sculpture was part of the 'Laudian' programme at the Charterhouse, it seems likely that Williams's statues had already made such claims at Westminster by the mid-1630s. Any idea that such works betray a rivalry between Laud and Williams (both men exploiting the potential of monumental sculpture) is not demonstrable for the sculptures themselves. The case of mutual interest in asserting institutional pedigree within an inherited ecclesiastical space through images of benefactors is much stronger. As with Lincoln College chapel it is the expected decorum for an episcopal patron which is as strong an influence as any theological distinction, if not more so. Again, an obvious instance of comparison was topographically close at hand.

²¹⁴ Laud held this post *ex officio* upon his translation to Canterbury. *ibid.*: 228.

²¹⁵ Precedents for this depiction are given in *ibid.*: 229, though their typological significance is not addressed. Moses and Aaron embody the law and priesthood of the Old Dispensation, both of which are fulfilled in Christ.

²¹⁶ Porter & White, 2001: 229.

²¹⁷ Parry, 2006: 100.

²¹⁸ Porter & White, 2001: 231.

Whilst the statues in question and their setting are irrevocably lost, William Dugdale's *St Paul's* offers a persuasive record which indicates that Williams's sequence of benefactors reflected an attitude to mediaeval architecture and patronage which was by no means unique (Figure 66). Sir Paul Pindar's generous donations towards the refurbishment of Old St Paul's included the restoration of sculpted figures to the empty niches of the mediaeval pulpitum: "he adorned the front thereof ... with fair pillars of black marble, and statues of those Saxon Kings which had been founders or benefactors to the Church".²¹⁹ The vast campaign of repairs undertaken on the decayed cathedral lies outside the scope of this discussion, but this particular aspect of it is instructive.²²⁰ These statues' significance is clearly contextualised through Hollar's engraving in the *History of St Paul's*, which like his depiction of Westminster is not unproblematic.²²¹ Set within existing mediaeval niches, they draw out of the cathedral's institutional history the benefactors of the past not only to re-affirm the legacy of that patronage, but by implication to vindicate the seventeenth-century campaign of material repairs. The seventeenth-century present vindicated itself through asserting a continuity with the past. In the process, such images demonstrate that existing ecclesiastical architecture was understood not in terms of stylistic or chronological distinctions, but as a demonstration of successive patronage and benefaction. The restoration of Old St Paul's merits the nomenclature of 'Laudian', given Laud's sustained involvement in promoting the project and the parallel renewal campaigns amongst London churches during his time as Bishop of London.²²²

²¹⁹ *History of St Paul's*: 160.

²²⁰ For discussion of this project see Higgott, 2004: 171-90 & Schofield, 2011: 195-208.

²²¹ Schofield, 2011: 123; 194.

²²² Laud was bishop from 1628-33. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 136-37.

This intent of validate the present through drawing upon past precedents of benefaction parallels exactly the campaign undertaken by Williams at Westminster; both in terms of ideology and realisation. It would be excessive to claim that the former inspired the latter directly. Of greater significance are characteristics common to both schemes of renewal. They attest to the common ground held between the reformed episcopate when repairing its architectural legacy antecedent to the Reformation. Whilst Brian Quintrell categorises Williams as “notably steady in Calvinist faith”,²²³ this was in no way prescriptive to his admiration for the surviving works of John Islip, an early-Tudor Benedictine Abbot. Renewal and the endurance of patronal lineage and the present justifying itself through the citation of past precedents appear more prominent than an articulate response to visual forms on their own merits. Again, Hacket pursues this sense of precedent to a scriptural source by calling Williams “this Godly *Jehoiada*”.²²⁴ If not the most immediate comparison, it is undoubtedly the most apposite. As High Priest in the reign of Joash who oversaw the Temple’s reparation, the scriptural citation provides Hacket with an obvious exemplar. It allows him to position Williams within a priestly and architectural lineage in terms which the seventeenth century would readily comprehend.²²⁵ This analogy does not seek to make Williams into Jehoiada, let alone Westminster Abbey into the Temple. Rather, it demonstrates the assimilative powers of exposure and experience to inherited ecclesiastical architecture which permeated deeply into the clerical patron’s role in this period. This innovative revival of monumental sculpture is merely one facet in a consistent agenda for Williams’s engagement with architecture, be it existing or newly-designed. Such claims of lineage and justification by past exemplars, pulled into expectations of what was decorous

²²³ Quintrell, Brian. ‘Williams, John (1582-1640)’, ODNB - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29515> (accessed 14 September 2010). Quantin, 2009: 160-61.

²²⁴ Scrinia, i: 46.

²²⁵ II Chronicles, xxiv: 4-16 and II Kings, xii: 4-15. The former reference is misprinted in *ibid*.

for a reformed bishop to undertake are likewise present in another campaign of reparation which is a fit stepping stone from Westminster and Cambridge to Oxford.

Within the gamut of Williams's involvement with architecture, inherited and newly commissioned fall his repairs to the episcopal palace at Buckden. Several incidental details of this undertaking, and the manner in which he lived here, are included in Hacket's *Scrinia*.²²⁶ However, the loss of much of the mediaeval palace makes it difficult to determine the extent of Williams's work here. Alienated from the See of Lincoln in 1838, the main residential core was part demolished in 1871, including the domestic chapel.²²⁷ Its partly surviving crypt was reconstructed in the early-twentieth century, as part of an abortive scheme for total restoration of the chapel.²²⁸ Though little material evidence survives of Williams's work here, it can be understood as a reflection of the same concerns of self-vindicating architectural patronage explored in above at Cambridge and Westminster. Both these locations witnessed his munificence during his political zenith. Buckden only received Williams's attention "at disadvantage, in the Winter",²²⁹ after he resigned the Great Seal in 1625 and far from royal favour. Whilst the image gleamed from the *Scrinia* of a restored Buckden is impressionistic, with surviving evidence it serves to as a valuable image prior to addressing his enduring legacy at Lincoln College. It enables the hypothetical notion that episcopal chapels could directly influence collegiate chapels to be addressed directly. The project further underlines the claims of unity between members of the reformed episcopacy in architectural matters. As has been discussed previously, the reparation of inherited

²²⁶ *Scrinia*, i: 29-31.

²²⁷ Sweeney, 1974: 10. VCH Hunts, iii: 260.

²²⁸ Begun by Robert Holmes Edleston, the then owner and historian of Napoleon III. Sweeney, 1974: 10-11.

²²⁹ *Scrinia*, i: 29.

episcopal manors and estates was an action still engrained in the cultural notion of how a bishop should act; a notion, like the buildings themselves, effectively bridging the mediaeval and early modern eras.

The chapel Williams inherited at Buckden is now identified as the work of Bishop William Smith,²³⁰ rather than to Williams himself.²³¹ As was painfully evident to Hacket: “the oversight from the beginning was, that it was the only Room in the House that was too little”,²³² since Smith’s chapel was scarcely half the length of its predecessor on the same site (Figure 68). An octagonal corner turret at its south-west corner, originally gave access to the body of the chapel from chambers at first floor level.²³³ It appears that this did not lead to a separate closet for the bishop at first-floor level, as in royal chapels built in the early-Tudor period; unless a floor was inserted into an originally double-height space.²³⁴ Its east end terminated in three-sided apse, containing the east window:²³⁵ a feature not encountered in the episcopal chapels discussed previously. One obvious point of comparison for the chapel’s original appearance is the slightly later, and perhaps grander, chapel which survives at The Vyne, Hampshire (Figures 69 & 70). Built by the leading courtier William Sandys at approximately the same time Smith held Lincoln, its ambitious scale and disposition stand reading as idiomatic of the salient components of Buckden.²³⁶

²³⁰ Smith held Lincoln 1495-1514.

²³¹ VCH Hunts, ii: 262.

²³² Scrinia, i: 29.

²³³ VCH Hunts, ii: 262.

²³⁴ This is possible, though compare to the description in VCH Hunts, ii: 262.

²³⁵ VCH Hunts, ii: 262.

²³⁶ Howard & Wilson, 2003: 82.

In Hacket's account, it is the speed with which Buckden was restored which stands out. With a vague notion of history, Hacket claims that the last bishop who "laid out much upon the place" was John Russell, during the reign of Edward IV.²³⁷ Until Williams's time "none that followed him [Russell], no not *Splendian Wolsey*, did give it any new addition: but rather suffered it to be overgrown with the Decays of an ill-favour'd Antiquity".²³⁸ Whilst Hacket ascribes the last main building works to Russell's stewardship, in naming Wolsey he attests to the latter's long-lived fame as a patron of architecture, and by implication that it was and still is a worthy undertaking for a prelate, reformed or otherwise.²³⁹ His attribution to Russell was clearly due to the prominent display of the latter's arms upon the palace gatehouse;²⁴⁰ a further affirmation of the value attached to heraldry as a continuing declaration of a building's patronal pedigree. Substantial repairs were undertaken "in the space of one year", within which Williams "turn'd a ruinous thing into a stately Mansion".²⁴¹ Whilst the account stands reading as sycophantic hyperbole, it was clearly the chapel and adjacent cloisters which received the most conspicuous refurbishment. It is an evocative passage, which suggests the recollection of an eye-witness:

Within Doors the Cloysters were the trimmest part of his Reparations: the Windows of the Square beautified with Stories of colour'd Glass; the Pavement laid smooth and new: and the Walls on every side hung with Pieces of exquisite Workmen[ship] in Limning collected and provided long before. The like, and better was done for the Chappel in all these circumstances; and with as much cost as it was capable of.²⁴²

The effect is one of sumptuous richness and colour: of a cloister hung with paintings seen by light filtered through the varying hues of stained glass; this acting as a prologue for the even more sumptuous chapel. It is recorded that "the many goodly pictures" included images of

²³⁷ Russell held Lincoln 1480-1494.

²³⁸ Scrinia, i: 29.

²³⁹ Wolsey held Lincoln briefly in 1514.

²⁴⁰ Sweeney, 1974: 5.

²⁴¹ Scrinia, i: 29.

²⁴² *ibid.*

“the Passion ... the holy Apostles, together with a faire Crucifix, and our *Blessed Lady*, and Saint *John* set up in painted glass in the East window”.²⁴³ Intentionally or not, such elaboration in chapel and cloister reinforces the significance of these distinctive units of episcopal houses and collegiate architecture in the later middle ages.²⁴⁴ This is not to suggest that the cloister and chapel were refurbished to provide a setting for the elaborate processions for which they had originally been conceived.²⁴⁵ Rather, their refurbishment at Buckden demonstrates how the inherited fabric provided the architectural framework within which visual displays of episcopal magnificence were witnessed and contextualised. Its effect and purpose were probably not dissimilar from those of a Long Gallery; here flavoured with an aesthetic suitable for an episcopal household.²⁴⁶ Hacket’s words also imply that what was undertaken within cloister and chapel actively engaged with pre-existing decorative components. The paintings, whether mural or movable in nature, appear to be a consolidated collection of some longstanding. The new narrative stained glass could likewise represent the reconditioning of glazing which was *in situ* prior to Williams’s arrival. Such a suggestion is made here to consciously invite direct comparison to the repairs and refurbishment of Laud’s chapel at Lambeth.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ Pocklington, 1637: 87.

²⁴⁴ Thurley, 2009: 180-85.

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*: 181-83.

²⁴⁶ For the design and use of the Long Gallery see Girouard, 2009: 69-72.

²⁴⁷ Discussed previously in Chapter II.

If the sight of Williams's chapel is vague, its sound is evidenced with clarity by Hacket. His evocative portrayal likewise stands direct comparison with Heylyn's account of Laud's considerable provisions at Lambeth.²⁴⁸ Both serve as a reminder than experience of collective worship within these refurbished episcopal chapels was multi-sensory. Daily services at noon and evening were:

well order'd and observ'd ... with Musick and Organ, exquisitely, as in the best Cathedrals: and with such Voices, as the Kingdom afforded not better for Skill and Sweetness: the Bishop himself bearing the tenour part among them often. And this was constant every day, as well as on solemn Feasts.²⁴⁹

The cumulative effect of this richness did not go unnoticed. As with the decorum of worship celebrated in Ely House chapel under Lancelot Andrewes,²⁵⁰ "the Concourse was great that came to the Bishop's Chappel for Devotions".²⁵¹ Both in the fullness of liturgical observation and aesthetic appointment, the impression created by Williams's work at Buckden is one which appears to agree almost entirely with that undertaken by Laud at Lambeth Palace chapel. The common ground between these growing rivals of episcopal jurisdiction, the focus and thrust of sustained historical debate,²⁵² is arguably of greater immediate significance when addressing the role of a patronage for an early Stuart bishop. The strands of unity between Williams and Laud suggest that the attitudes to architecture outlined here, from college to conventual church, to private chapel can be interpreted without the need to relate them to the wrangles of the late 1630s. The aesthetic disjunction is perceived most acutely in Williams's chapel at Lincoln: it is an unassailable fact which has confuted even leading scholars of early modern Church history.²⁵³ The extensive examination of Williams's earlier instances of architectural patronage is necessary to contextualise Lincoln

²⁴⁸ Compare with Heylyn, 1668: 294.

²⁴⁹ Scrinia, i: 30. That Williams sang at tenor pitch should be read against *ibid.*, i: 8.

²⁵⁰ Discussed in Chapter II.

²⁵¹ Scrinia, i: 31.

²⁵² See for instance Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 157-64.

²⁵³ *ibid.*: 186.

College chapel within the wider and immediate spheres of influence. The concerns of relating new structures to existing exemplars; the renewal and perpetuation of institutional pedigree and the expectation of episcopal decorum are all manifest in this building. To explain the chapel as a demonstration of Williams moving into concordance with Laud's own views on the 'beauty of holiness' is therefore contestable.²⁵⁴ Laud and his fellow travellers had no ideological monopoly on the aesthetic richness created by Williams here.

viii:- EPISCOPAL AFFIRMATION: WILLIAMS AND THE COLLEGIATE CHAPEL

Costly, Reverend and Church-wise are the three qualities highlighted in John Hacket's description of Lincoln College chapel.²⁵⁵ Whilst not demonstrating astute powers of architectural observation, their function is to convey the impression of Williams's benefaction. This is favourable, and the salient elements emphasised here conveniently support the premise of 'typological decorum' explored earlier. The chapel was suitably funded 'costly', respected the engrained expectations of collegiate architecture 'reverend' and demonstrated what its function was to a contemporaneous audience 'Church-wise'. In addressing what such qualities actually meant for the seventeenth century, it is first necessary to examine the surviving fabric and furnishings, and how they were explained at the chapel's consecration on 15 September 1631.²⁵⁶ How the separate elements of architecture, furnishing and glazing act in unison throws further light upon the premise of 'typological decorum' advocated here as a means of understanding the impetus behind

²⁵⁴ Parry, 2006: 65.

²⁵⁵ Scrinia, i: 35.

²⁵⁶ Consecrations: 141.

otherwise irreconcilable visual and stylistic references. That this was to create an ostensive episcopal-collegiate chapel type, and its transferability as a template elsewhere, can be explored through reference to Williams's own writings. The whole ensemble emerges as a measured and highly articulate display of episcopal munificence, specifically focused to the institutional function of a college chapel. It can furthermore be explored with reference to the precepts of Calvinist theology, so as to finally disassociate its aesthetic from any relationship to Laud or Arminianism.

When compared to Loggan's depiction in *Oxonia Illustrata* the chapel's exterior has survived practically unaltered (Figures 58 & 61).²⁵⁷ Internally, it is clear that the glazing is integral to the design of the windows, though in several points, the interior differs subtly from that which greeted the congregation at its consecration. Often overlooked was a substantial campaign of repair and refurbishment undertaken in 1684-86 owing to the shifting of the southern wall.²⁵⁸ This was overseen by the then Rector, Fitzherbert Adams, who gave £471 5s. 6d. towards the work.²⁵⁹ Most importantly, the roof structure and its ceiling appear to have been totally replaced (Figure 59), a fact made apparent by its inability to quite clear the outer reveal of the east window. The draperies, palm fronds, escuteons, along with the prominent wall plate, terminating in cherubim heads either side of the east window, all date from this period. To what degree this ceiling, with its heraldic extollation of successive college benefactors, took the original ceiling as its model is not clear.²⁶⁰ The commemorative sentiment however accords exactly with the comparable display on the recently completed

²⁵⁷ The battlements were reinstated in 1817. Green, 1979: 377. Details of twentieth-century repairs are given in Oakeshott, 1975: 73-76.

²⁵⁸ *ibid.*: 73. I am grateful to Dr Louise Durning for drawing my attention to this phase of intervention.

²⁵⁹ Green, 1979: 293.

²⁶⁰ Oakeshott, 1957: 8-13. Details of the heraldry are given in RCHM Oxon: 68.

fan-vault of Tom Tower at Christ Church.²⁶¹ Also part of this scheme is the garlanded tympanum beneath the east window, the altar rails and the outer pew fronts to the stalls, with their diminutive figures.²⁶² The provenience of the figures of Sts Luke and Matthew in the antechapel is disputed.²⁶³ Of the other furnishings, the diagonal chequer-laid marble paving appears original,²⁶⁴ as do the stalls, pulpit, credence table and altar table.²⁶⁵ All these interventions are clearly tempered by the bold sculptural manner of the later seventeenth century, in distinction from the pronounced linear sharpness of the original furnishings. The prominent antechapel screen, despite quibbles over its motifs,²⁶⁶ was also in place for the consecration: the College accounts record payments of 2s 6d in 1632 to: “one that rubbed the wainscot skrene in the new chappell and to two boys that did helpe him”.²⁶⁷ It was further cleaned in 1636, and so can be taken as an integral furnishing.²⁶⁸ Completed by the copes, altar plate and service books recorded by Hacket,²⁶⁹ this is then the chapel Williams bequeathed to Lincoln College.

Do these separate components conform to the idea of ‘typological decorum’ propounded earlier as the *modus operandi* for Williams’s use of architectural patronage? To understand how this ideal was realised, the primary facets of the chapel’s design and furnishings must first be contextualised within the wider pattern of architectural patronage then underway throughout Oxford. Shared characteristics between Lincoln College chapel and other college

²⁶¹ Designed by Wren and built 1681-1682. Newman, 1997: 178-79.

²⁶² RCHM Oxon: 68; plate 126.

²⁶³ *ibid.*: 68 claims they are not integral. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 148 claim otherwise.

²⁶⁴ It was in place by 1660 at the latest. Green, 1979: 167, footnote 3.

²⁶⁵ This against Pevsner & Sherwood’s dating of c.1640 for the pulpit. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 147.

²⁶⁶ Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 147.

²⁶⁷ Lincoln College Accounts, 1632, f. 23. Quoted in Green, 1979: 167, footnote 4.

²⁶⁸ Lincoln College Accounts, 1636, f. 30. Quoted in Green, 1979: 167, footnote 4. Discussed subsequently.

²⁶⁹ *Scrinia*: i, 35.

projects not only suggest a common atelier of masons and carpenters working in different locations, but that certain aesthetic facets were deemed appropriate to collegiate projects in this period. As much as certain aspects may seem progressive and others conservative, their real value was to demonstrate a level of aesthetic richness peculiarly suited to the specific circumstances of the chapel's inception and to Williams's involvement as episcopal Visitor-cum-benefactor. Firstly the structure itself may fairly be said to conform to engendered expectations of the form a collegiate chapel should adopt. That the 'T'-shaped solution of chapel and transeptal antechapel was not selected was undoubtedly due in part to the disposition of the site itself, as much as by practical necessity (Figures 60 & 61). Whilst no designer is recorded for the chapel, the proportions of its longitudinal windows and the stepping up of the stringcourse between the windows are features shared with the hall and chapel ranges in the Front Quadrangle at Oriel College (Figure 80). Here plans for rebuilding has been laid as early as 1608, though only begun in earnest a decade later.²⁷⁰ The quadrangle was completed in staggered phases, until October 1636 when the College moved to realise the new hall and chapel along its eastern range.²⁷¹ Whether the delay of almost twenty years caused the original design for this range to be revised is not recorded, though the shared characteristics with the eastern range of Arnold's quadrangle at Wadham suggest that this set the template for the design.²⁷² Given the protracted building campaign it seems likely that the designer of Lincoln College chapel knew of the proposals at Oriel, and that visual ideas like the masons themselves, migrated between different sites. As at Lincoln, no attribution has been made as to who designed Oriel, but it is the characteristic treatment of the window tracery which makes a point of particular comparison between the separate

²⁷⁰ Newman, 1997: 142.

²⁷¹ *ibid.*

²⁷² *ibid.*: 158.

sites. Whereas Lincoln's chapel windows have been lauded for their archaeological fidelity,²⁷³ those at Oriel and their siblings at University College, are singled out as a distinctive type: the "posthumously-Gothic" mandorla (Figure 81).²⁷⁴ That this motif is shared between Oriel and University Colleges could be accounted for by the involvement of the mason Richard Maude, who initially oversaw the rebuilding of University College from 1634.²⁷⁵ As with Oriel, the campaign at University College was drawn out, with the chapel finally being consecrated in 1666, though building work lingered on into the next decade.²⁷⁶ As a treatment of tracery with no obvious mediaeval precedent, it has been trumpeted as an attempt to subvert the stagnant influence of moribund Perpendicular.²⁷⁷ What it actually achieves is to assimilate the tracery designs of Arnold's hall and antechapel at Wadham back into an idiom with greater aesthetic unity with surviving mediaeval tracery. Arnold's experimentation with bossed strapwork paraphrase evidently did not find favour elsewhere; least of all at Lincoln, where the tracery is reticulated lights. The shared lexicon is present in the vast east window, which with its rudimentary bracing arcs and steep tracery lights appears to have taken the recent chapel at Exeter College as its model, in favour of the more obvious mediaeval examples offered by New and Magdalen Colleges.

If Maude had influence upon the design of Lincoln College chapel, the result appears in general to be a digest of parts and ideas absorbed from elsewhere, with the tracery acting as the only distinctive signifier of individuality. This latter feature can be presented as conforming to the expectation of typological decorum. As the chapel represents an

²⁷³ Even by mediaevalists, *e.g.* Henderson, 1967: 194.

²⁷⁴ A term coined in Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 177.

²⁷⁵ *ibid.*: 208. Newman, 1997: 159.

²⁷⁶ Newman, 1997: 144-45.

²⁷⁷ Mowl, 2002: 83-84.

absorption of architectural ideas prevalent in the late 1620s it can be read as responding to the wider expectations of collegiate architectural design; the features pull it into unity with the sources selected, which are themselves validated through their existing or projected use elsewhere. The recourse to more exacting precedents for the chapel's tracery can denote the confirmation of conditioned expectations of sacred and ecclesiastical architecture, over collegiate and institutional.²⁷⁸ Such a visual distinction of the separate function of the chapel within the new quadrangle at Lincoln is perhaps better understood as an expression of the importance of the chapel to the college as a collective institutional space. However, the tracery of the chapel's windows still sets it apart from later realised examples of Oriel and University Colleges,²⁷⁹ and collectively be seen as an assertion of that visual elements both recent and inherited could be drawn upon in answer to ideals of patronal and institutional architecture. The difference is, however, only between open cusps and their filling with tracery mullions: the geometry and proportions are otherwise identical. That the same course of reasoning influenced this decision as has been explored at St John's College, Cambridge is not implausible, though cannot be determined with certainty, and as was the case there, Williams may well have acquiesced to an aesthetic decision already taken. If the chapel's exterior appears 'archaeological' to modern commentators, this is simply a demonstration that its inherited mediaeval forms still carried connotations of architectural benefaction with which Williams and the College wished to identify. The result is a self-vindicating design, immediately comprehensible through its reflection of established models with which its first audience were undoubtedly familiar. It is built into an experience

²⁷⁸ Such distinctions are reflected in the domestic architecture of the period. Girouard, 2009: 477.

²⁷⁹ The comparison is somewhat marred since both these chapels no longer have their original east windows. RCHM Oxon: 93; 117.

conditioned by the inherited forms of mediaeval collegiate architecture in order to draw the present into a justificatory perpetuation of past models.

A similar adoption of inherited models to tie the new chapel into existing conditioned expectations occurs in the glazing scheme. This was undertaken by Abraham van Linge from 1629 (the date of south I) until 1631 (the date of the east window).²⁸⁰ The scheme's iconography is a unified typological comparison between the Twelve Apostles in the south windows (Figures 71 -74), twelve greater prophets on the north (Figures 75-78) and events in the Old and New Testaments in the east window (Figure 79). For the more obtuse, non-visual viewers, whilst scriptural texts provide commentary upon the subjects, the scenes are labelled *Typus* and *Antitypus*.²⁸¹ Such a display of scriptural cross referencing was the hallmark of the most prestigious glazing schemes of the late Middle Ages; several of which had survived intact.²⁸² It is clear that they also had a presence within the realm of episcopal chapels, as evidenced from the account of Laud's repairs to a typological sequence in Lambeth Palace chapel.²⁸³ It can be argued that such a scheme pulls the new chapel into an iconographical unity with those inherited chapel schemes existing elsewhere. Whilst the *ne plus ultra* example was Kings College, Cambridge, this recondite parallelism had an established presence in Oxford; most notably in the mediaeval windows of the antechapel at New College.²⁸⁴ As much as the Lincoln scheme pulls the chapel into concordance with the most prominent glazing schemes visible in diverse chapels, it also follows the precedent

²⁸⁰ Abraham van Linge's signature appears behind the figure of St Peter in s.I.

²⁸¹ The minute numbering running from left to right and ascending each light was probably to ensure the panels were installed in the right order.

²⁸² Discussed with reference to Royal Chapels in Chapter I.

²⁸³ Discussed in Chapter II.

²⁸⁴ This fragmentary scheme dates from the late fourteenth century. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 84-85.

established by the glazing of Wadham College chapel.²⁸⁵ In this chapel and at Lincoln, the east window contains typological scenes, whilst the side windows contain individual figures. That the Lincoln scheme is not a direct adoption of the glazing at Wadham further suggests that such an arrangement was still deemed the most apposite for a collegiate chapel.²⁸⁶ Again, the power of associations, conditioned the by experience of past exemplars, appears to lie behind the glazing of the windows. The new glass is not merely appositely suited to a college chapel, but is vindicated through the authority of earlier surviving examples of comparable schemes within both royal and episcopal chapels elsewhere. That such schemes still had a place within cultural awareness is ably demonstrated by none other than the Bishop of Oxford who consecrated the chapel, Richard Corbett. His poem *Upon Fairford Windows* aptly examines the early-sixteenth century glazing at Fairford in the light of puritanical subversion and hypocrisy.²⁸⁷ The past was of paramount significance to, and an accessible part of, the seventeenth-century present.

The presence of figurative glazing can often raise concerns over the apparent 'Calvinism' of Williams and the general suitability of such schemes within religious settings after the Reformation. Without addressing this question Williams's chapel risks slipping back into a surrogate 'Laudian' achievement. What emerges is a clear responsiveness to ideals of typological decorum which are mediated, not discarded, in the light of theological argument. The iconoclastic destruction of the Reformation and the severe curtailment of religious art within ecclesiastical settings often overlooks the survival of images, and in particular images

²⁸⁵ For an account of this see Jackson, 1893: 158-72.

²⁸⁶ Comparative glazing schemes are discussed in Newman, 1997: 167-69.

²⁸⁷ For a discussion of this see Parry, 2006: 152-54 & Loxley, 1997.

in stained-glass. That these could still influence and inform reformed patrons decisions is clearly demonstrated by van Linge's windows here. As much as Williams can be categorised as a Calvinist, so too can the pronouncedly Calvinist congregations of London, who likewise had few qualms over commissioning figurative glass.²⁸⁸ Hackett's own summary of the scheme as "The sacred Acts, and Mysteries of our Saviour, while he was on Earth, neatly colour'd",²⁸⁹ perhaps holds the key. His clarification that the subject matter involved only events where Christ was physically present no doubt reflects the sentiments expressed by John Calvin on images in his *Institutes*.²⁹⁰ Within reformed English thought and teaching, John Calvin held a place of paramount influence and importance, especially amongst the Universities.²⁹¹ Calvin's argument effectively deconstructs the inherited justification of images and their place in mediaeval Christianity,²⁹² and vociferously condemns any attempt to affix a visible form to God.²⁹³ However, he does not censure pictorial art outright, but qualifies it with specific parameters:

The only things ... which ought to be painted or sculptured, are things which can be presented to the eye; the majesty of God, which is far beyond the reach of an eye, must not be dishonoured by unbecoming representations.²⁹⁴

It is therefore not images outright which were antithetical to Calvinist sentiments, but only where they strayed into attempts to portray the Deity in any semblance of form.²⁹⁵ Calvin divides representational art into two distinct categories: "historical, which give a representation of event, and pictorial, which merely exhibit bodily shapes and figures. The former are of some use for instruction or admonition".²⁹⁶ It is the latter which are:

²⁸⁸ Fincham & Tyake, 2007: 258-59. Lane, 2002: 55-65.

²⁸⁹ Scrinia, ii: 35.

²⁹⁰ *Institutes*, Book I, xi.

²⁹¹ Quentin, 2009: 85-86.

²⁹² For Calvin's refutation of Gregory's defence see *Institutes*, Book I, xi: 5.

²⁹³ *ibid.*: 1-3.

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*: 12, 100.

²⁹⁵ See also *Institutes*, Book I, xi: 2.

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 12: 100.

only fitted for amusement ... [which] are almost the only kind which have hitherto been exhibited in churches. Hence we may infer, that the exhibition was not the result of judicious selection, but a foolish and inconsiderate longing.²⁹⁷

In the case of Lincoln, such a condemnation is not as non-negotiable as it might first seem. Hackett clarification makes the point that Christ is depicted whilst incarnate and obviously visible, and that the depictions form part of a narrative sequence which is in Calvin's sense 'historical'. The scenes therefore have a demonstrable application, not only in themselves, but particularly as a visualisation of the typological links between Old and New Testament. Their function is didactic, and the format itself demands 'judicious selection' in order for it be comprehensible, and so this inherited model of glazing has here been assimilated and redeployed within the secure Calvinist parameters for representational art. That the crucifixion occurs, albeit not in a central position, is arguably circumstantial; it is part of a sequence. Similarly, the apostles and prophets were historical personages. Whilst their depiction betrays the endurance of mediaeval convention, their appropriateness for a college chapel is clear; the apostles serving as the *exemplum* for all subsequent colleges.²⁹⁸ The accompanying texts beneath the images of the east window are primarily drawn from New Testament commentaries upon the event depicted, and not the relevant accounts of the events themselves. As such, the arguably appeal to the instructive and admonitory programme Calvin provisionally countenances. An existing mediaeval model has therefore been effectively absorbed into the parameters of 'typological decorum', the on the grounds of several precedential examples being distinctly suitable for a college chapel funded by an episcopal patron. The glazing is therefore more than a return to mediaeval precedents, but a demonstration of how they were by no means excluded from the cultural experience of

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*

²⁹⁸ The iconographic attributes of the prophets are a post-Reformation invention, unknown in England to the explicit degree with which they are present here.

inherited religious architecture by the strictures of Reformist theology. Like the stonework that frames them, such visual subject matter, and its medium, were part of the contemporaneous experience of ecclesiastical architecture; the 'Church-wise' of Hacket's account.²⁹⁹ The pressures and expectations conditioned by inherited exemplars arguably overcame Calvin's reservations as to: "whether it is expedient that churches should contain representations of any kind".³⁰⁰ Evidently, in devising the aesthetic for Lincoln College chapel, the influence for validating precedents was a greater influence than theological dogmatism, and manifestly not the preserve of 'Arminian' adherents of Laud's policies.

Admittedly, such specific recourse to Calvin's precepts may not have been the explicit intention of van Linge's windows at Lincoln College. The premise of such a discussion addresses the significance of such a building with reference to the intellectual climate within which it was conceived. As inviting as it would be to argue that Williams nailed Arminian colours to a Calvinist mast, his specific motivation falls much more persuasively into the model of a patron responding to notions of 'typological decorum', against which his Calvinist theological stance was no barrier. One fundamental premise of Calvinist theology was the doctrine of predestination; the subtleties of which have been ably expounded elsewhere, by authors more versed in reformed theological.³⁰¹ Deriving from the writings of Augustine of Hippo, its lynchpin was the premise that mankind was already either saved or reprobate; a decision unalterable through human agency. Within this proposition, good works were symptomatic of election and the sacraments 'seals' of grace, not actively capable

²⁹⁹ Scrinia, ii: 35.

³⁰⁰ Institutes, Book I; xi, 13, 101.

³⁰¹ Quantin, 2009: 174-76.

in bestowing grace upon the reprobate. This primary tenant of reformed theology might well provide such explanation for one singular feature of van Linge's glazing at Lincoln College chapel, and further display the assimilative powers of early modern culture regardless of the Reformation. This occurs in the tracery lights of the east window, which feature a succession of complex architectural vistas, receding through successive archways and portals (Figure 82). Their architectural idiom is primarily classical in inspiration; a distinction clear when compared to the distinctly mediaeval forms of the canopies in windows north I, north II, south I and south III. In compositional terms, van Linge has amplified the conceit of canopies over single figures into a virtuosic performance over the narrative scenes below. It doubly amplifies the architectural expressiveness of the tracery itself; further suggestive of the symbiotic association of mediaeval tracery with stained glass in this period, and here pursued where this relationship is most acutely visible. If a theological interpretation was intended in such a display, it is difficult to cite a visual precedent. Whilst interpretation is speculative, such architectural spaces invite comparison to such obvious passages in scripture as: "In my Father's house are many mansions".³⁰² The implication of such an association might well accord with the precepts of predestination: the empty architecture emblematic of "the kingdom prepared" for the elect "from the foundation of the world".³⁰³ Though not provable, such an interpretation might not have been antithetical to Williams's intentions as patron, and furthermore demonstrates that the visual richness achieved by van Linge's glazing can stand interpretation in accordance with, rather than against, the tenets of reformed Calvinist theology.

³⁰² John, xiv: 2.

³⁰³ Matthew, xxv: 34.

Such ideas are not offered to present Lincoln College chapel as an entirely Calvinist-inspired project. Calvinist theology was one conditioning influence amongst others, more immediate through their materiality and absorption into early modern notions of typological decorum. The apparent departure from Calvinist and reformist premises is most clearly evidenced in the furnishings Hacket records that Williams's provided "The Traverse, and lining of the Walls was of Cedar-Wood",³⁰⁴ as too are the pulpit, the communion and the credence tables. Though no longer noticeable, its sweet aroma was perceptible as recently as 1905.³⁰⁵ In aesthetic terms alone, the woodwork of the chapel is a marked departure from models afforded by Oxford, and represents work very much in the aesthetic vanguard of the period.³⁰⁶ Its dominant leitmotif appears in the ornamental treatment of the panels, and might be termed a lugged and pedimented aedicule (Figure 83). Whilst stall backs and wainscot co-ordinated with pilasters occurs at Wadham,³⁰⁷ at Lincoln the motif of subsidiary arcades is rejected, thereby treating the wainscot with a sharper modular clarity and a conscious rejection of strapwork ornamentation.³⁰⁸ The fine sharpness of the carving is distinct from the established work at Oxford for the first two decades of the seventeenth century, and immediately suggests a design or carpenters not sourced from the locality. The aedicule motif is also a distinctive feature; one which pre-empts the later use of perspectival arches throughout the 1630s, and on for several decades,³⁰⁹ with which pediments were occasionally combined.³¹⁰ The apparent stylistic discrepancy between architecture and furnishings need not detract from the unity of the interior.³¹¹ It is the consistent aesthetic

³⁰⁴ Scrinia, ii: 35.

³⁰⁵ Clark, 1905: 140.

³⁰⁶ The dating of the pulpit to c.1640, and by implication the stalls, is anachronistic. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 147.

³⁰⁷ RCHM Oxon: 121. Jackson, 1893: 155.

³⁰⁸ Only the poppy heads on the Rector and Sub-rector's stalls approach this type of enrichment.

³⁰⁹ A motif used on the stalls at Brasenose and Oriel College chapels. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 107; 178.

³¹⁰ As in the woodwork installed at Christ Church cathedral during the 1630s, of which fragments survive elsewhere. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 522-23.

³¹¹ The same characteristics appear in college libraries of the period. Girouard, 2009: 436.

richness across materials and their treatment which is evidently of greater import; a point made clear by the variegated canopies in van Linge's windows. This synthetic impression was arguably realised the 'typological decorum' of such a space than attempts at stylistic unity, and if a precedent needs must be sought, the Chapel Royal at Whitehall offers an obvious point of comparison.³¹² What such provisions make abundantly clear is that a Calvinist theological leaning was no barrier to conspicuously rich provisions for Lincoln College chapel.

Where the distinction from immediate exemplars is most pronounced is in the chapel's screen, undoubtedly its most imposing furnishing (Figures 84 & 85). Like the stalls and wainscot, it has frequently been ascribed a post-Restoration date; in part influenced by the repairs undertaken in the 1680s.³¹³ As has been shown the College accounts make clear that a screen had been installed prior to the consecration, and Hacket explicitly records Williams's bequest of a "Traverse".³¹⁴ Such post-dating is undoubtedly due to the screen's demure aesthetic idiom. It is consciously restrained, articulated with Corinthian pilasters, coupled with a projecting entrance with columns and broken segmental pediment on its west side (Figure 85). As with the tracery lights, Williams's heraldry predominates, thereby declaring its patronal origins and pulling these separate elements into a unified declaration of benefactional authorship.³¹⁵ The pierced oval motif in the side panels is a feature which occurs subsequently in chapel screens throughout the seventeenth century, and whilst

³¹² Discussed in Chapter I.

³¹³ Discussed above. Post-Restoration dates are given in Vallance, 1947: 160. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 147.

³¹⁴ *Scrinia*, ii: 35.

³¹⁵ The cartouches have undoubtedly been repainted, but the carved arms over the entrance are integral.

certainly not unknown in domestic panelling,³¹⁶ this example appears to be the ultimate source for its use in ecclesiastical settings.³¹⁷ Of decorative work, the pierced spandrels contain fretwork which has closer affinities to residual strapwork ornamentation than to the frothy foliage of the second half of the seventeenth century.³¹⁸ The stodgy cherubim in the spandrels over the doors and the masked keystones also betray an earlier date. So too does the lugged treatment of the pedestals beneath the pilasters and columns, and that the transom in the tympanum over the gates shares the same 'drop bobbin' motif which features on the Communion Table seems to prove the point. Whilst it is not infeasible that the screen was to some extent altered during the 1680s campaign, it would be extraordinary if there was a deliberate effort to back-date its aesthetic lexicon to the 1630s. Such an assertive architectural treatment of a wooden screen was not unknown in Oxford, but comparable examples have hitherto been primarily restricted to the secular setting of college halls.³¹⁹ Whilst the classical orders had previously been enmeshed with ornament, at Lincoln they are stark in their assertive directness. It is an innovative object, which arguably set the model for subsequent chapel screens to the end of the century. Williams's patronage is therefore in the aesthetic vanguard of the 1630s, though does this facet imply a significance of form beyond classical refinement alone?

³¹⁶ Compare with the panelling of a room in the Principal's Lodgings at Jesus College, dated to 1623. RCHM Oxon: 62.

³¹⁷ *e.g.* in the screens at Brasenose, Corpus Christi and Oriel Colleges.

³¹⁸ Though compare with the screen at Oriel, variously dated to *c.*1642 or later. Vallance, 1947: 164-65. The contrast with such examples as the later screen at University College chapel, however, still illustrates this point. *ibid.*: 166.

³¹⁹ *e.g.* the screens in Exeter College and Jesus College Halls, from the second decade of the century. RCHM Oxon: plates 114-15.

The claims here made for the screen's distinction from the established prevalence of Jacobean and Mannerist ornamentation invites comparison with the mature designs of Inigo Jones. An obvious example is his new pulpitum at Winchester cathedral, installed at the behest of Charles I in 1638.³²⁰ This is not to attribute the screen at Lincoln to the Royal Surveyor, but rather to the atelier of carpenters associated with the Office of Works, who would be conversant with Jones' idiom and whose experience of earlier projects is reflected here. Whilst the new pulpitum at Winchester can be read as a demonstration of royal authority in a historically significant location,³²¹ the Lincoln screen appeals as a consolidation of Williams' prestige as a patron, manifest in a distinctive idiom which may well have been understood as appertaining primarily to the Court. This would be a most suitable reference for Williams to make, given his oration at the funeral of James I; the entire premise of which was to liken the dead king to the biblical Solomon.³²² To associate the use of the Corinthian order here as an outlying indication of a Catholic-orientated Court aesthetic would be a grotesque distortion of the place of the orders within early modern England's visual culture.³²³ If their presence here is deliberate, it can be understood through reference to the chapel's consecration service, wherein the same validating claims to precedents for religious architecture made by John Prideaux at Exeter College chapel are demonstrable.³²⁴ Through its aesthetic manner and the iconography of its material (cedar wood) the screen serves as a rhetorical and actual frontispiece to the chapel. It explains and quantifies the efficaciousness of the new chapel through citing the most apposite biblical precedents for sacred architecture, most obviously the Temple of Solomon, in terms which appear to countermand the conventional protestant arguments voiced by Calvin, amongst others. The reasons for

³²⁰ Newman, 2007: 158-59. Worsley, 2007: 158-59.

³²¹ Worsley, 2007: 158-59.

³²² Williams, 1625.

³²³ Hart, 2011: 24-26.

³²⁴ This aspect is discussed in relation to Exeter College chapel previously.

this apparent discrepancy ultimately fulfil the sentiments of Prideaux's earlier sermon, and further attest to the shared parameters of theological and institutional identity amongst the reformed English episcopacy in the early seventeenth century.

The use of cedar for the screen and other sacred furnishings of the chapel cannot have been an unthinking or expedient choice. The gift of Hiram, King of Tyre, to Solomon for the building of the Temple of Jerusalem,³²⁵ cedar is prominently recorded as an integral part of the sanctuary.³²⁶ Of most immediate comparison is the account of the "porch of pillars" in front of the Holy of Holies:

and the porch was before them: and the other pillars and the thick beam were before them. Then he made a porch for the throne where he might judge, the porch of judgment: and covered with cedar from one side of the floor to the other.³²⁷

Given the ambiguities of this description, there are undoubted shared characteristics between the Lincoln chapel screen and this scriptural account of Solomon's work. Though not expressed with spiral shafts, the association holds true. If a biblical precedent was sought for such a conspicuous frontispiece, then the cited source is ably apposite. However, such conscious referencing of the Temple, and its connotations of material richness and actual sacrifice, had been strongly attacked by Calvin; his sentiments being reiterated by protestant polemicists against Roman Catholic counter-arguments.³²⁸ Against the Roman Catholic position, Calvin argued that whilst the Temple and its ritual accoutrements might once have served as the earthly sanctuary:

³²⁵ I Kings, v: 10.

³²⁶ *ibid.*, vi: 10-20.

³²⁷ *ibid.*, vii: 7.

³²⁸ Most influentially in Rudolph Hospinian's *De Templis*. Hamberg, 2002: 10-13.

When his priests corrupted his worship ... he transferred it elsewhere, and left the place without any sanctity. If that temple which seemed consecrated for the perpetual habitation of God, could be abandoned by God and become profane, the Romanists have no ground to pretend that God is so bound to persons or places, and fixed to external observances.³²⁹

Within this reformed understanding of religious architecture, the historical account of the Old Testament invalidates any purpose in holding up the Temple as an exemplar for emulation. Such an argument would be frequently voiced against the Laudian campaign for uniformity as the 1630s progressed, and such apparent rejection of Calvin's position again suggests that his reformist doctrines were one influence amongst many.

The deliberate analogy between biblical precedent and newly-furbished chapel was undoubtedly obvious but the import of such associations ultimately goes beyond Williams's own identity, and touches upon the fundamental purpose of the chapel. This is clear from the surviving account of the consecration service, performed by Richard Corbett.³³⁰ Where Prideaux had expounded the reformed position through his sermon, Corbett did so through a parallel series of references to biblical and historical precedents: from Jacob's stone at Bethel, to the Tabernacle in the Wilderness and through the Temple to Christian churches.³³¹ *In tandem* with the iconographic materials of the screen and furnishings, the analogy with the Temple is reiterated in the liturgy of consecration, for Corbett recites not only David's dedication of the vessels of the Temple,³³² but twice recites Solomon's prayer of dedication for the completed Temple itself.³³³ The material and aesthetic claims for lineage and

³²⁹ *Institutes*, Book IV; ii, 306-307.

³³⁰ Why Williams, as the benefactor and College Visitor did not undertake this himself is not recorded. Clark, 1905: 137.

³³¹ *Consecrations*: 144-45.

³³² I Chronicles xxix: 9-18. *Consecrations*: 143-44.

³³³ II Chronicles vi: 18-42. *Consecrations*: 150-51; 155.

pedigree deriving from biblical precedents are therefore unified through the references within the consecration service to a consistent theological claim for the validity of the new chapel. As the separate elements unify to consolidate Williams as patron within a model of typological decorum, through scriptural reference the chapel is positioned within a greater lineage of sacred structures. What validates these claims of inheritance and similitude is made clear in Corbett's words:

arise, O Lord, and come into this place of thy rest. Let thine eyes be open towards this hous night and day, let thy eares be ready towards the prayers of thy children, which they shall make to thee in this place, and let thy heart to dwell *in this place perpetually*.³³⁴

It is the final clause which provides the justification for such conscious referencing to the Temple; biblical precedents are emulated so as to make the analogous to those where God had been manifestly present, and where prayers would therefore be directly efficacious. The process worked both ways, as Corbett petitioned God to: "accept of this duty and service of dedicateing this Chappel to thy glorious name".³³⁵ Past precedents are adopted to further consolidate the purpose of the new chapel; a process of referential deference which can arguably be entertained here due to the restored purity of reformed worship. The presence of the cedar screen and sacred furnishings serve to persuade the contemporaneous visitor of the chapel's worth as a structure dedicated solely to religious observances, validated through the citation of earlier precedents and thereby justifying apparent innovation through the apposite selection of precedents. The new chapel does not seek to become the Temple, let alone a mediaeval college chapel, but rather a chapel which responds to the early-Stuart church's concerns of institutional authority and lineage. The past, be it distant and biblical

³³⁴ *ibid.*: 145 (added emphasis).

³³⁵ Consecrations: 154.

and immediate and mediaeval, is at the service of the seventeenth-century present. Esteem for the 'old fashion of church windows' is only one facet of the chapels' significance. Such clear associative invocation as a means of justification could once more let Williams's chapel slip into the position of a proto-Laudian 'beauty of holiness' surrogate. It might well seem a supportable premise that Lincoln College chapel served to encourage the dissemination of this aesthetic richness out from the university itself into parochial settings. To countermand this possibility, there can be no more persuasive voice than Williams's own opinions on such matters, as expressed in his 1637 pamphlet *The Holy Table*.³³⁶ This publication offered a justification for Williams's 1627 judgement against the then vicar of Grantham as regarding the latter's erection of a stone altar table on the site of the mediaeval high altar in his church. When this action caused consternation, Williams's judgment was sought, since as Bishop of Lincoln he acted as the 'Ordinary' to be consulted on such points of contention.³³⁷ Published in response to Peter Heylyn's criticism of Williams's ruling,³³⁸ the tract's publication undoubtedly contributed to Williams's imprisonment and suspension in 1638,³³⁹ it offers a valuable insight into his personal attitude to the role of chapels, and the Chapel Royal in particular, as exemplars for parochial liturgical arrangements and practices. By implication, his sentiments positively forbid any reading of Lincoln College chapel as being 'Laudian' in aesthetics or intent. At the argument's heart is a distinction between different congregational audiences (public and private) and the distortive accounts of Reformation and Early Church history. Again, these were integral issues to the identity of the reformed English Church. Williams opens against Heylyn's claims for the exemplary place of the Chapel Royal with apparent acquiescence to the point: "a *moving* precedent and

³³⁶ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 354-55.

³³⁷ For the judgement and its ramifications see *ibid.*: 177-81.

³³⁸ Heylyn, 1636.

³³⁹ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 209.

breathing example, not only for the Laity and meaner sort of the Clergy, but even for the gravest of all the Prelacy, to follow and imitate".³⁴⁰ However, he proceeds to make clear that the Chapel Royal is *not* a suitable model for parochial churches to follow:

How the King shall adorne and set out his *Chappell Royall*, is a matter *imminent* and left to his own Princely wisdom and understanding ... It is not therefore his Majesties *Chappell*, but his *Laws, Rubricks, Canons, and Proclamations*, that we are to follow in these outward ceremonies.³⁴¹

It seems clear that Williams's is defending the preserve of the Chapel Royal from the apparent risk of leeching down to the parochial level, in flagrant disregard for the established practices of which he as a bishop was ultimately bound to maintain. The challenge is as much to his episcopal authority, being undermined through the championing of the Chapel Royal in a *fait accompli* as the authoritative *exemplum*. He goes on to illustrate this point by asking what the use of the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy is: "if we had been long before ... at a loss in England for the whole form and fashion of Divine Service, but for one Dean and so many Gentleman of the Kings Chappell".³⁴² Where the parameters of precedent are subverted as a means to challenge episcopal authority, Williams rounds on them, making clear that the emulation of the practices of the Chapel Royal or certain cathedrals were not intended to set the template for parochial practices.³⁴³ The respective institutions have distinct forms and liturgical practices to themselves, as was arguably suited to the decorum of these institutions. By implication, the chapel at Lincoln College was manifestly not intended as a model of 'beauty of holiness' for transference beyond the setting of a college quadrangle. Its typological decorum was specifically suited to the immediate concerns of its institutional setting, where those schooled in the college might well be expected to ascend

³⁴⁰ Holy Table: 33.

³⁴¹ *ibid.*: 34.

³⁴² *ibid.*: 35.

³⁴³ *ibid.*: 15-16.

the ladder of ecclesiastical preferment. Therefore, the chapel serves here as a conditioning experience, suitable for its immediate audience expressly because it is not first and foremost, parochial in nature.³⁴⁴ Whilst countenancing the possibility for emulating the Chapel Royal within comparative private chapels, Williams's resistance to the former's presentation as the authoritative prototype for all ecclesiastical arrangements makes clear his hostility to the Laudian programme of uniformity.

Williams also quashes the association between the Chapel Royal and Early Christian antiquity with reference to Henry Spelman's etymology of the word 'chapel', and finds in nowhere recorded in the golden first five centuries of the Early Christian Church.³⁴⁵ The recourse to antiquarian sources was therefore not the preserve of Laudian apologists. Through so doing Williams's exposes the slight-of-hand Peter Lake has characteristic of Laudian authors: "when their position claimed the warrant only of ecclesiastical custom, the customs involved were very often described as immemorial and thus apostolic in origin".³⁴⁶ The final point appears to be made by the no doubt shared characteristics Lincoln had with the restored chapel at Buckden; it is tempting to read the former as a mirror-image of the lost episcopal chapel. The wider argument, enshrined within Williams's and Heylyn's arguments, is the orientation and fixedness, or otherwise, of the Communion Table. There is no explicit account of its position in the consecration service, and if Lincoln College chapel's arrangements took those at Buckden for their prototype, it would have been placed altarwise beneath the east window (Figure 87).³⁴⁷ Such a position, like the surrounding ambience of

³⁴⁴ However, certain parochial functions were performed here, due to the institutional evolution of the college. Green, 1979: 168, footnote 4.

³⁴⁵ Holy Table: 36-37.

³⁴⁶ Lake, 1993: 183.

³⁴⁷ Pocklington, 1637: 87. Holy Table: 12.

the chapel itself, served to affirm the precedents suitable for a collegiate chapel financed by an episcopal patron; a private institutional religious work where concordance between the Chapel Royal and episcopal chapels was desirable as a consolidation of, and response to, the chapel's immediate circumstances. The visual synchronisation between these respectively distinct types of chapels also affirms a suitable trajectory for college members; Lincoln encapsulates the aesthetics of the reformed clerical *oprichniki*, who's social and educational situation safeguards them from any claims of subverting the rubrical and hierarchical authority Williams defends in his *Holy Table*. Williams's words make clear that it was not intended as a template transferable beyond the confines of private religious settings and into a parochial setting. If its aesthetics appear 'Laudian' in inspiration, they are diametrically opposed in intent.

If the chapel at Lincoln can be taken as a commentary upon its patron, then Williams emerges as much more than an early modern bishop with a penchant for Gothic windows. The shared similarities between the chapel at Lincoln College and the library at St John's, Cambridge can be accounted as demonstrations of the same ideological programme underpinning the patronage at both sites. That is a conscious deference to the inherited models of collegiate architecture, and the suitability of specific visual forms to the functions and connotations to specific building types. Both instances of mediaeval window tracery display not the rehabilitation of architectural forms, but an affirmation of their continuing presence within the associative processes of early modern culture. His responsiveness to the inherited ecclesiastical architecture legacy of the Middle Ages, and its associations with benefaction and patronage, are manifestly clear in his repairs at Westminster. Here,

Williams not only reaffirms the continuum of the reformed Abbey's history, but does so through a revival of monumental public sculpture within a religious context which pre-empted the Laud-associated schemes of the 1630s. As much as his architectural patronage between Cambridge and Westminster appears divergent in appearance, it is unified in its underpinning ideals to denote the legitimate continuity with the past for the early modern present. Deliberate reaffirmation of the former served to validate the latter, in terms it would readily acknowledge. His restoration of the domestic chapel at Buckden securely positions Williams's within an established model of episcopal conduct which, like the chapel itself, had endured beyond the Reformation. Unifying these separate campaigns of repair and new building is an attitude to architecture which has been typified here as 'typological decorum'. Whilst an artificial construction, it accounts for the influential factors behind Williams's patronage, which as reflections of obvious concerns to the seventeenth century, have left little evidence save for the deliberate recourse to specific visual forms in deference to their locations and institutional function. Arguably, this process reaches its apogee in Lincoln College chapel. This building responds not only to the pressures of affirming its immediate patronal source through heraldic display and suitable richness, but affirming claims to of paramount significance to the reformed Church in the early-seventeenth century. The apparent stylistic divergence is secondary to the recondite visual references which necessitate this. Lincoln College chapel not only legitimises itself within the inherited parameters and expectations of a collegiate chapel, but goes further by validating itself through conspicuous reference to the Temple of Solomon. To perceive apparent aesthetic irresolution is to fail to see this chapel as the product of its immediate intellectual and patronal circumstances; a context which this examination has attempted to reconstruct. Its references are as deliberate, intentional and as apposite as those made by Corbett at its

consecration, and to the same purpose of sacred vindication. In the process, the richness of the chapel's provisions have hopefully been exonerated from any association with an 'Arminian' ideal, and its identification as a 'Laudian' exemplar can be persuasively rejected.

ix:- BRASENOSE COLLEGE CHAPEL: POSTHUMOUS INTENT AND THE ENDURANCE OF ASSOCIATION

In the tirade of insults flung at the collegiate architecture of seventeenth-century Oxford, Brasenose College chapel has been an easy target (Figure 88). It has been variously denounced as a "strange medley" possessed of a "bewildering mutton-dressed-as-lamb aspect";³⁴⁸ "a bewildering variety of stylistic clashes";³⁴⁹ and a "pretentious ... reactionary High Church gesture".³⁵⁰ Worse than such decrials is its treatment as a building which merely signposts the future course of architectural design.³⁵¹ Such observations ultimately say more about their authors than the building which solicits such opprobrium, and the focus of this discussion does not intend to enter into such garrulous mud-slinging. Brasenose College chapel can well be read as an eclectic building, but it is so in terms of its gestation and influences as much as in stylistic terms. It attests to the absorbed influences of the building campaigns across the university in the preceding decades; it is a cumulative apogee of the shared values of collegiate and ecclesiastical architecture of the period. Whilst its aesthetics may appear at odds with the college chapels considered previously, this should not be understood as marking a distinct shift in the informing principles underlying it. The same

³⁴⁸ Lees-Milne, 1953: 153.

³⁴⁹ Newman, 1997: 171.

³⁵⁰ Mowl & Earnshaw, 1993: 198.

³⁵¹ Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 106-107.

process of assimilated exemplars is present, responding to the expectations of the chapel's patrons and indicative of a shared exposure for both the latter and the artisans employed to realise the design. Commenced during the Commonwealth after the university had been purged of its Royalist members, it serves as the one significant structure which carried the values of the early-seventeenth century on into the Restoration.³⁵² The immediate historical circumstances suggest that the values attached to architectural forms discussed previously appealed across the spectrum of partisan theological factions; even to those utterly opposed to the reformed English Church as it had existed prior to the Civil War.³⁵³ Brasenose College chapel's eventual realisation, protracted in gestation, was undoubtedly a contributing factor, of which some account is necessary.

In the burgeoning population of College residents during the early-seventeenth century, Brasenose was no exception, and the consequential wish to expand its built provisions was natural.³⁵⁴ Throughout the first decades of the century, the lofts over the original quadrangle were converted into cocklofts to provide additional accommodation (Figure 88).³⁵⁵ In 1614, £140 was bequeathed to the College for the specific intent of building a new chapel.³⁵⁶ The original chapel had been a comparative provision to that at Lincoln College: a chamber on the first floor in the southern wing of the quadrangle, into which additional seats had been added between 1604 and 1612.³⁵⁷ However, the primary author of architectural expansion at Brasenose was its Principal, Samuel Radcliffe, who took upon himself the sole charge of

³⁵² Oxford during Commonwealth is discussed in Worden 1997: 737-72.

³⁵³ Brooks, 1999: 30.

³⁵⁴ For the sixteenth-century buildings see Newman, 1986: 605-607.

³⁵⁵ Allfrey, 1909: 11.

³⁵⁶ Newman, 1997: 136.

³⁵⁷ Allfrey, 1909: 11.

building works. Rather than solicit subscriptions, from 1635-36 he financed: “the Buildinge of the Cocklofts [and] Battlements for Severall Artificers ... out of his owne purse and at his owne proper Cash and charge”.³⁵⁸ Of these works, their consistency with the recent work accomplished elsewhere was guaranteed by the employment of Richard Maude.³⁵⁹ That Radcliffe was aware of the values of associating new building with the perpetuation of the institution and its founders was demonstrated by his payment to Hugh Davies for busts of the College’s two founders.³⁶⁰ Though weathered, their crude visages still stare out from the hall’s battlements as an affirmation that Radcliffe was building *into* an existing expectation of collegiate architecture (Figure 89). Radcliffe also undertook a substantial refurbishment of his lodgings, which involved the bay window.³⁶¹ Its conspicuous traceried panelling affirming the prestige of the lodging from its adjoining wings and positioned within the gate tower arguably pulled the identity of the college as institution and its Principal into direct association. All this presents the image of a College head whose architectural tinkering is no preparation for the ambitious which are manifest in the College’s second quadrangle. Whilst its idiosyncrasies have been squarely laid at the door of John Jackson,³⁶² the driving intention to begin such a work must likewise be attributed to Radcliffe.

³⁵⁸ These works generally involved the south range of the quadrangle. BCA: Clennell A 3:20, loose f. no. 5r.

³⁵⁹ Maude was paid £115 5s. 8d. in total; payments concluding in 1640. *ibid.*

³⁶⁰ Davies was paid £6 for both busts on 11 April 1636. *ibid.*

³⁶¹ RCHM Oxon: 25. Allfrey, 1909: 13. Mordaunt Crook, 2008: 76.

³⁶² Lees-Milne, 1953: 153.

Radcliffe's will dated 24 April 1648 makes clear his wish to sell college property in order to fund: "a Chappell on the back of the hall",³⁶³ with which a new library would be created on "the south side of the Quadrangle ... a building on pillars ... this will make a walk under cover the great want of Brasenose".³⁶⁴ Such ambition, attributable to a single Principal, borders upon the megalomaniac, and fame secured by this posthumous legacy was clearly an influential factor upon Radcliffe's actions. Such *largesse* should be contrasted with the chronic poverty John Williams uncovered during his visitation in 1628.³⁶⁵ J. Mordaunt Crook has pertinently suggested that another motivating factor could well have been an awareness of William Laud's wish to clear the houses between the Schools and St Mary's; a scheme broached as early as 1629.³⁶⁶ That the eastern face of the new quadrangle is conspicuously articulated, and can still salute All Souls College around the bulk of the Radcliffe Camera is suggestive (Figure 88). If correct, Radcliffe might well have been attempting a pre-emptive architectural campaign to consolidate the identity of Brasenose in the face of such anticipated visual exposure. The College appears to have been resistant to Laud's chancellorship; it was here that Williams had unsuccessfully attempted to organise opposition to his election as Chancellor.³⁶⁷ Brasenose members were also reprimanded for their sermons in 1631 and 1634, which were antithetical to Laud's regime,³⁶⁸ and an inventory of the chapel's furnishings in 1632 suggests nothing approaching an ideal of 'beauty of holiness'.³⁶⁹ Brasenose appears to have been amongst a select few colleges which resisted Laud's attempt to remould the university, and whose chapel no doubt reflected this tenaciousness.³⁷⁰

³⁶³ Quoted in Mordaunt Crook, 2008: 76.

³⁶⁴ Quoted in Allfrey, 1909: 15.

³⁶⁵ Williams was *ex officio* Visitor as Bishop of Lincoln. Wakeling, 1909: 22.

³⁶⁶ Mordaunt Crook, 2008: 75.

³⁶⁷ Wakeling, 1909: 22.

³⁶⁸ *ibid.*: 27-29.

³⁶⁹ Given in *ibid.*: 21.

³⁷⁰ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 231.

That the new quadrangle's design should be allocated to John Jackson, the finishing overseer of Laud's grandiose Canterbury Quadrangle, demonstrates the how transferable aesthetics were between colleges, regardless of their acquiescence or resistance to the Laudian programme.³⁷¹ If messages can be carried in architectural forms, and if these can be actively shaped by their designers to express their patron's intentions, then it seems likely that Brasenose College chapel cocks a snook rather than a courtesy to the values and reforms of Laud's chancellorship.

If resistance to Laud's ideals was intentional in Brasenose's new quadrangle, it was to be further compounded by the Parliamentary Visitation of the University upon the capitulation of the city and University in 1646. The process of visitation resulted in the wholesale expulsion of College members who retained loyalty to the king and affection for Laudian ideals, and the depopulating of Brasenose followed by the introduction of supporters of Parliament was reflected across the university as a whole.³⁷² Only three fellows remained in place; the most significant was the College Bursar, John Houghton.³⁷³ Whilst their religious position was of a very different caste to that of their predecessors,³⁷⁴ under the intruded Principal Daniel Greenwood the architectural ambitions of Radcliffe were to be realised. This fact in itself is worthy of note. It suggests that the cultural power of collegiate building, regardless of its affiliation to the now-abolished Anglican Church, could endure into a climate which might be deemed antithetically hostile to it. This suggests that the connotations of architectural forms and their associative values permeated deeply, beyond

³⁷¹ For Jackson's involvement at St John's College, see Colvin, 1988.

³⁷² Worden, 1997.

³⁷³ Mordaunt Crook, 2008: 64.

³⁷⁴ An account of the intruded Parliamentary Fellows is given in *ibid.*

the both the life of its posthumous benefactor and the climate which informed and gave impetus to the design. It seems clear that the institutional memory of the projected new quadrangle had endured, and it appears that the wish to better the College itself as the efficacious factor. As has been noted elsewhere, it was the regime which supplanted that left by Radcliffe which pursued his architectural ambitions. At one level, this emphasised continuity despite the Parliamentary visitation, and perhaps serve to legitimise not only Radcliffe's posthumous position as benefactor, but also those who undertook the realisation of his wishes. The pull of building to reaffirm the values patronal and institutional identity was perhaps too strong an influence to be overcome.

x:- THE REALISATION OF RADCLIFFE'S COLLEGE CHAPEL

A College decree of 4 November 1657 announced that the administration of Radcliffe's projected new quadrangle thus: "Mr Houghton to have sole charge of finishing the new Chappell, building a new Library upon a cloister with buttresses according to the model".³⁷⁵ The building work had begun in March 1656, with a demolition. This was an act of architectural salvage, which has long been noted as a contributing factor upon the design for the new chapel at Brasenose.³⁷⁶ Various materials and structural elements for the latter were dismantled and transported from the mediaeval chapel of the former St Mary's College. Brasenose had owned its surviving buildings since the 1580, and gained revenue by renting them out.³⁷⁷ This rehabilitation of architectural *spolia* was not an exercise of Interregnum frugality,³⁷⁸ but the fulfilment of Radcliffe's own stipulations.³⁷⁹ These fragments, as well as general materials, included the mullions of the windows and the roof structure; the latter of which arrived at the building site by the end of April 1656,³⁸⁰ and was stored in temporary sheds.³⁸¹ Though the form of the windows cannot now be ascertained the re-assembled hammer beam roof, though concealed beneath the celebrated plaster vault, shares common features with that of the hall at Corpus Christi College (Figure 90).³⁸² On this similarity, it can feasibly be dated to the second decade of the sixteenth century, and ascribed to Humphrey Coke, or his immediate circle.³⁸³ The re-use of mullions also suggests that they were of comparatively recent date.³⁸⁴ Whilst expediency is one explanation for this retention, it also

³⁷⁵ Quoted in Allfrey, 1909: 17 (no source given). Accounts of the building campaign are given in Allfrey, 1909 and Mordaunt Crook, 2008.

³⁷⁶ RCHM Oxon: 28. Mowl & Earnshaw: 1995: 198.

³⁷⁷ Allfrey, 1909: 15.

³⁷⁸ Mowl & Earnshaw, 1995: 198.

³⁷⁹ Allfrey, 1909: 15. Newman, 1997: 171.

³⁸⁰ BCA: Clennell A 3: 20, 1.

³⁸¹ *ibid.*: 2.

³⁸² RCHM Oxon: 50-51; plate 110. Newman, 1986: 610-11.

³⁸³ Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 131. This against the open dating of 1440-1536 in Allfrey, 1909: 25.

³⁸⁴ BCA: Clennell A 3: 20, 14.

demonstrates that such salient components of an inherited chapel were still held as decorous for the religious function which they provided the architectural setting. This retention not only confirms that Radcliffe's projection of a new chapel was informed by the pattern of inherited mediaeval architecture, but that the new chapel was not only built into this conditioned model, but built *of* the self-same materials of an earlier exemplar. If consistency with the past has been consciously aimed at elsewhere, it was affected most explicitly at Brasenose.

If the entire project was viewed as the realisation of Radcliffe's intentions, an impetus which seems irrefutable, it raises the question as to when the chapel had been designed. In other words, was the building devised as soon as the project was re-started under the Commonwealth, or was it the execution of proposals over which Radcliffe had exercised an active influence? Circumstantial evidence is not in itself conclusive, but inclines towards the latter hypothesis. The buildings of St Mary's College had first been surveyed in 1628 by pairs of carpenters and masons, who valued them at £1,480.³⁸⁵ The decree cited previously also clearly states that the building was to be completed "according to the model",³⁸⁶ which demonstrates an existing design, be it in two or three dimensions. Proof positive of this is apparent in the payment of £20 of 5 November 1659: "Payd then to Mr Jackson for his Moddell of the Roofe of the New chapple and his paynes taken about it according to an agreement made before the building of it".³⁸⁷ This not only suggests that the entire disposition of the new chapel's architecture had been decided before building works began,

³⁸⁵ Allfrey, 1909: 15 (no source given). Frustratingly, Allfrey does not name the artisans concerned.

³⁸⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*: 17 (no source given).

³⁸⁷ BCA: Clennell A 3: 20, 87.

but leaves open the possibility that this had been prepared with Radcliffe's involvement. It also makes clear that the lath and plaster vault was integral to the design from the outset and not a *post festum* idea to mask the recycled roof.³⁸⁸ The question of authorship is also raised by these facts. Whilst no evidence like that for St John's Library, Cambridge has come to light, it has long been acknowledged that the controlling hand of Branesnose's new chapel belonged to John Jackson. He is recorded in the accounts as "overseer of the Buildings"³⁸⁹ and consistently as 'Mr Jackson', receiving £1 each week at the outset of works, reduced subsequently to 20s. a week when the building work was far advanced.³⁹⁰ It need not be said that both wages outstripped by far those of the masons, carpenters and workmen over whom he had evident charge.³⁹¹ As J. Mordaunt Crook has perceptively observed, the appellation 'Mister' anticipates the emergence of the architect later in the century,³⁹² but also indicates Bursar Houghton's esteem for someone with whom he must have been in almost daily contact. The apocryphal association with the young Christopher Wren is worth noting for humour's sake alone.³⁹³ Jackson had been active in Oxford since 1634, when he travelled from London to finish Laud's Canterbury Quadrangle at St John's College.³⁹⁴ This provides a period of twelve years, ending with Samuel Radcliffe's death on 26 June 1648,³⁹⁵ within which the College or Radcliffe could have approached Jackson and procured the design or 'model' which existed before building works began. Though an unproven hypothesis, it seems likely that the new chapel at Brasenose and its associated quadrangle reflect a design prepared between Jackson and Radcliffe prior to the latter's death. The commencement of

³⁸⁸ This is argued against Newman, 1997: 171 and agrees with Allfrey, 1909: 28.

³⁸⁹ BCA: Clennell A 3: 30, 7.

³⁹⁰ Allfrey, 1909: 25.

³⁹¹ Mordaunt Crook, 2008: 77.

³⁹² *ibid.*: 78.

³⁹³ Allfrey, 1909: 26.

³⁹⁴ Colvin, 2008: 560.

³⁹⁵ Mordaunt Crook, 2008: 61.

this projected extension had been overtaken by the political circumstances of the 1640s; that this was the execution of a shelved proposal also appears apparent when the salient aspects of Jackson's design are examined.

That so rich a chapel and quadrangle should have been begun during the Commonwealth is a fact which itself implies the execution of a design prepared in the 1630s; during the more hospitable climate of Laud's chancellorship (Figures 91 & 92). Some commentators have gone as far to claim the opportunity for "the new Presbyterian establishment to assert its image with a severely grand Tabernacle" was thrown away.³⁹⁶ To proceed with such a premise is a gross misreading of the College's intentions, and indeed the character of Radcliffe himself. His own religious theological orientation was towards orthodox Calvinism, and his royalist credentials appear ambiguous.³⁹⁷ To present him as "devoutly Anglican" and to infer that must likewise manifest the same ideology is symptomatic of the associative polarisation which bedevils such buildings as Brasenose College chapel.³⁹⁸ Rather than this, the commencement of Radcliffe's posthumous bequest confirms that two significant strands of influence have endured the successive campaigns of institutional reform the University had been subjected to. The first is the power of inherited models of collegiate architecture to influence successive designs across the presumed distinctions of theological partisanship and the Reformation. The second is to validate the new architectural presence the College would present through building the new quadrangle into typological conformity with its appropriate exemplars. Neither of these concerns would perhaps affect

³⁹⁶ Mowl & Earnshaw, 1995: 198. 'Independent' rather than 'Presbyterian' might better characterise the University by the mid-1650s. Worden, 1997: 742-48.

³⁹⁷ Mordaunt Crook, 2008: 49-50.

³⁹⁸ Mowl & Earnshaw, 1995: 198.

the posthumous legacy which Radcliffe had planned, and in the combination of these pressures, here appears to have been little that the reformed College actively objected to in the designs whose erection it undertook. This conformity to existing models is a salient feature of the quadrangle's plan. The library with its traceried windows and battlements appears to have adopted Williams's library at St John's College, Cambridge for its model and the paired oval windows of the cloister recall the prominence of this feature amongst chapel screenwork before the Civil War (Figure 91). In terms of plan and general composition, the new chapel reflects the grandest exemplars by adopting the T-shaped chapel and antechapel plan. Whilst the stalls and floor and furnishings were installed during the purging of the University in the wake of the Restoration,³⁹⁹ it is clear that they are integral to the architecture and their simplicity could be as much a symptom of expediency as much as restrained sensibilities.⁴⁰⁰ In terms of architectural prestige, the chapel's lavish external treatment can be understood as decorously apposite for an ambitious commemorative benefaction from the College's late Principal. The point is made clear by the placing of Radcliffe's arms over the east window (Figure 92). When addressed in terms of both ancient and recent collegiate exemplars, Brasenose College chapel responds to the same connotational expectations which had been a prevalent influence upon new building in Oxford throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Against such expectations, it seems clear that such values were not antithetical to the theological climate of Cromwellian Oxford, and the very claims of perpetuation and continuity might well have served to validate the regime inserted as a result of the Parliamentary visitations than the undertaking of an alternative or revised proposition.

³⁹⁹ A break in the accounts from 13 June 1659 until 7 February 1661 is suggestive. BCA Clennell A 3: 30, 87-88.

⁴⁰⁰ They appear to be the work of John Wyld. *ibid.*: 88.

The hybridity of Jackson's design for Brasenose similarly argues the assimilation and perpetuation of existing models of collegiate architecture at the Interregnum and on into the Restoration. That the design was prepared before this period should not imply that this aesthetic and any possible messages it carried had lost their cultural efficacy or relevance. The combination of pointed and traceried windows upon an exterior articulated with a Corinthian order which melts into buttresses, and whose silhouette resolves into paraphrase pinnacles, had been understood as Jackson tailoring the new structure as best he could to incorporate the *spolia* of St Mary's College chapel.⁴⁰¹ Since the combination of different stylistic elements apparently did not concern the mid-seventeenth century, it must be accepted an indicative that visual parameters of stylistic absolutism (either Gothic or Baroque) were not a controlling force in architectural design or presumably in patronal expectation. In sheer terms of inter-college architectural rivalry, the chapel can be seen as the logical extension of Jackson's Canterbury Quadrangle, with a greater synthesis of its elements. However, the temptation remains to regard the new chapel as responding to the unique circumstances of mid-seventeenth-century Oxford,⁴⁰² and therefore as somehow insulated from the wider English architectural scene. This is demonstrably not the case, and further goes to explain why such an edifice should not be antithetical to the sensibilities of Interregnum Oxford. The longstanding model for Presbyterians and Independents had been the best reformed Churches offered by Northern Europe. This wish had been voiced at the Hampton Court conference in 1604, and resisted by both James and Charles.⁴⁰³ A logical source of inspiration was the ardently Protestant Netherlands. Peter Guillery has perceptively identified the influence of Calvinist church-building in Amsterdam upon

⁴⁰¹ Allfrey, 1909: 25. Mordaunt Crook, 2008: 79.

⁴⁰² An interpretation reiterated in *ibid.*

⁴⁰³ Milton, 1993: 218.

parochial architecture in suburban London.⁴⁰⁴ This synchronisation of ecclesiastical architecture is most appositely demonstrable in the Shadwell Chapel, under construction at exactly the same time as Brasenose, which bears direct comparison to the earlier Amsterdam churches designed by Hendrick de Keyser (Figures 93 & 94).⁴⁰⁵ Such imposing works as the Westkerk,⁴⁰⁶ betray comparative qualities to Jackson's design for Brasenose College chapel.⁴⁰⁷ Behind this new edifice was a campaign to create a unified State Church; the wish of the most vehemently Calvinist party.⁴⁰⁸ As an architectural realisation of this goal, the Westkerk demonstrates the self-same unambiguous stylistic plurality present at Brasenose, for Doric and Ionic orders co-ordinate walls perforated with traceried windows.

Of more immediate significance was the Nieuwe Kerk in The Hague, began in 1649 and consecrated on 5 May 1656, one month before the foundations were first dug at Brasenose.⁴⁰⁹ The Nieuwe Kerk responds to the Calvinist preference for centralised planning, and articulates its exterior with a prominent Doric order (Figure 95). However, despite the attestation to Dutch Palladianism, as Per Gustaf Hamberg has noted, its imposing wooden vaulted roof is entirely mediaeval in derivation.⁴¹⁰ As such, it is symptomatic of the continuing cultural pull of inherited mediaeval church architecture upon the minds and consciousness of Calvinist congregations. This was pursued to the degree of rebuilding mediaeval churches for reformed services where the inherited distinctions of component

⁴⁰⁴ Guillery, 2005: 69-106.

⁴⁰⁵ *ibid.*: 82-87.

⁴⁰⁶ Dated 1620-31, and completed after de Keyser's death in 1621. Hamberg, 2002: 89.

⁴⁰⁷ In the question of architectural composition, not in terms of centralised planning and transverse axes.

⁴⁰⁸ Hamberg, 2002: 90.

⁴⁰⁹ *ibid.*: 115-16.

⁴¹⁰ *ibid.*: 118.

parts were observed, even though their liturgical function was redundant.⁴¹¹ Whilst direct contact between these Netherlandish projects and Brasenose is unlikely, the designs for der Keyser's Amsterdam church would be available to Jackson and Radcliffe via the plates of Salomon de Bray's *Architectura Moderna*, published in 1631.⁴¹² Their significance here is of paramount importance, for with the Nieuwe Kerk, they demonstrate that reformed Calvinist theology *in extremis* was no bar to ambitious ecclesiastical architecture. Furthermore, this could draw upon a multiplicity of stylistic sources without compromise; a process within which the identification with mediaeval Jackson's design for Brasenose College chapel therefore appeals not the introspective temperament of an 'Anglican' Oxford college head, but to the current models presented by the Calvinist Netherlands. Whilst tailored to the inherited expectations of a collegiate chapel plan, its stylistic hybridity betrays knowledge of ecclesiastical architecture beyond the confluence of the Isis and Cherwell Rivers; the same internationalism present in reformed scholarship and controversy throughout the early modern period. As an embodiment of Jackson's capabilities and Radcliffe's ambition, Brasenose College chapel affirms an international outlook in terms of its derivation and religious message. The chapel may appear to be a posthumous homage to the Laudian ideals of the 1630s, but such similarities belie its fundamentally divergent ideological trajectory.

⁴¹¹ *ibid.*: 98-102.

⁴¹² *ibid.*: 98.

xi:- SYMBOLIC MEANING? - SACRED COMMEMORATION AND COLLEGIATE AMBITION

The ambitious nature of Brasenose College chapel is arguably self-evident from the architecture itself. However, what remains unanswered is whether any more resonant message underlies Jackson's design. Whilst there is little direct evidence from the accounts to corroborate such a question, it is still very much worth exploring. What can be shown to have influenced the new chapel's design are two equally significant concerns. One is brazen display of inter-college architectural rivalry, again reflecting the influence of building campaigns undertaken during the Laudian hegemony in the 1630s. The second is the deliberate use of forms associated with commemoration, which likewise have an established presence in earlier architectural projects. These two strands further make clear that the chapel's aesthetic richness was not the preserve of any one theological faction or collegiate body, but an appeal to notions of typological decorum, shared across the University in the early seventeenth century. With such factors in mind, the potential for architectural forms to convey and express meanings can be explored.

On the question of inter-collegiate rivalry, it appears clear from Radcliffe's wish to create a cloistered quadrangle, around which a new library and chapel could be placed, that he was taking inspiration from the largest college in Oxford: Christ Church. Founded by Wolsey over a century before, its great quadrangle remained unfinished at his fall in 1529.⁴¹³ By imitating such a model, Radcliffe's intention to aggrandise Brasenose by imitating the incomplete Christ Church reflects the absorption of immediate models discussed previously. The new buildings at Brasenose would therefore conform to their typological model in order

⁴¹³ Newman, 1986: 614.

to express their institutional nature. For Radcliffe to select Christ Church as his model betrays not merely the enduring appeal of Wolsey's buildings, but also a response to the immediate circumstances of the 1630s. Under Dean Brian Duppa, aided by his treasurer Samuel Fell, Christ Church witnessed a systematic campaign of refurbishment and new building.⁴¹⁴ This programme's first focus was the cathedral, where from 1631-34 the quire was refurbished, the floors repaved, and the windows altered to contain a complete glazing sequence by Abraham van Linge.⁴¹⁵

However, the primary intention of Duppa's campaign must have been the completion of Tom Quadrangle. This supposition has been voiced by John Newman, who persuasively presents the quadrangle's final completion after the Restoration as the deliberate resumption of a pre-Civil War project.⁴¹⁶ Prior to the outbreak of war, Fell, who had succeeded Duppa as dean, constructed two canons' lodgings displaying absolute fidelity to Wolsey's design.⁴¹⁷ From such later commentators as Anthony à Wood, it seems clear that Fell also intended to realise Wolsey's covered cloister, whose staccato springers and responds of which are such a conspicuous feature of the quadrangle (Figure 96).⁴¹⁸ If Christ Church's subsequent architectural ambitions reflected ideas first pursued in the 1630s, it cannot be coincidence that Brasenose adopted a new cloistered quadrangle for its new buildings. This was not merely out of typological reverence for such exemplars as were offered to Radcliffe by Christ Church, but was further motivated by that College's campaign to complete its unrealised cloister. Principal Radcliffe's agenda can therefore be read as one of inter-collegiate rivalry.

⁴¹⁴ Newman, 1997: 170.

⁴¹⁵ *ibid.* Parry, 2006: 70-72. Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 229.

⁴¹⁶ Newman, 1997: 178.

⁴¹⁷ *ibid.*: 170.

⁴¹⁸ *ibid.*: footnote 162.

The proposed completion of Christ Church's Tom Quadrangle therefore makes a valuable point of comparison when read against Brasenose's new chapel. One further work at Christ Church not only provides supporting evidence for Deans Duppa and Fell's architectural ambitions, but also helps with interpretation of Brasenose College chapel's most conspicuous feature. The fan vault over the hall stairs at Christ Church has often received comment for its virtuosic design and structural daring (Figure 97). Its inception has been ascribed to Dean Duppa on account of its heraldic badges,⁴¹⁹ and its designer has been identified by Mavis Batey and Catherine Cole as William Smith, a sometime Warden of the London Masons' company.⁴²⁰ However, Mark Girouard has recently proposed an alternative designer in Robert, a freemason who had previously worked with Hugh Davies and Richard Maude on the Canterbury Quadrangle at St John's.⁴²¹ If Girouard is right, the Christ Church vault would have to have been designed, if not executed, prior to Robert Smith's death in 1635.⁴²² This more recent attribution would follow the pattern of masons migrating between separate college projects, of which Jackson's transferral to Brasenose from St John's is a classic instance.

The significance of the Christ Church vault further relates to the proposed ambitious rivalry behind Radcliffe's posthumous project for Brasenose. The stairs vault has somewhat mistakenly been understood as the literal pursuit of a distinctly Wolsey's programme of architectural consolidation.⁴²³ This might well be the case, but if so it is an ironically placed

⁴¹⁹ The inclusion of the Prince of Wales' feathers support the association with Duppa as he was tutor to Prince Charles. Batey & Cole, 1986: 217.

⁴²⁰ *ibid.*

⁴²¹ Girouard, 2009: 439-40.

⁴²² Batey & Cole, 1986: 217, footnote 17.

⁴²³ *ibid.*: 219. Newman, 1997: 171.

statement, for it is clear that the vault was inserted into a space for which it had never been intended by Wolsey's masons (Figure 97). Not only are the courses of stonework clearly disrupted to accommodate the vault, but the scarring from the earlier roof timbers clearly make it inconceivable that a vault in this position is a fulfilment of an early Tudor programme. In light of the wider intentions for completing Tom Quadrangle, it seems much more likely that this vault was a trial-piece for the much more ambitious vault which would roof the cloister passages. That these were to have been vaulted is self-evident from the surviving responds already noted. As Radcliffe and Jackson were active in Oxford during the 1630s, both men cannot have been oblivious of Christ Church's architectural ambition. As such, the gage cast down by Christ Church's fan vault was to be taken up with spectacular brio by Brasenose. It is the fan vaulted ceiling for which Radcliffe's chapel is especially celebrated, and to which consideration must now turn (Figure 98).

Though viewed through a paintwork scheme of the late nineteenth century,⁴²⁴ it is this vault which answers the expectation of commemoration. The apparent shift in materials, from stone to the illusion achieved through wood and plaster, is ultimately irrelevant. In this regard, Christopher Brooks's observation that the design is "a cultural spectacle and cultural sign",⁴²⁵ is accurate, whilst his interpretation of the vault's illusionism is anachronistic, since it fails to take account of the earlier plaster fan vault erected over the Convocation House.⁴²⁶ As has been shown, this form of ceiling was not a *post festum* fudge to conceal a second-hand roof, but integral to the chapel's conception from the outset. As a designer, Jackson himself

⁴²⁴ Designed by C.E. Kempe in 1895 under T.G. Jackson's supervision. Mordant Crook, 2008: 259.

⁴²⁵ Brooks, 1999: 30.

⁴²⁶ Newman, 1997: 171.

had worked on the fan vault behind the frontispiece porch of the University Church,⁴²⁷ and may well have worked on the microcosmic vaults within the Canterbury Quadrangle.⁴²⁸ The transferability of such motifs across different locations again suggests a general consensus between different institutional patrons as regards typological decorum for collegiate architectural forms.

However, whilst the unfulfilled ambition of Christ Church might have fuelled Jackson's ambitions for the Brasenose fan vault, the very transferability of architectural forms suggests that the process of design was not so direct. As has been repeatedly noted, the distinctive form of a fan vault (*i.e.* where the weight is transferred through masonry conoids, whilst the ribs are largely decorative) hardly appears in Oxford's pre-Reformation colleges.⁴²⁹ The earliest use of such a vault on a monumental scale is that under the gate tower of Corpus Christi College which, dating from the second decade of the sixteenth century, survives in a heavily restored state.⁴³⁰ By the time Jackson oversaw the erection of Brasenose's vault, Oxford colleges had seen a proliferation of such vaults, used consistently over entrances and main gateways. The Christ Church vault certainly conforms to this site-specific correlation. Masons and their patrons clearly responded to this form of vault in particular; a point highlighted by those vaults in the Schools Quadrangle and the Proscholium.⁴³¹ Here, rather than contrast a fan vault, its masons opted for a lierne vault, to complement the vault of the Divinity School, and as a reference the Fitzjames vault at Merton in deference to Henry

⁴²⁷ RCHM Oxon: 133. Newman, 1997: 160.

⁴²⁸ Newman, 1997: 162-64.

⁴²⁹ Brooks, 1999: 30. Girouard, 2009: 439.

⁴³⁰ Newman, 1986: 610. This revises a date of 1817 given in Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 129.

⁴³¹ RCHM Oxon: 1-5. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 258; 260-61. Newman, 1997: 150.

Saville's role in the project.⁴³² These exceptional cases prove that conscious decisions were taken over the design of such vaults. Whilst it is perhaps not surprising that a fan vault form should be selected for Brasenose chapel, what is surprising is the degree to which it dominates the interior. Whatever resonance such a form held for the early seventeenth century, Jackson's design shifts the parameters of engagement. The Brasenose vault no longer marks the liminal point of entry into a collegiate interior, but extends the form to demarcate the entirety of that interior. Such a shift in the lexicon of collegiate architectural forms might well have been suggested by the unrealised scheme for Christ Church's cloisters. In visual terms, Jackson excels all previous fan vaults in sheer scale, thereby demonstrated Radcliffe's patronal munificence.

Jackson's vault is admittedly a *tour de force* of design, but quite what such a form may have signified to the seventeenth century remains unanswered. Upon such abstract matters, Bursar Houghton's accounts are silent. Antiquarian polymaths such as John Aubrey could examine mediaeval architecture and systematically catalogue its forms as historical evidence.⁴³³ Aubrey's survey of window design, his *Chronologia Architectonica*, was begun in the same year as Brasenose College chapel, but makes no mention of such forms' potential to signify anything other than their date.⁴³⁴ However, that fan vaults reoccur consistently throughout Oxford implies that this form conveyed something more than copycat aesthetic. In part, the suitability of Jackson's ceiling is its response to the enclosure of the chapel as a building with a sacred function. This is borne out by comparing Jackson's vault to that over

⁴³² Newman, 1997: 150.

⁴³³ Hunter, 1975: 206-207. Horsfall Turner, 2011: 171-90.

⁴³⁴ Horsfall Turner, 2011: 172.

the quire of Christ Church Cathedral (Figures 98 & 99). The similarity in general design has long been noted,⁴³⁵ particularly in regard to the identical disposition of the bracketing arches of the latter and the wall posts and braces of the Brasenose ceiling. Jackson's vault therefore appears to confirm the sacredness of the chapel beneath, reflecting the same responsiveness to immediate mediaeval prototypes demonstrated in contemporary Netherlandish church architecture. The Brasenose vault not only echoes the intended vault for Christ Church's cloisters, but extends the message of Jackson's earlier vault in the porch at the University Church (Figure 100).⁴³⁶ However, neither this earlier vault nor that over the cathedral quite corresponds to Jackson's design, as it subtly departs from directly copying both examples.

The shift in design terms is clear when the Brasenose vault is compared to that in the Cathedral (Figures 98 & 99). Whilst the latter is a lierne vault, Jackson's seventeenth-century homage is clearly conceived as a fan vault. His design also introduces miniature conoids between the main cones, a panelled arch over the entrance to the quire, and fine trefoiled arches that run latitudinally from pendant to pendant. Such features are unprecedented amongst Oxford's vaults, whether mediaeval or seventeenth-century. The source for such elements goes to the heart of the vault's significance as a commemorative statement of Radcliffe's patronage, for they ultimately derive from the *ne plus ultra* example offered by Henry VII's chapel at Westminster Abbey. As has been shown, a seventeenth-century clerical audience still admired this royal sepulchral chapel. John Hacket's sentiment that it was a work "which nothing can surmount in Cost in Curiosity",⁴³⁷ can be taken as

⁴³⁵ Allfrey, 1909: 28.

⁴³⁶ Newman, 1997: 160-61.

⁴³⁷ Scrinia, i: 46.

representative. That Jackson had prepared the Brasenose vault design with particular care is suggested by the payment for his model of it on 5 November 1659, which records “his paynes taken about it according to an agreement made before the building of it”.⁴³⁸ Whilst the agreement mentioned does not survive, it could have given instruction for Jackson to follow the pattern offered by the vault of Henry VII’s chapel. The £20 payment covers not only the cost of the preparatory model, but the travail and surveying of the Westminster exemplar. As such, it would appear that Jackson was acting to realise Radcliffe’s wishes. The vault’s design, like the chapel itself, was therefore led by the patron, not delegated to the overseer. The message that vault carried was therefore intended by Radcliffe from the outset, and recourse to the Henry VII chapel makes clear that the Brasenose vault was playing upon the associations of commemoration to aggrandise his architectural legacy to the college. The Henry VII vault is arguably the largest and most lavish form of fan vault which appears throughout late-fifteenth century chantry chapels and monuments. Jackson’s vault was therefore built into an existing typology of sacred architecture, and confirmed the associations such vaults carried into the seventeenth century. The message of the Brasenose vault was not a departure from the earlier examples built in Oxford during the period, but served to confirm that this form, above all, was redolent of patronal commemoration. Since the chapel’s construction was fundamentally bound into clauses of Radcliffe’s will, it would seem likely that he intended his beneficence to be read as an act of posthumous commemoration. The new chapel’s vaulted ceiling therefore makes the interior a memorial chapel to Radcliffe, a fact made clear by his arms being placed externally over the east window.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ BCA: Clennell A 3: 20, 87.

⁴³⁹ Mordaunt Crook, 2008: 77.

Inter-collegiate rivalry and Principal Radcliffe's wish for architectural commemoration therefore appear to have provided the salient messages that underlay the ambition of Jackson's design. Such pressures arguably threaten to cloud any obvious religious meaning which might have found articulation in architecture so observant of typological precedents. Beyond the imitation of mediaeval chapels in terms of groundplan and visual elements, does the chapel at Brasenose make any deliberate responses to obvious seventeenth-century notions of sacredness, as have been demonstrated in Williams's Lincoln College chapel and Prideaux's expository sermon at Exeter College chapel's consecration? A partial answer is offered in the tracery of the east window. Here, rather than set a circular tracery rose, Jackson has set an elliptical oval (Figure 92). Such a feature marks a conscious departure from mediaeval practice, as evidenced readily by the late thirteenth-century east window at Merton.⁴⁴⁰ In this adaptation of earlier models, Jackson not only picks up the mandorla model offered by such recent works at Oriel College (Figure 81), but pointedly uses it only for the east window. This window is also the most elaborate; those lighting the chapel's quire, with their cyclopean oculi, are perfunctory in comparison (Figure 91). The aesthetic drive to enhance the chapel's east end is in some part dictated by the prominence given to the exterior of the east wall, which serves as a frontispiece stamped with Radcliffe's patronal arms. However, the choice of an oval over a circle might carry a more significant and implicitly sacred message for a seventeenth-century academic audience.

⁴⁴⁰ Dated to the 1290s. Pevsner & Sherwood, 1974: 159-60.

Comparative evidence for the following reading is admittedly open to question, but given the clear articulation of theological and biblical ideals within collegiate chapel architecture explored previously, the proposition is worth pursuing. In such a position, over the east end of the chapel, an oval form might well have been read as synonymous with the conventional reformed practice for depicting the presence of God in the form of the Tetragrammaton. This comprised the abbreviated form of the name Jehovah in Hebrew characters, set within an oval from which issued rays of light. Used to avoid portraying God the Father as an anthropomorphic figure, it commonly occurs amongst religious imagery of the period. Amongst college chapels, it occurs in the Creation scene in the east window at Lincoln (Figure 79). This visual device was often introduced into continental woodcuts to adapt them for reformed sensibilities, as was the case for the Bishops' Bible, in which certain images were amended under Matthew Parker's supervision.⁴⁴¹ As a visual device, it represents the immediate presence of God. It would therefore be especially apposite for the east window of a college chapel, affirming at once the sacredness of the structure and its acceptability to God as a place appointed for his worship. Such invocations for divine favour have been shown to underlie both Prideaux's justification for Exeter College chapel and Williams's references to the Temple of Solomon at Lincoln. The same theological point is here expressed at Brasenose through the design of the east window. Though the visual forms vary, a consistent agenda underpins their significance. This is the wish to justify reformed collegiate chapel architecture by making it acceptable as the setting for true, reformed and purified Christian worship.

⁴⁴¹ Aston, 1992: 267-85.

The oval is admittedly a mute form in itself, and need not be read as implicitly making reference to reformed visual conventions. The absence of any possible glazing intended for the chapel by Radcliffe likewise leaves this point as only a supposition. However, circumstantial evidence to support this hypothesis comes from Richard Culmer's *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury*.⁴⁴² Published in 1644, it records the iconoclastic actions of a parliamentary committee which strove to purge Canterbury cathedral of "numerous Idols, (dunhill-gods, as the Scripture calls them) which defile the worship of God there".⁴⁴³ Of immediate relevance to the present discussion is Culmer's account of the "*Cathedrall-Altar-Glory-cloth*".⁴⁴⁴ This was an embroidered panel of gold and silver thread, depicting a golden Tetragrammaton, set within a circle from which "glorious rays and clouds, and gleams and points of rayes ... streame downewards upon the Altar, as if Jehovah (God himself) were there present in glory".⁴⁴⁵ More revealing are the annotations made by the cathedral prebends on the template for the Glory cloth. Culmer notes them as stating: "Wee conceive this Ovall-forme would doe better ... and extend the Glory more on either side".⁴⁴⁶ The embroidery's meaning undoubtedly accorded with the sentiments expressed in Corbett's consecration service for Lincoln College chapel: that the setting of reformed worship should be acceptable to God, and that His presence should dwell therein.⁴⁴⁷ It cannot be a coincidence that an oval form similarly appears at the apex of Brasenose College chapel's east window, in a comparable position over the Communion Table. The mediaeval forms of tracery have therefore been reinterpreted in response to the visual consciousness of the reformed seventeenth century. Such an instance of adaptation indicates that whilst such

⁴⁴² Culmer, 1644.

⁴⁴³ Culmer, 1644: sig. A2r.

⁴⁴⁴ Culmer, 1644: 6.

⁴⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ Consecrations: 145.

forms originated before the period in question, they maintained a cultural currency and were deployed in response to the fundamental concerns over the legitimacy of reformed worship. That such a feature occurs at Brasenose, a college fundamentally opposed to Laud's reforms within the University, demonstrates that they were not the preserve of Laud and his adherents. Jackson's design was not one of confused irresolution, but an astute and pertinent response to the immediate circumstances surrounding its inception.

xii- CONCLUSION: THE COLLEGIATE CHAPEL IN EARLY MODERN OXFORD

This examination of seventeenth-century collegiate chapels attempts to demonstrate how the reformed English Church's concerns of identity and pedigree found architectural expression. What emerges is a consistent sequence of deliberate selection to express the immediate concerns of the seventeenth-century present. The three chapels focused upon here are therefore not symptomatic of isolated and unthinking reiteration of existing models of mediaeval architecture. Each can be presented as the manipulation of inherited visual forms to consolidate a clear affirmation of the reformed English Church's identity. At Exeter, the choice of two-aisled plan and general disposition gave material form to Hakewill's and Prideaux's shared experience of ecclesiastical architecture. Their drawing upon parochial models from the south-west of England testifies not to only the shared experience of both men's formative years, but also their wish for the new chapel to embody their wider concerns over the identity of English Protestantism beyond the college's walls. Prideaux's consecration sermon offers an unrivalled exposition of the new chapel's place within a Protestant model of the chronology sacred structures. With intellectual flair Prideaux not only adapts Richard Hooker's earlier sentiments, but draws in the sentiments of Bernard of

Clairvaux, just as the chapel itself drew upon mediaeval forms to express an early modern Protestant message. His assertive Calvinism was no bar to identifying with the manner of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical building, since it had been absorbed into his, and Hakewill's, experience of reformed religion. The conspicuous emphasis on Hakewill's role as patron was not a displacement of the chapel's religious importance, for this was made expressly clear in the repeated mantra in the windows that Exeter College's new chapel affirming that it was verily the House of Prayer. As the Temple has been purged by Christ himself, so the new chapel stood as the recovery of primitive Christian purity, the clarity manifest in the vast clear-glazed windows.

From this examination, John Williams has emerged as a more rounded patron than isolated consideration of his benefaction to Lincoln College might suggest. Here is no bishop with a penchant for Perpendicular windows, but an astute and responsive patron. Aware of his position, his earlier involvement with the new library at his Cambridge *alma mater* is an essential prologue for understanding the design processes behind the later chapel at Lincoln. What emerges again is a clear respect for existing typologies of buildings and their functions. If traceried windows appear, they do so to express the function and status of the new structure to the seventeenth century, not because of a fondness for the mediaeval. That Williams was alive to building himself into a pattern of inherited models of patron, stretching across the supposed gulf of the Reformation, is clear from his new statues at Westminster Abbey. This innovative sequence merits the close attention paid to it here, since it proves that monumental figurative sculpture was not the preserve of a 'Laudian' or 'Arminian' axis within church circles. That aesthetic richness in the architectural setting of

reformed worship was also not the preserve of any one faction is clear from Lincoln College chapel itself. This building has hopefully been exonerated from any association with a 'Laudian style', and is presented here as an act of patronage which consolidates the new chapel's status through respecting the rank of its benefactor and its place as a collegiate chapel. This has been categorised as the influential typology of decorum. Though more play is made of enveloping aesthetic richness than was present in Exeter, the same legitimising claims of inheritance and sacred pedigree for such a chapel are present. These were not only voiced in Corbett's consecration, but were manifest in the cedarwood furnishings, thereby making the new chapel analogous to the Temple of Solomon. The overall statement is one of decorous richness, consolidating Williams's episcopal and patronal identity in ways which evidently did not chafe against his Calvinist theological position.

The third example offered by Brasenose likewise responds both to the inherited expectations of typological decorum through imitating existing collegiate chapels. However, it does so not out of timid conservatism, but with a clear responsiveness to the very latest examples of great church-building in the Netherlands. Hitherto overlooked, if one Oxford College chapel looks far beyond its immediate setting for architectural inspiration before the Restoration, it is Brasenose. The hybrid manner of its design is a shared characteristic with other architectural projects associated with Laud in the 1630s. This not only suggests that the new chapel was conceived with these buildings fresh in both Radcliffe's and Jackson's mind, but also that styles, like masons, could travel between separate institutions without being tainted by association with any one faction. Imperative to Brasenose's visual richness was the almost megalomaniac control of Principal Radcliffe, whose involvement here is read as a

deliberate effort for the new chapel to stand as his *de facto* commemorative chapel. This was achieved through the conscious manipulation of visual forms, in ways which surpassed recent models. Jackson's fan vault serves to demonstrate the tenacity of Radcliffe's architectural ambition, and draws succour from the abortive scheme to vault the projected cloisters at Christ Church. This adaptation, or distortion, of inherited mediaeval forms again responds to an ideological agenda shaped by the concerns of the immediate context.

What is left undetermined is the degree to which these chapels reflect the transference of exemplary ideals from royal and episcopal chapels into early modern Oxford. As none of the examples can be interpreted as a project allied to Laud's drive for uniformity, it is unsurprising that they do not reflect this hypothetical model of dissemination. Curiously, the most resistant example can be identified as Lincoln College chapel, given the sentiments expressed by Williams's himself in *The Holy Table*. Only after the Restoration would the liturgical arrangements reflect the practices of the Chapel Royal, an imitation which the provisions for Brasenose's consecration make clear.⁴⁴⁸ Indeed, Exeter's particular brand of resistance appeared to linger on into the 1680s when, unlike every other Oxford College chapel, its Communion table was still not positioned altarwise.⁴⁴⁹ More significantly, what appear incontestable in this overview of three Oxford College chapels are the shared parameters for new ecclesiastical architecture. The chapels of Exeter, Lincoln and Brasenose Colleges are variations on a consistent expectation, altered and articulated differently in each case in response to the specific circumstances of each site. The identities of the colleges of Oxford and their respective patrons were shaped by what they had in common as much as

⁴⁴⁸ BCA: Hurst - College - Chapel 7. (2).

⁴⁴⁹ Fincham & Tyacke, 2007: 317.

by factional and ideological rivalry. This, at least, seems to be the case from what they committed to stone in the early seventeenth century.

CONCLUSION



CONCLUSION

The course of this argument has advanced a long way from the Red House chapel, with which it opened (Figures 1 & 2). Whilst the chapels under consideration only represent a handful of potential examples, several conclusions can be drawn. First is the clear value which these respective types of chapel had for their audiences. Those used by the Chapel Royal became inextricably related to the religious and diplomatic policies of James I. Their appearance was enhanced at specific crucial moments in the pursuit of the Stuart king's agenda, both during Prince Charles's marriage negotiations and, more significantly, upon the restoration of episcopacy to Scotland. The impetus for using the royal chapel as a vehicle for royal policy undoubtedly originated with James himself, a fact which can be proved from his actions prior to his accession to the English throne. Of equal significance to the wider religious climate of the period was his use of the Chapel Royal as an institution within which different shades of Protestant churchmanship were held in balance, with neither astringent Calvinism nor nascent Arminianism gaining the ascent. In aesthetic terms, it was the regal status of royal chapels which was of paramount concern. This aesthetic note, whilst involving the hand of Inigo Jones, deliberately drew upon Tudor precedents to affirm early Stuart religious policy. From this presentation of royal chapels is derived the notion of typological decorum; an expedient term when considering such chapels independently from the conventional questions of 'style', and the baggage of anachronistic associations which goes with it.

Typological decorum, in its widest sense, has also been shown to have held a strong influence on the cultural context surrounding episcopal chapels in the early seventeenth century. Inherited from the Middle Ages, these are admittedly the most opaque type of chapel examined in this study. Their resonance for the Jacobean bishops which used them becomes clear when the wider context of episcopal residences is considered. As articulated religious structures, their mediaeval forms could appeal across the theological spectrum. The Calvinist George Abbot could draw upon them for his institutional chapel at Guildford hospital, whilst the sacramental Lancelot Andrewes could use their settings to frame his recovery of Early Christian liturgical practices. As an architectural type, such episcopal chapels embodied part of the reformed episcopate's identity, one consolidated by the residences in which their households were kept. The celebrated and notorious renovation of Lambeth Palace chapel by William Laud can be valuably be related to the wider practices of material reparation, which neither Abbot nor Andrewes would have been surprised by. Whilst pursued to varying degrees by separate bishops, a pattern of unity emerges in their attitude to inherited architecture, as embodied in their episcopal chapels. As with the monarch's royal chapels, those of the early modern episcopate stand to display and affirm their social and spiritual status and identity.

The third type of chapel examined here demonstrates the clear articulation of abstract ideas through architectural forms. The new collegiate chapels built in Oxford during the seventeenth century embody concerns over the reformed English Church's identity and the immediate concerns of their respective patrons. If they drew upon inherited mediaeval models, it was not as part of an unthinking building tradition, but because such visual forms

were still relevant to the early seventeenth century, and had the potential to embody specific meanings. Whilst there are aesthetics gradations between the examples considered here, these reflect the distinct circumstances behind each chapel's patronage. For instance, the chapel Williams gave to Lincoln College demonstrates his munificence and episcopal rank, and is not a borrowed *exemplum* of Laudian beauty of holiness. Again, the notion of typological decorum serves to reconcile apparent conflicts of stylistic influences. Whilst the visual forms may appear varied and irreconcilable, the underlying message is one of consistency. This message affirms the source of each chapel's patronage and their patrons' wider concern's for the reformed Church's identity. Such forms, be they Gothic or classical, were evidently not the preserve of one theological faction, just as the royal chapels were neither Calvinist nor Arminian.

Whilst the findings of this discussion should not be applied without reserve to the wider place of parochial religious architecture in this period, the issues of shared expectation and conditioning to reflect social degree are significant. In relation to the respective subjects of architectural history and early Stuart Church history the findings here are important. For architectural history they make an appeal not to allow methodological questions of style to predominate discussion of the religious architecture considered here. For early Stuart Church history they point to the value of architecture as a source redolent with meanings and messages which reflect the self-same concerns found in the period's written sources. The interplay between religion and architecture, as highlighted by this discussion, was closer and more eloquently realised in seventeenth-century Britain than has been previously acknowledged. The recovery of this astutely articulated relationship has only been possible

by combining the approaches of the separate disciplines mentioned above. To both schools this examination owes an intellectual debt, which is readily acknowledged. Religious architecture, and its complex expression of identity in the period, has emerged from being the “husk of meaning”, which Eliot found at Little Gidding.⁴⁵⁰ As can be perceived at the Red House chapel, if a modern audience fails to comprehend why the Slingsbys should imitate a college chapel, or how a Calvinist patron could introduce a crucifixion into the recycled east window, it simply denotes the distance between the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries. To understand such an agenda as consistent, not anomalous, has been a guiding premise behind this thesis. Eliot’s evocation aptly characterises this urge to see such examples of religious architecture in the terms of their context: “Either you had no purpose / Or the purpose is beyond the end you figured / And is altered in fulfilment”.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ Eliot, 1974: 202.

⁴⁵¹ *ibid.*

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SP/16/288: f 25 r.	Bill of Richard Bulter for glazing in Lambeth Palace, dated 2 May 1634.
SP/16/301. f 68 v.	Bill of Robert Dallam for repairs to the organ in Lambeth Palace chapel, dated 12 November 1635.
SP/16 302. f 8v.	Bill of Richard Butler for glazing in Lambeth Palace chapel, dated 18 November 1635.
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ILLUSTRATIONS





Figure 1 (Above):- Red House Chapel, Moor Monkton, North Yorkshire, built second decade of the seventeenth century, exterior from the east.



Figure 2 (Left):- Red House Chapel, Moor Monkton, North Yorkshire, built second decade of the seventeenth century, interior from the east.

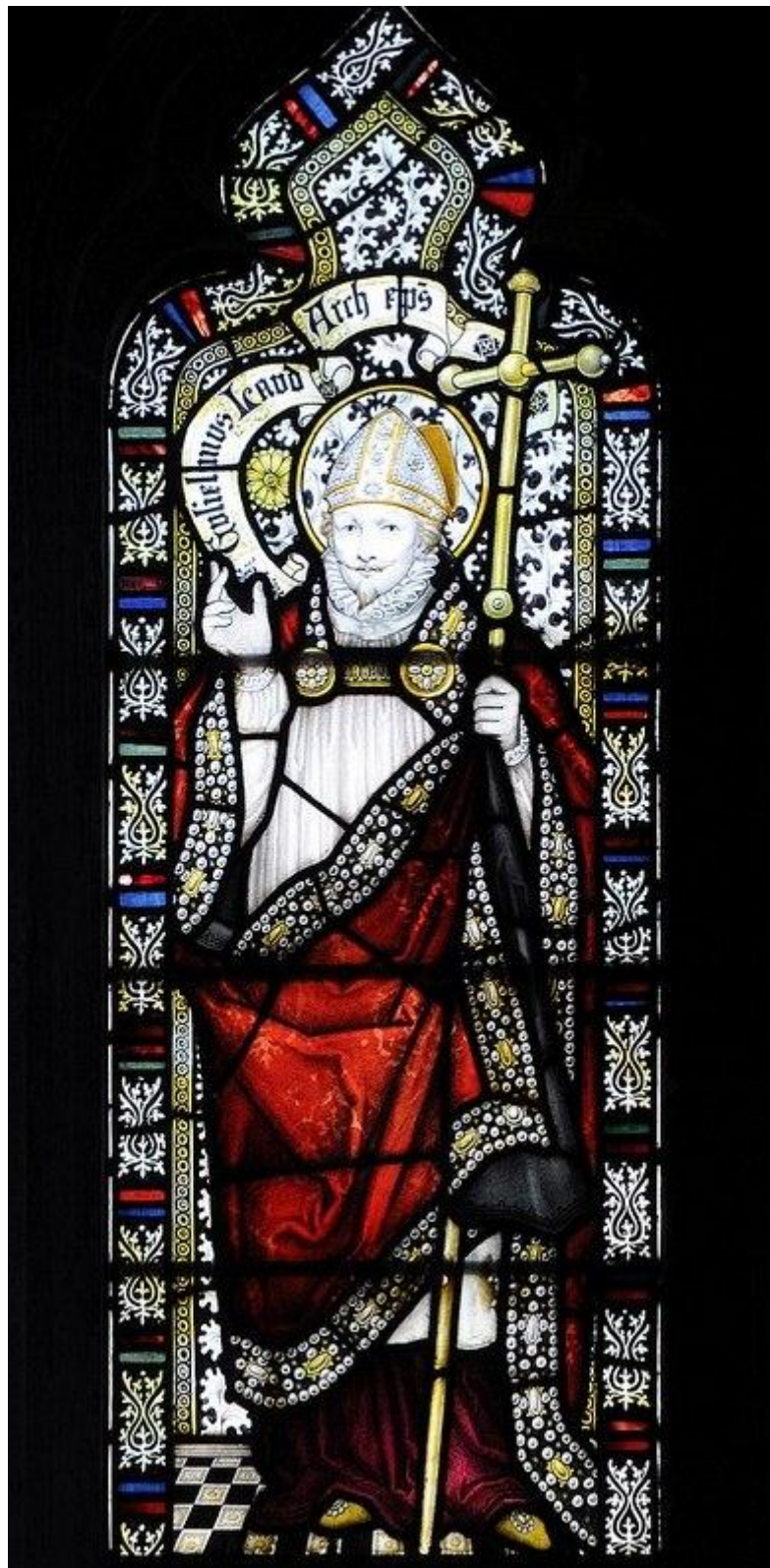


Figure 3:- All Saints, Bishop Burton, North Yorkshire. Archbishop William Laud, C.E. Kempe & Co., 1904. Window nIX.

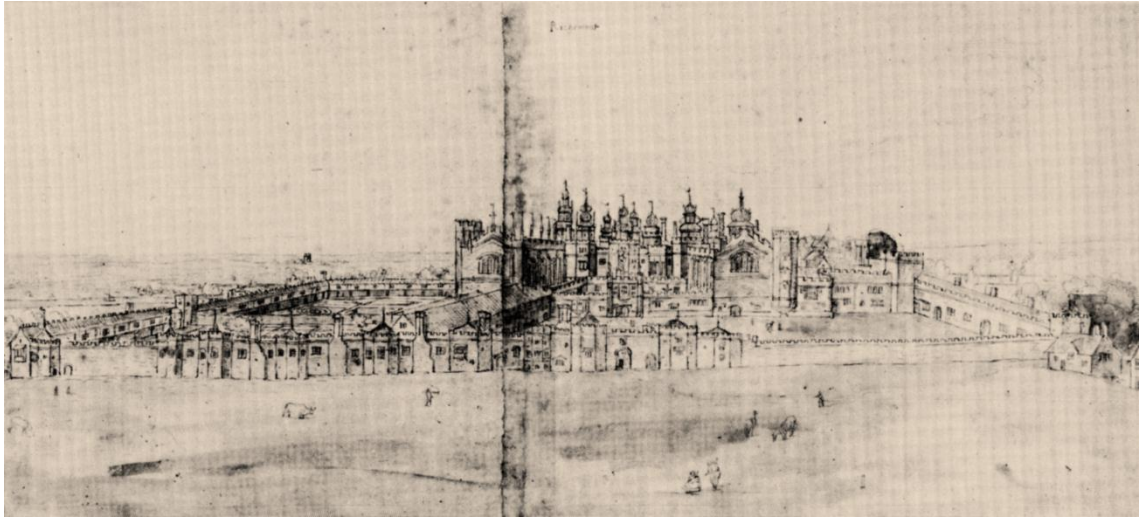


Figure 4:- Anthonis van der Wyngaerde. Detail of a panorama of Richmond Palace from the north, c.1558-62. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Pen & wash on paper.

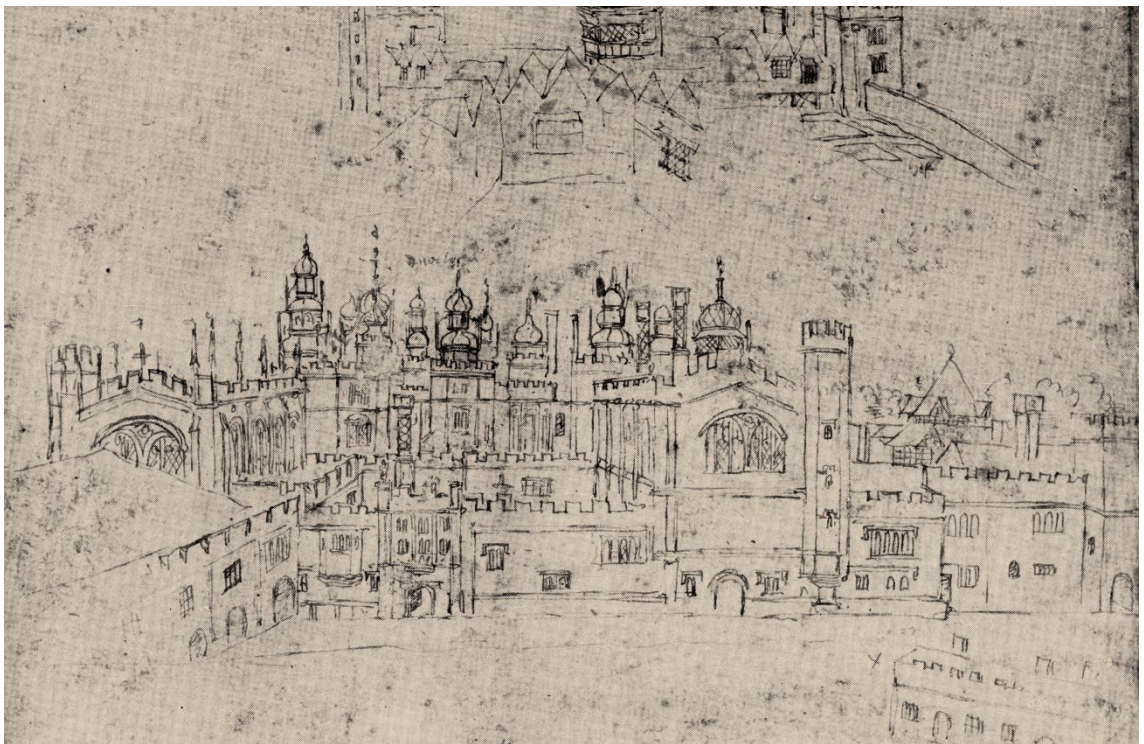


Figure 5:- Anthonis van der Wyngaerde. Richmond Palace, from the outer gate of the Great Court, 1558. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Pen & wash on paper.

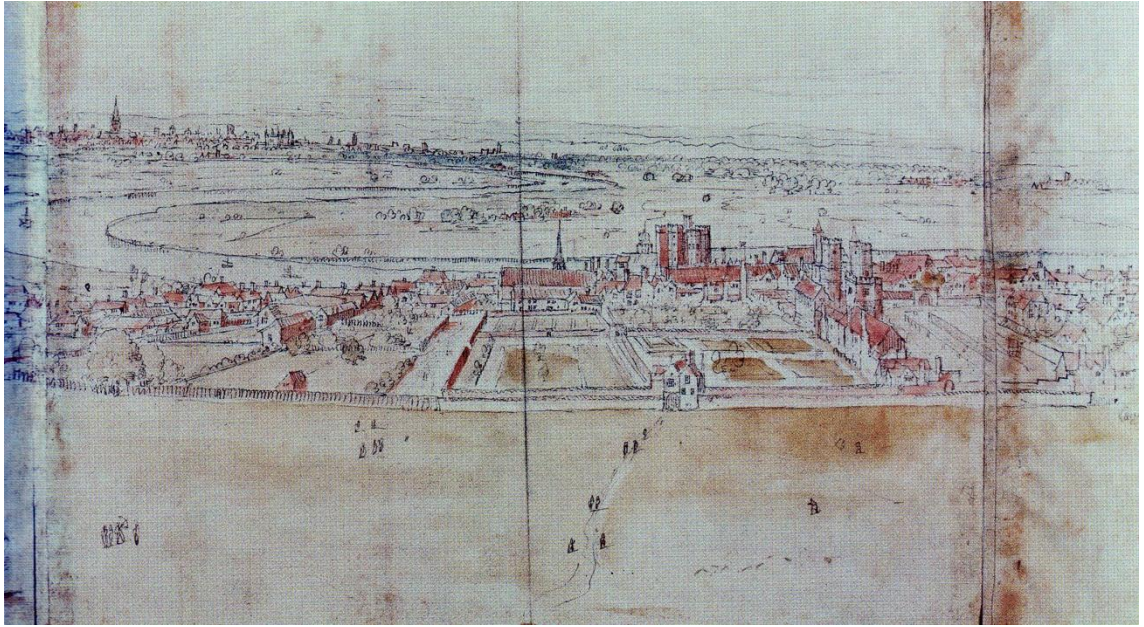


Figure 6:- Anthonis van der Wyngaerde. Detail of a panorama of Greenwich Palace from the south, 1558. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Pen & wash on paper.



Figure 7:- Anthonis van der Wyngaerde. Detail of a panorama of Greenwich Palace from the north, 1558. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Pen & wash on paper.

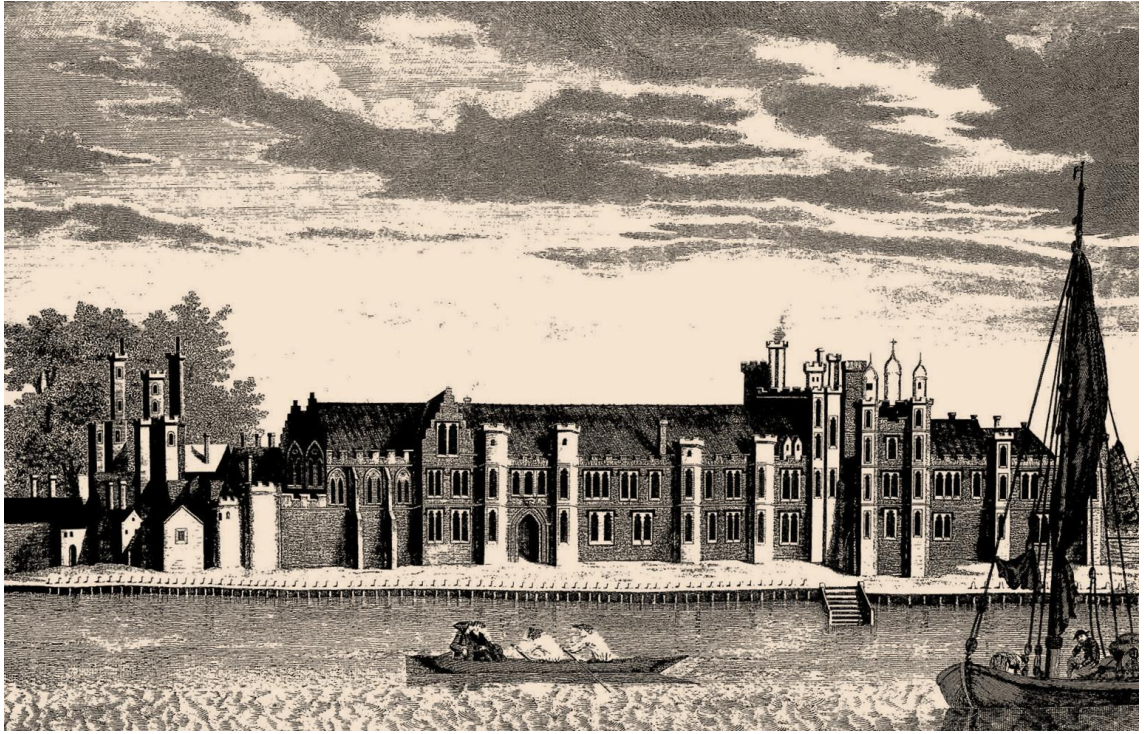


Figure 8:- James Basire (after seventeenth-century drawing). Greenwich Palace from the north. Engraving from *Vetusta Monumenta*, (London, 1789).

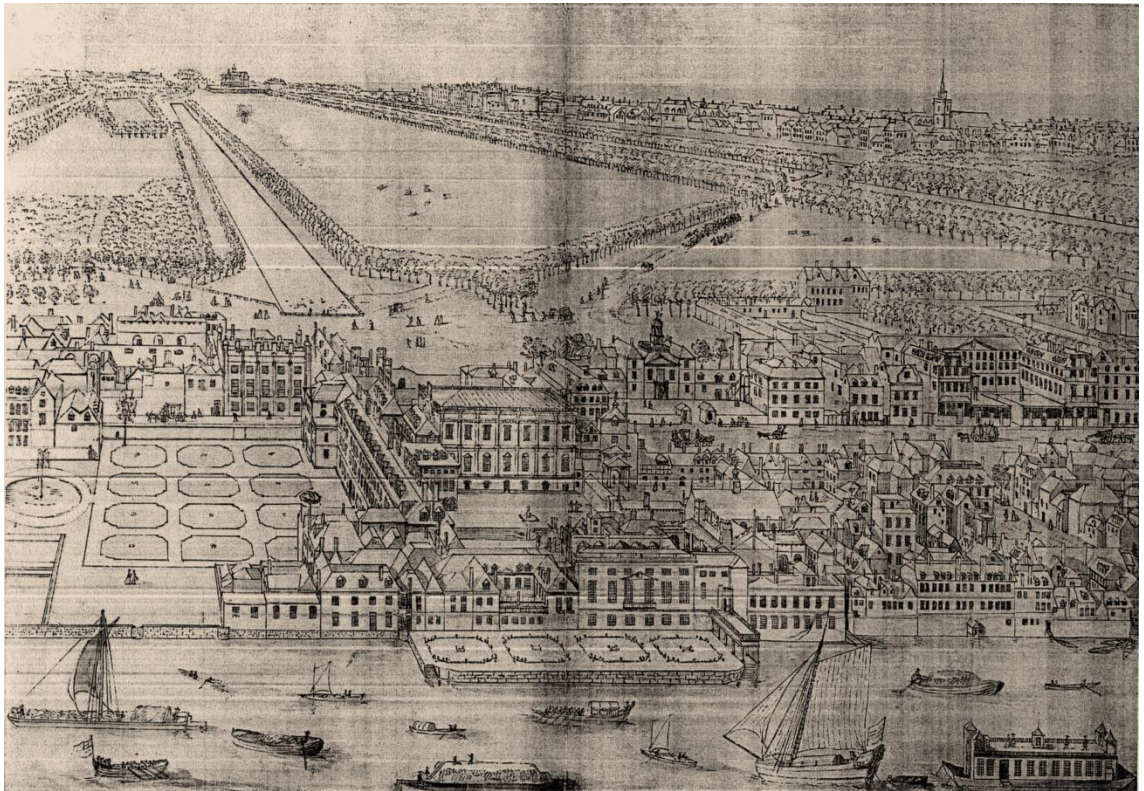


Figure 9:- Leonard Knyff. Detail of aerial panorama of Whitehall from the east, dated to c.1695-97. Westminster City Archives. Ink on paper, 31"×21¾".



Figure 10:- The chapel screen, King's College chapel, Cambridge, dated to c.1532-36, view from the antechapel looking northeast.



Figure 11:- Detail of lunette containing the Tudor royal arms, the chapel screen, King's College chapel, Cambridge, dated to c.1532-36.



Figure 12:- Detail of the panelling behind the Provost's stall, King's College chapel, Cambridge, dated to c.1532-36.



Figure 13:- *The Children of Henry VIII*, dated to c.1545. Oil on canvas, 6¾"×14⅞". The Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.



Figure 14:- Reynald Elstrack. Frontispiece titlepage to James I's *Workes*, dated 1616.

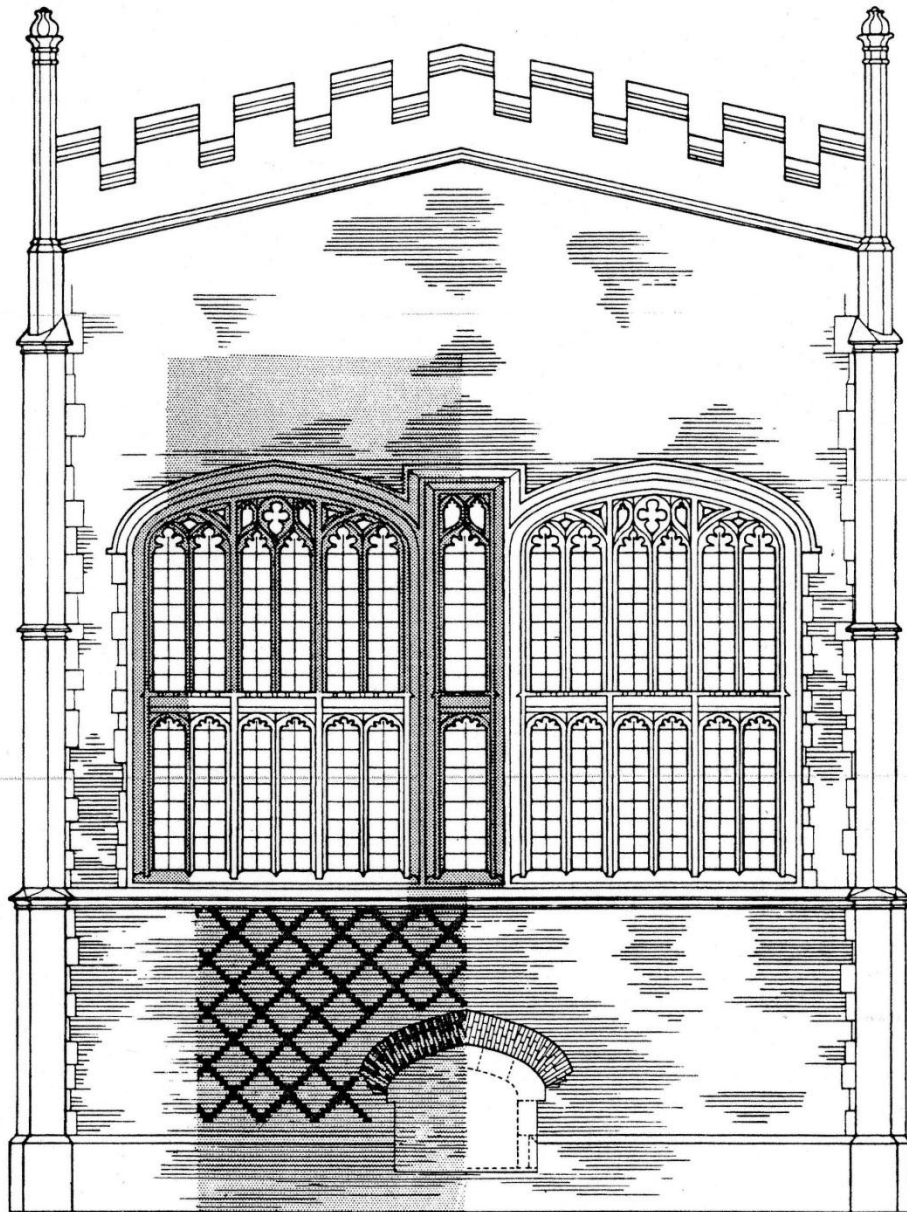


Figure 15:- Reconstruction of the east wall of Hampton Court Chapel, c.1527-29.
The section uncovered in 1981 indicated in grey. Drawing by Daphne Ford.

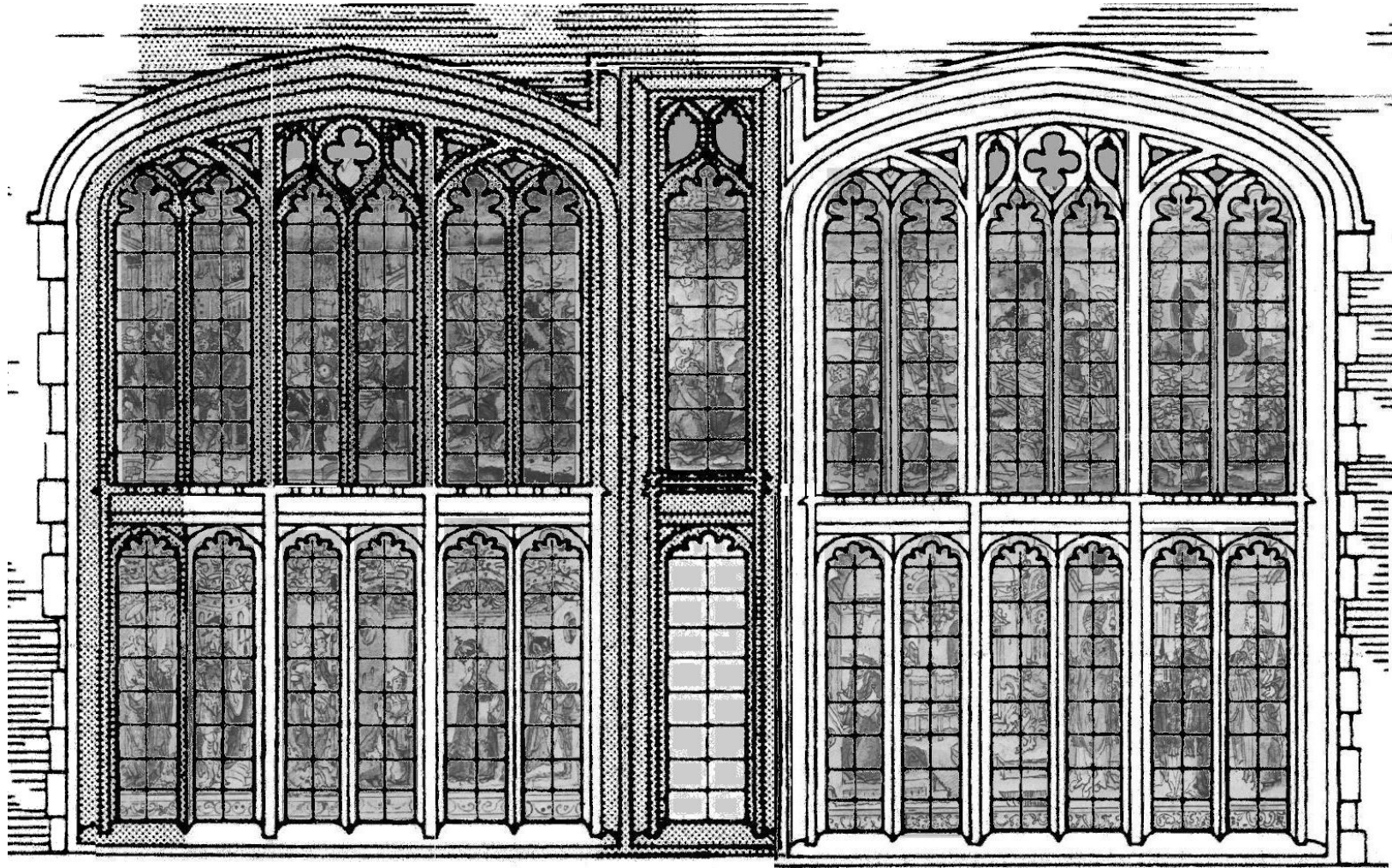


Figure 16:- Composite reconstruction of the east window glazing of Hampton Court chapel, as seen from the interior, c.1529-1645.



Figure 17:- Wooden ceiling vault of Hampton Court Chapel, erected c.1533-36, looking east.

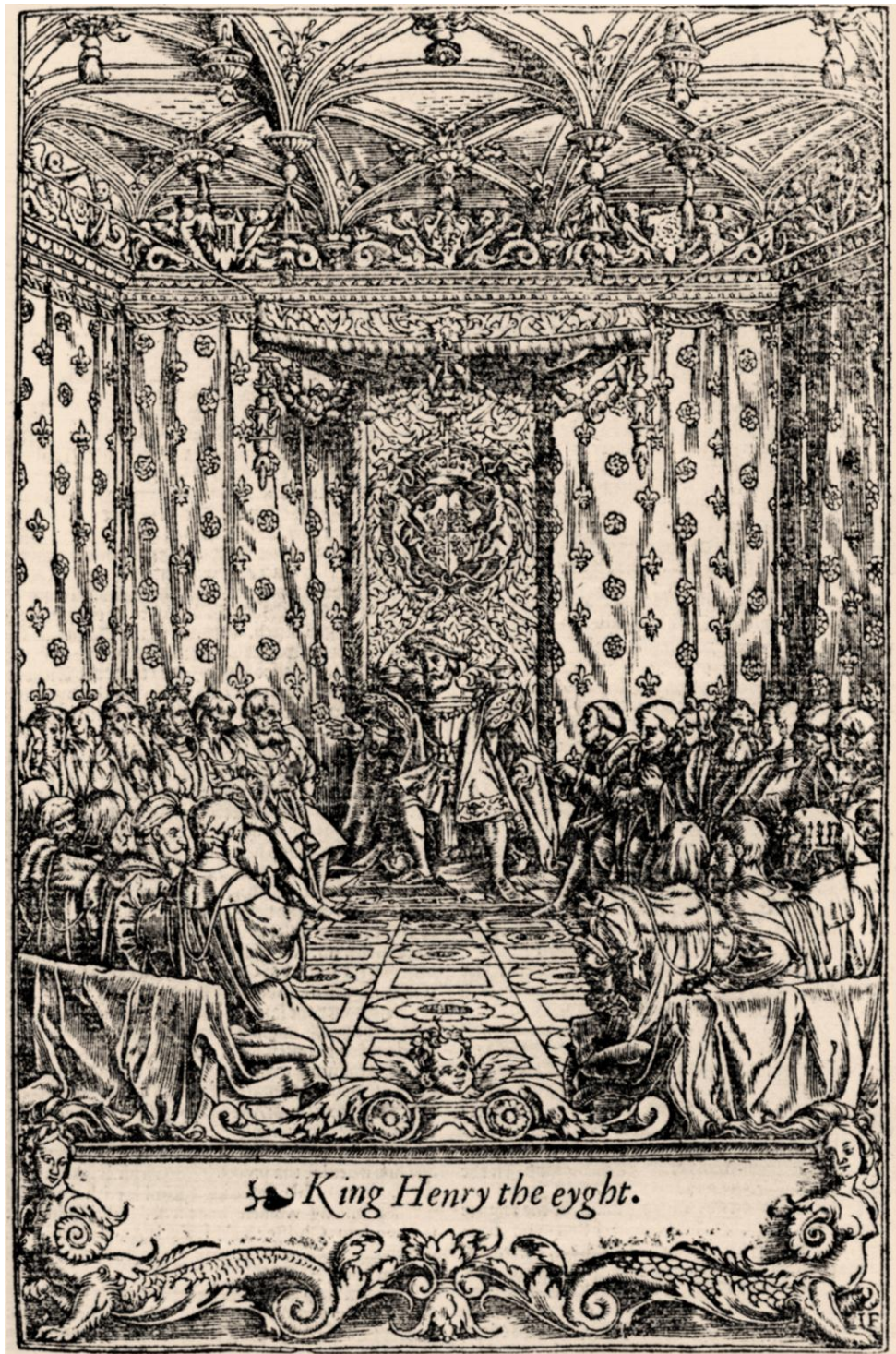


Figure 18:- Jacob Faber, after Hans Holbein (attributed). *Henry VIII in Council*, 1548. Woodcut, reused in the second edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1570).

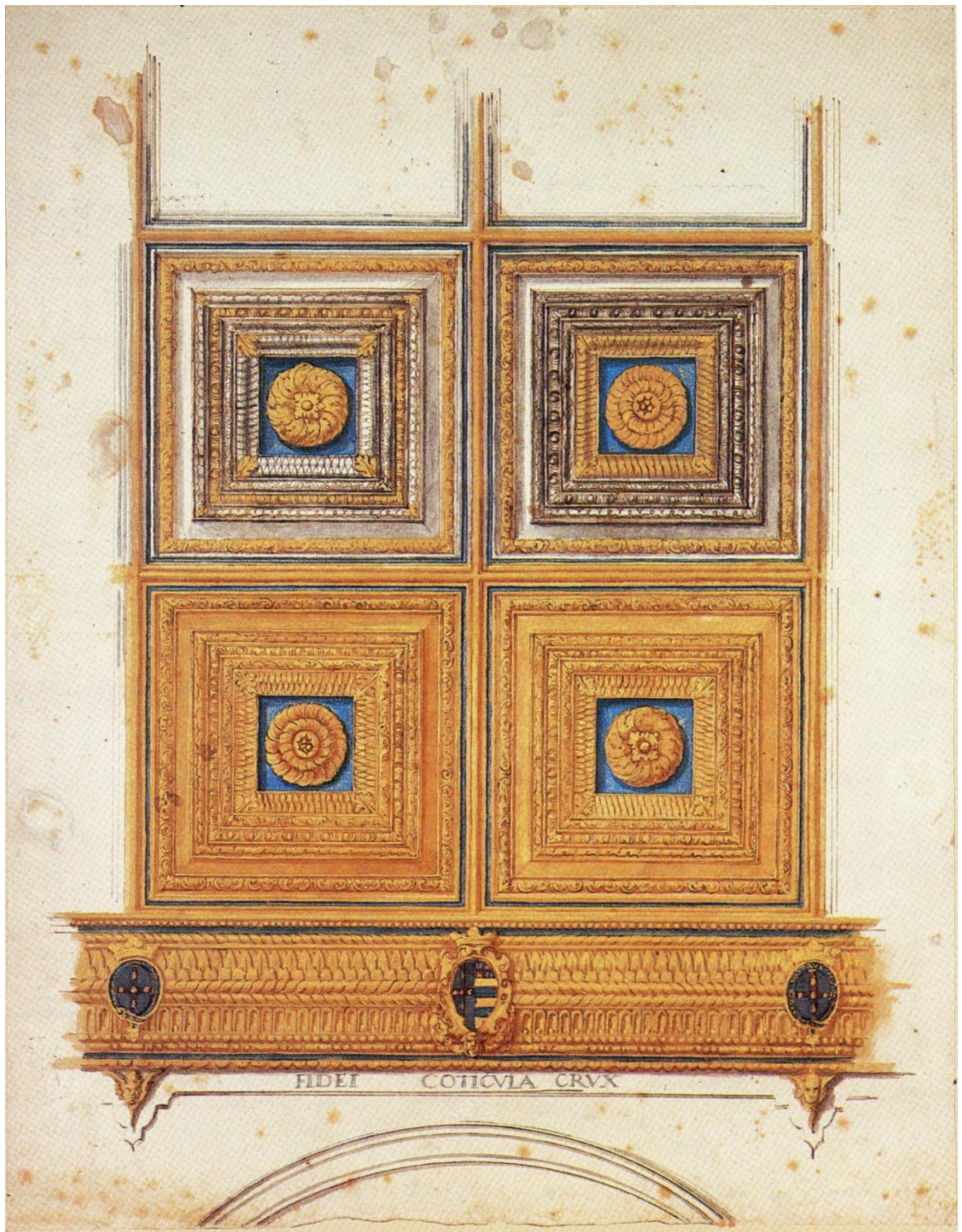


Figure 19:- Inigo Jones. Study for a section of a polychromed coffered ceiling, for the Marquis of Buckingham's chapel closet, New Hall, dated to c.1622-23, Worcester College, Oxford. Ink & colour wash over graphite & scoring, 15½"×12".



Figure 20:- Inigo Jones. Elevation for a chimney piece and overmantle for the Queen's Chapel closet, St James' Palace, dated to c.1624-25, Royal Institute of British Architects, London. Ink & wash over graphite & scoring, 16"×11½".



Figure 21:- Inigo Jones. Detail from a proposed elevation for the west façade of Old St Pauls, dated to c.1633-34, Royal Institute of British Architects, London. Ink & wash over graphite & scoring, 18"×19½".



Figure 22:- Peter Paul Rubens. Ceiling panels depicting *The Apotheosis of the Reign of James I*, Banqueting House, Whitehall, completed 1635. Oil on canvas, various dimensions. Compartment frames designed by Inigo Jones, 1619-22.

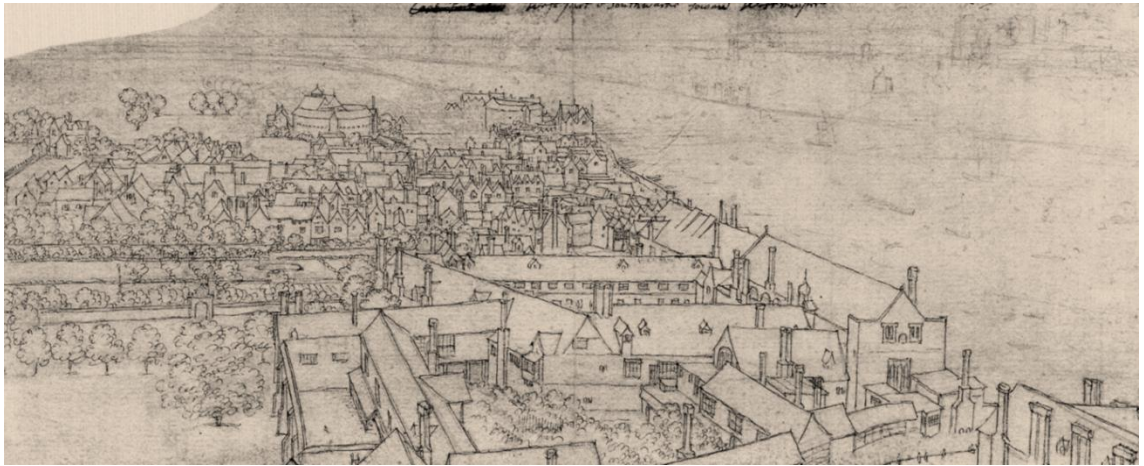


Figure 23:- Wenceslaus Hollar. View from St Mary's, Southwark, looking towards Westminster (right hand sheet), before 1647. Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Pen and graphite on paper, 5"×12½".

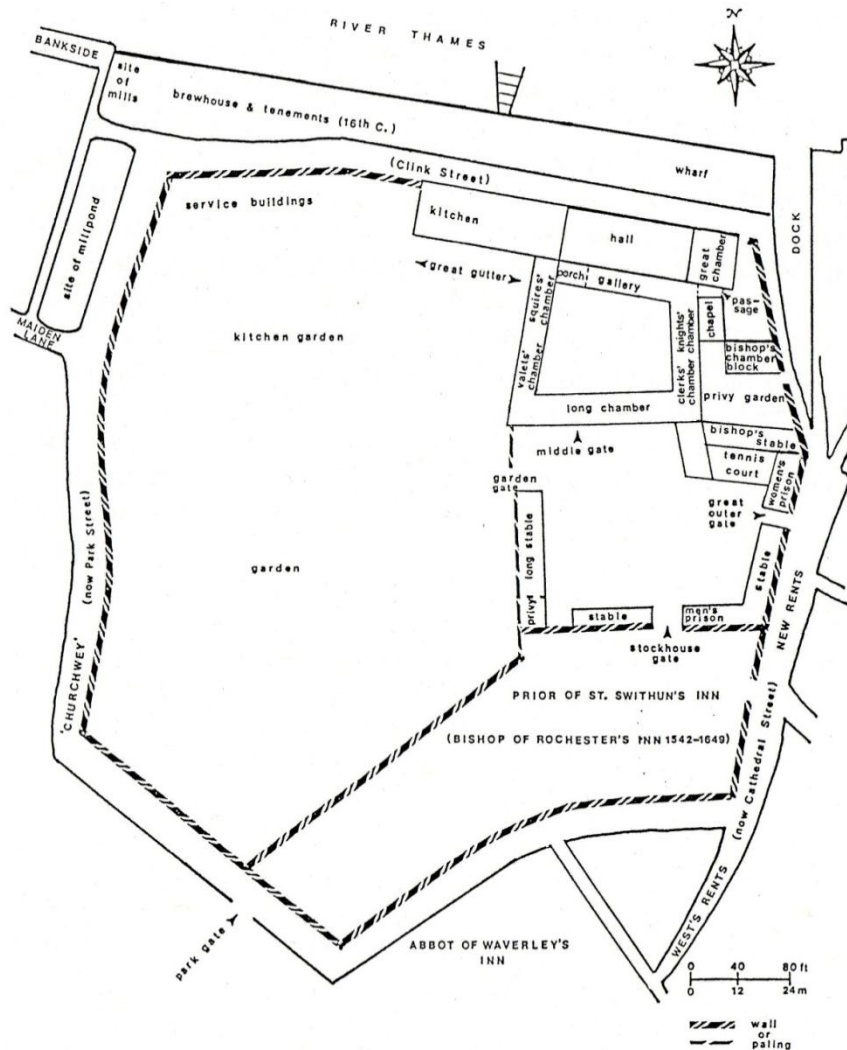


Figure 24:- Conjectural reconstruction of Winchester House, Southwark, c.1500. Proposed by Martha Carlin.

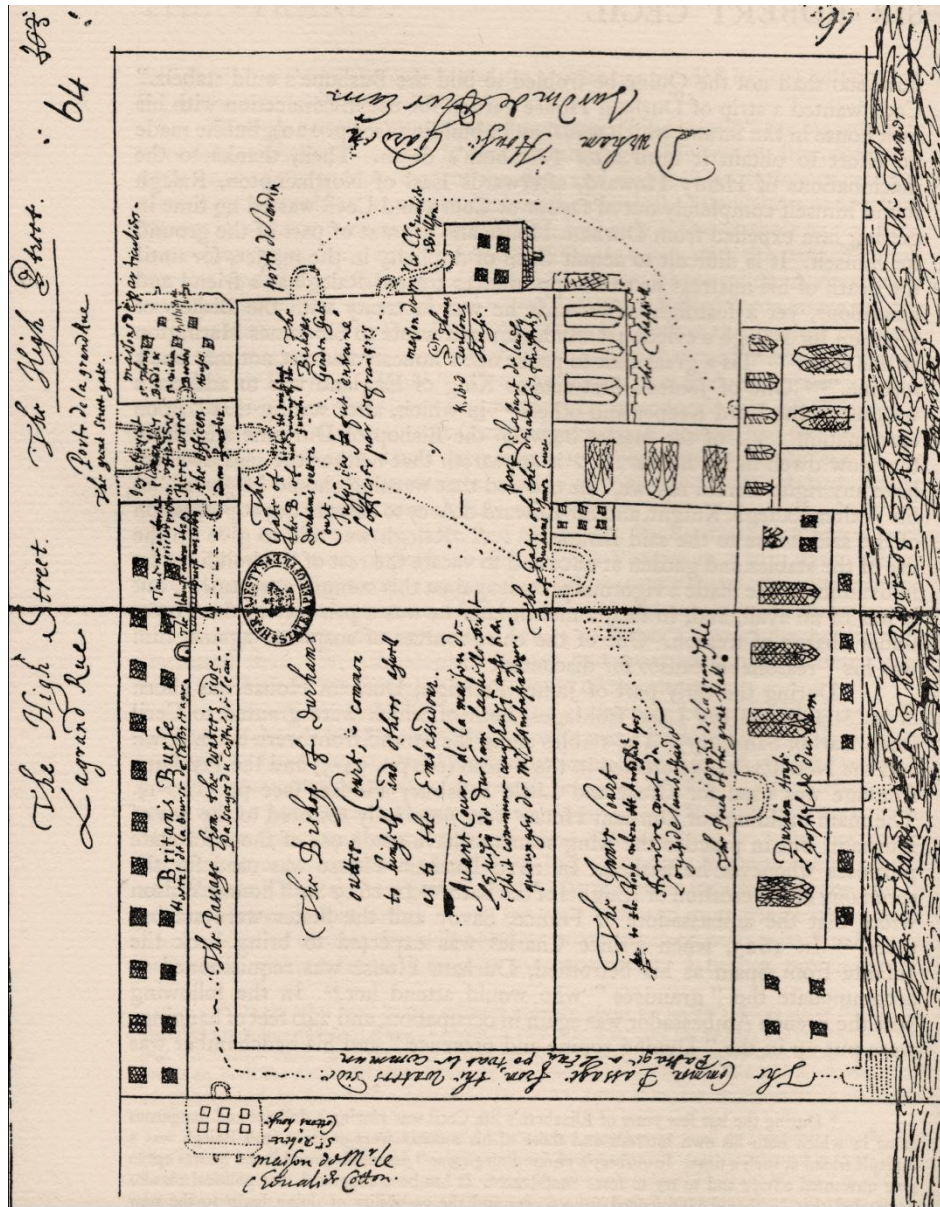


Figure 25:- Schematic plan of Durham House, the Strand, recording a disturbance of 26 February 1626.



Figure 26 (Above):- Lambeth Palace, the western exterior of the Great Hall, reconstructed by Archbishop Juxon, 1660-63.

Figure 27 (Right):- Lambeth Palace, the interior of the Great Hall, reconstructed by Archbishop Juxon, 1660-63.

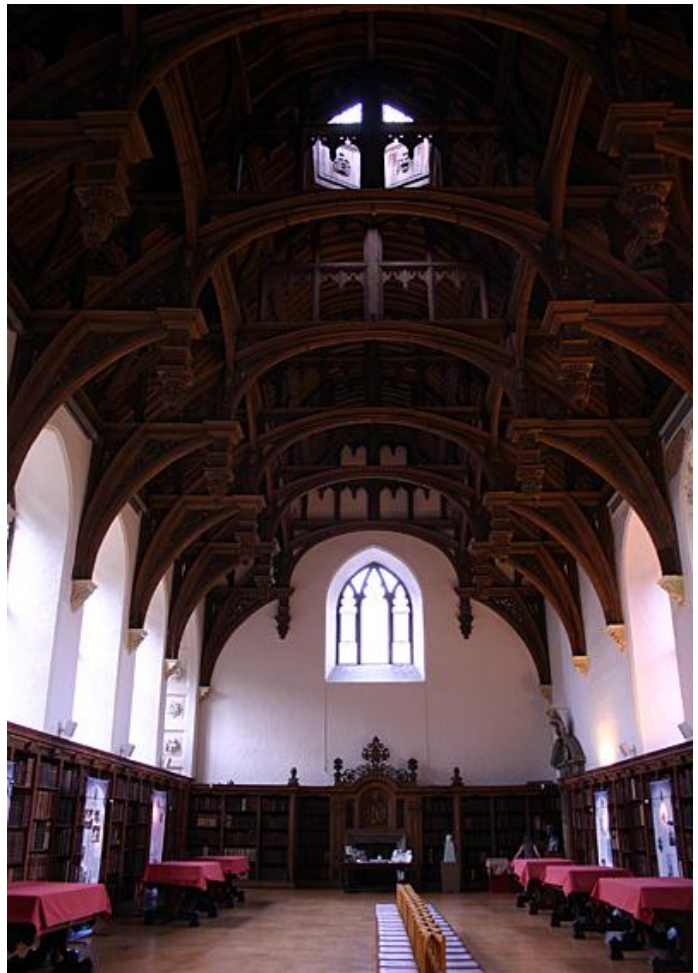




Figure 28:- Wenceslaus Hollar. *Palatium Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis propæ Londinium vulgo Lambeth House*, prior to the demolition of the mediaeval Great Hall, 1647. Engraving, 5¾"×12½".



Figure 29:- Lambeth Palace, the entrance to the chapel displaying the Arms of Canterbury impaling Laud, installed c.1635.

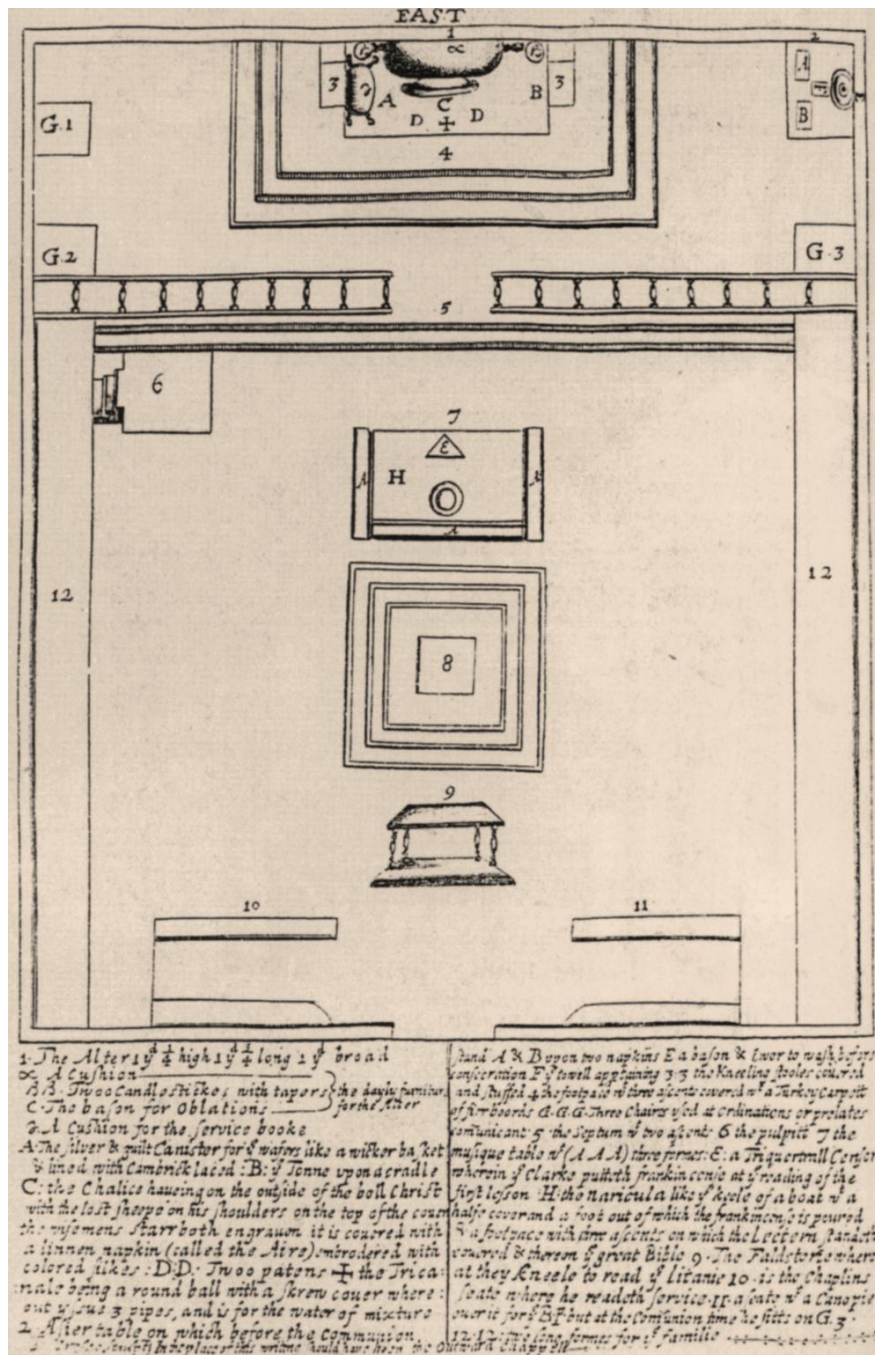


Figure 30:- Groundplan of Winchester House chapel, as arranged during the episcopate of Lancelot Andrewes, 1619-26, from William Prynne's *Canterburies Doome* (1646).



Figure 31 (Above):- St Etheldreda, Ely Place, completed c.1298. The interior looking south.

Figure 32 (Right):- St Etheldreda, Ely Place, completed c.1298. The exterior of the east wall.





Figure 33:- The Queen's chapel, St James' Palace, designed by Inigo Jones, built 1623-26.
The exterior from the south-west.



Figure 34:- Wenceslaus Hollar (attributed). The destruction of the Cheapside Cross, from John Vicars' *Sight of the Transactions of these latter times* (1646).

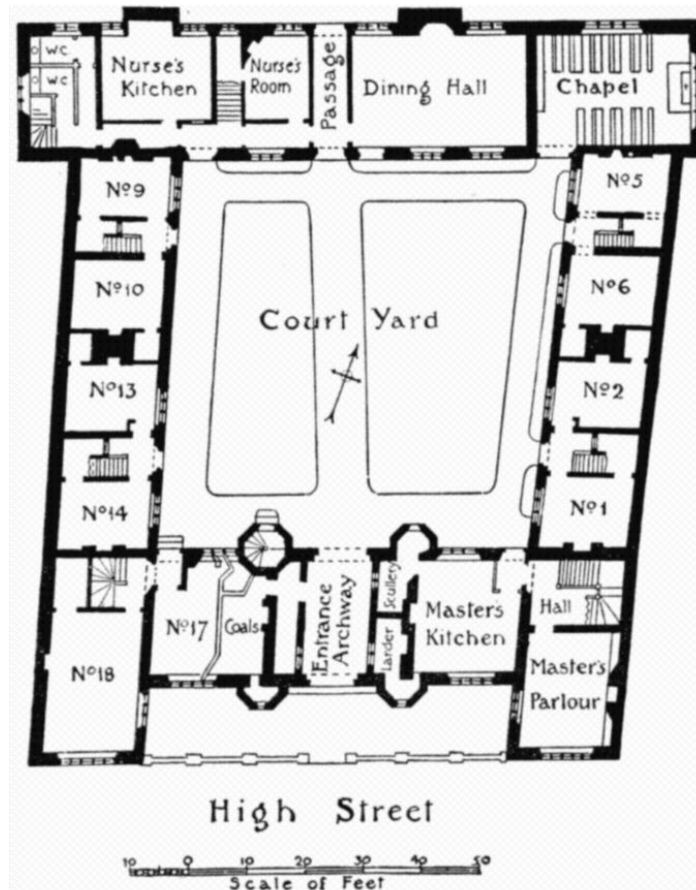


Figure 35:- Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford, built 1619-22. Groundplan.



Figure 36 (Above):- Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford, built 1619-22. The southern façade and gate tower, looking north.

Figure 37 (Right):- Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford, built 1619-22. Detail of the entrance Portal, displaying Abbot's initials and his Arms impaled by the See of Canterbury.





Figure 38 (Above):- Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Croydon, built 1595-99. The entrance façade and portal.



Figure 39 (Right):- Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Croydon, built 1595-99. The east window of the chapel.



Figure 40 (Above):- Hospital of the Blessed Trinity, Guildford, built 1619-22. Interior of the chapel, with glazing depicting the Lives of Jacob and Esau, attributed to Baptista Sutton.

Figure 41 (Left):- Apethorpe, St Leonard. Interior of the Mildmay Chapel, with glazing depicting an allegory of redemption and judgement, attributed to Baptist Sutton, dated 1621.

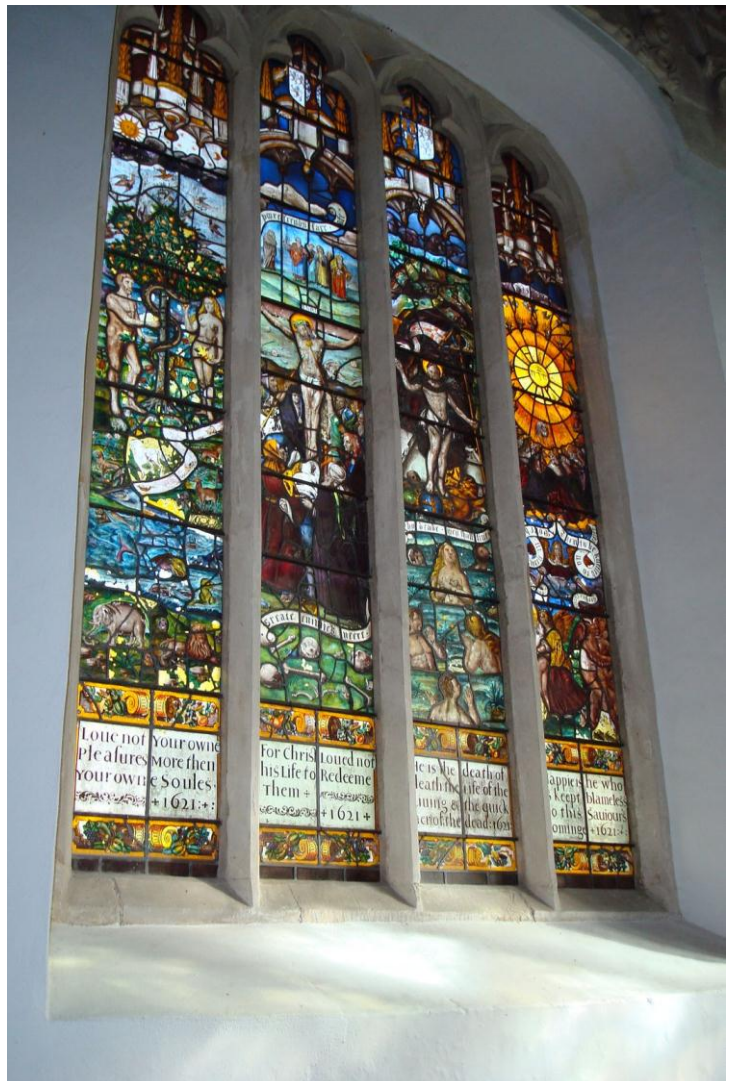




Figure 42 (Above):- Unknown goldsmith ('R.B.'). The Good Shepherd chalice and paten, c.1615-20. St John's College, Oxford. Engraved silver.



Figure 43 (Left):- Unknown goldsmith. Communion cup, from St Michael's, Manningtree, Essex, engraved with the Arms of the See of London impaling Laud, before 1633. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Engraved silver.

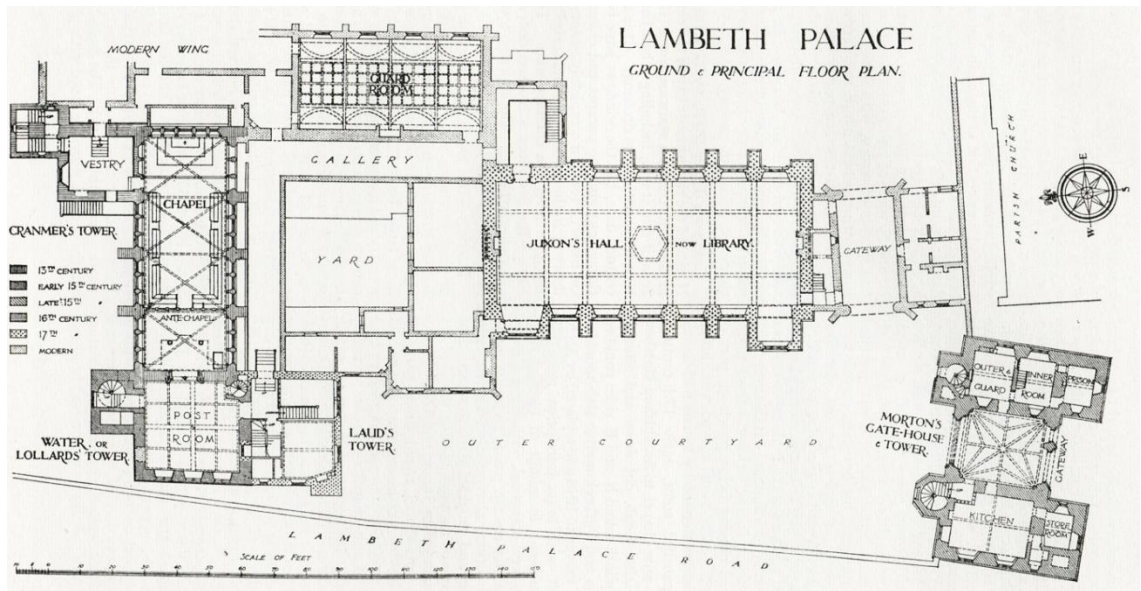


Figure 44:- Lambeth Palace, groundplan of 1925.



Figure 45:- Lambeth Palace chapel, the interior looking north-west, prior to mid-twentieth-century reconstruction.



Figure 46:- Lambeth Palace chapel, detail of the antechapel screen, carved by Adam Browne, 1633.



Figure 47:- Lambeth Palace chapel, detail of the stall fronts and poppyhead ends, carved by Adam Browne, 1633.

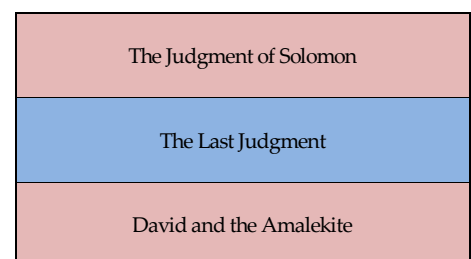
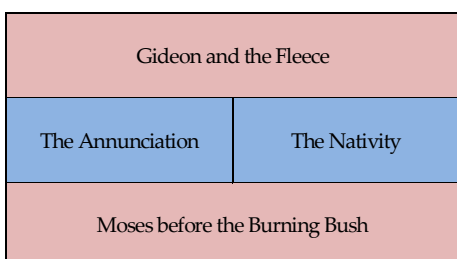
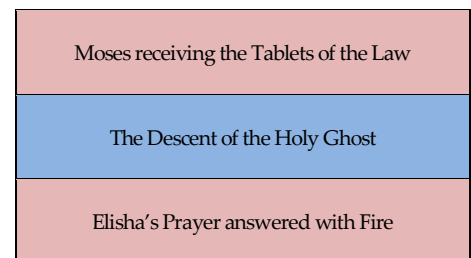
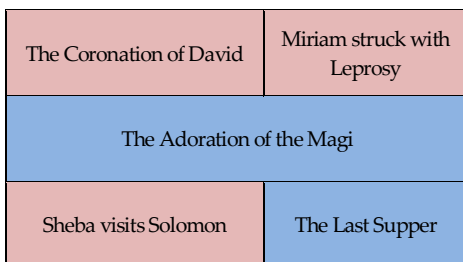
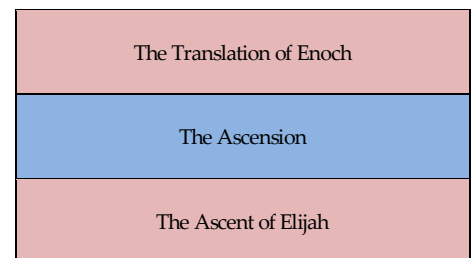
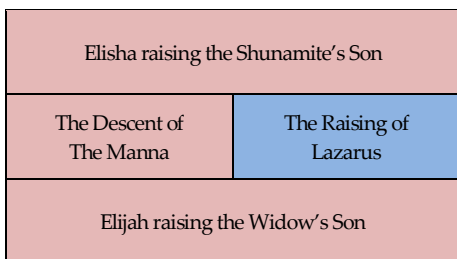
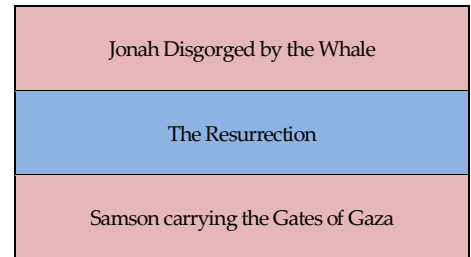
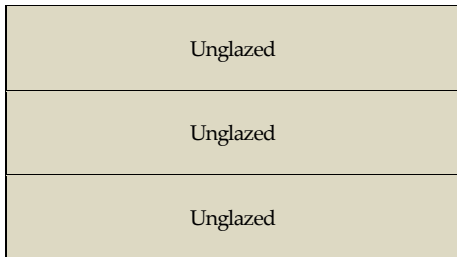
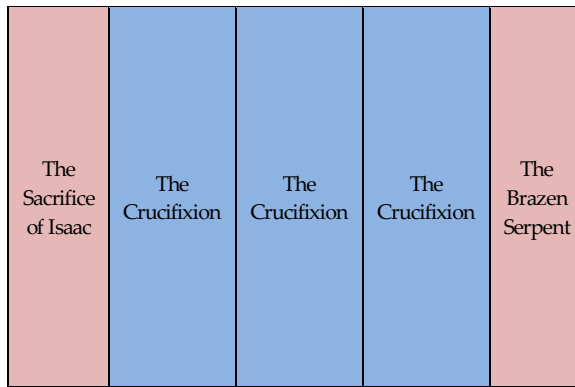


Figure 48:- Schematic reconstruction of the glazing in Lambeth Palace chapel, as recorded by William Prynne in *Canterburies Doome* (1646).

Legend:- Old Testament types indicated in pink; New Testament antitypes indicated in blue.



Figure 49:- Fairford, St Mary. Old Testament types, workshop of Barnard Flower, c.1500-15. Window n.V.



Figures 50 (Left) & 51 (Right):-
Magdalen College antechapel,
Oxford. Monochrome figures of
early Christian saints, executed
by Richard Greenbury, c.1638.
Windows s.VI & s.VII.



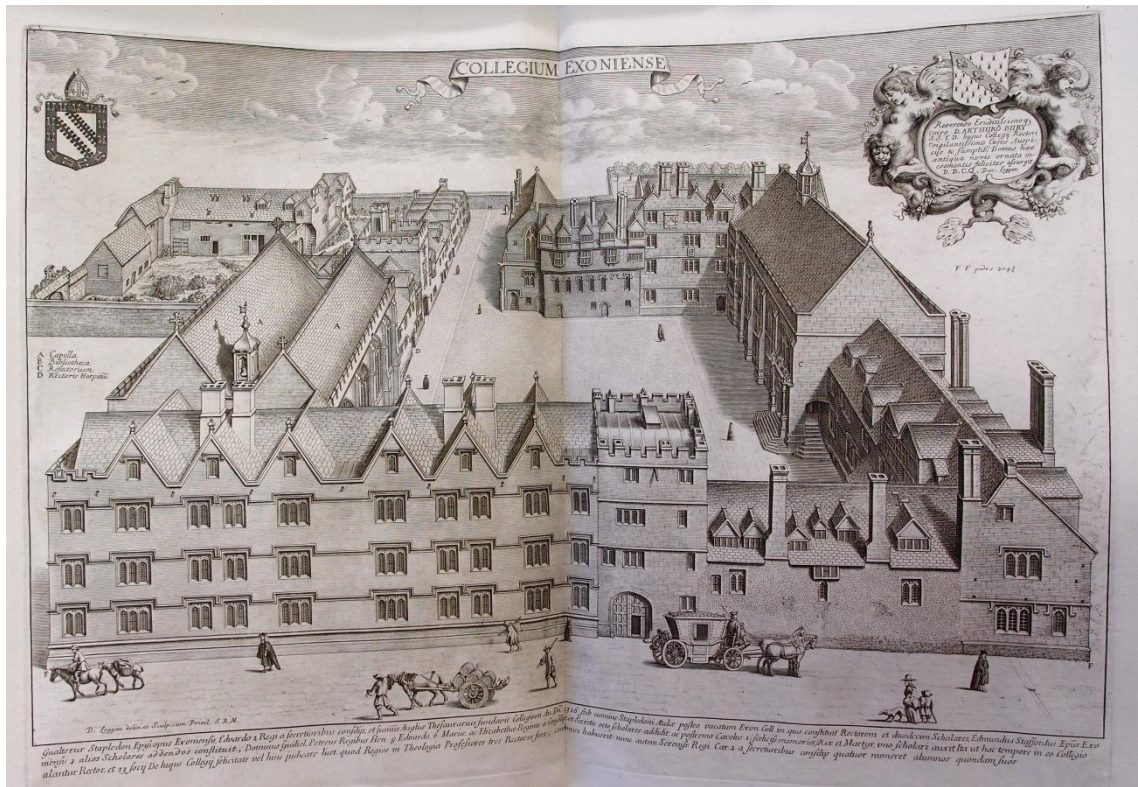


Figure 52:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Exoniense' - aerial view of Exeter College, from *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675).

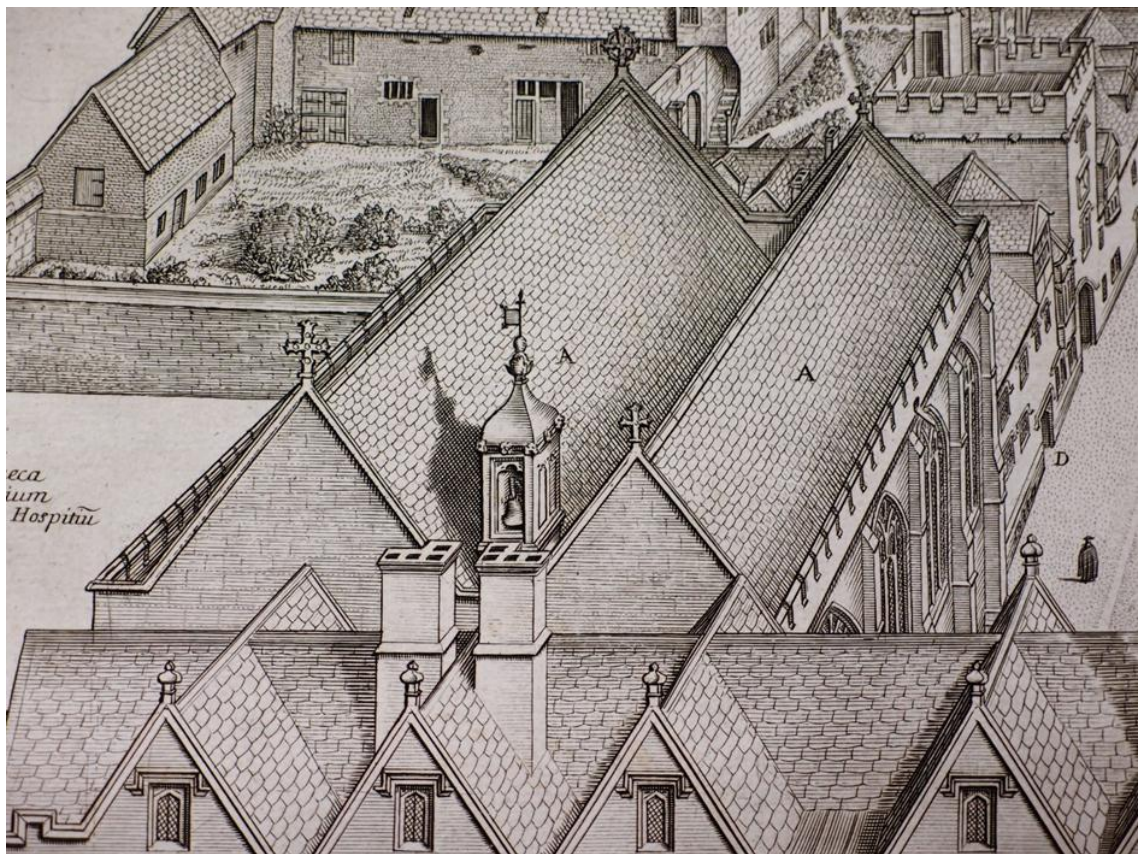


Figure 53:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Exoniense' - aerial view of Exeter College, from *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675). Detail of the chapel (labelled 'A'), looking east.

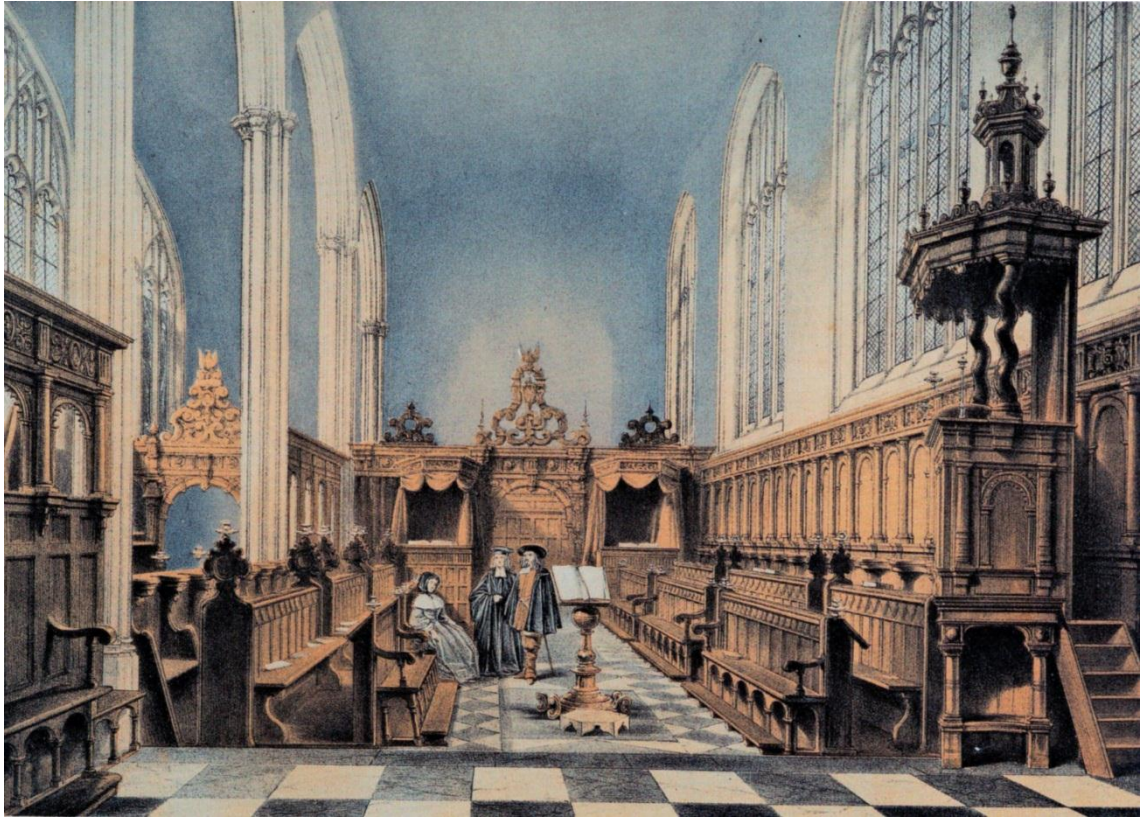


Figure 54:- Joseph Nash (attributed). Interior of Exeter College chapel, looking west. Coloured lithograph, mid nineteenth century.



Figure 55:- Exeter College hall. Cresting from Hakewill's chapel screen, set over the hall screen.

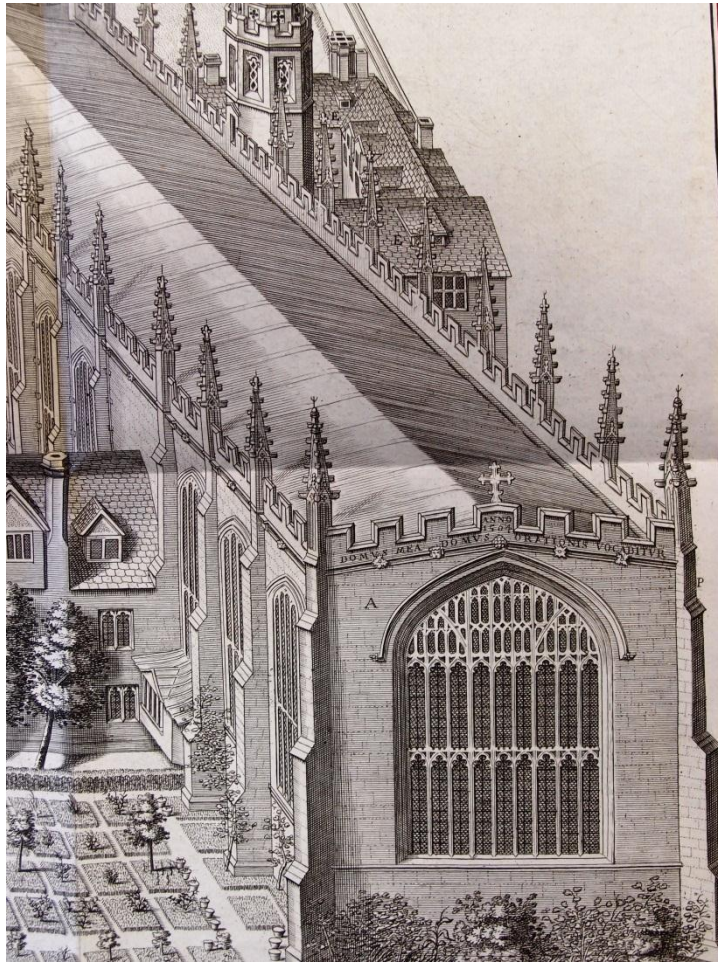


Figure 56:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Trinitas' - aerial view of Trinity College, from *Catagria Illustrata* (1690). Detail of the chapel (labelled 'A'), looking west.



Figure 57:- Allegory of the reign of Edward VI, from John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1570).



Figure 58 (Above):- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford, built 1629-1631. View of exterior from the Chapel Quadrangle, looking south.



Figure 59 (Left):- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford, built 1629-1631. View of interior from the gates of the antechapel screen, looking east.

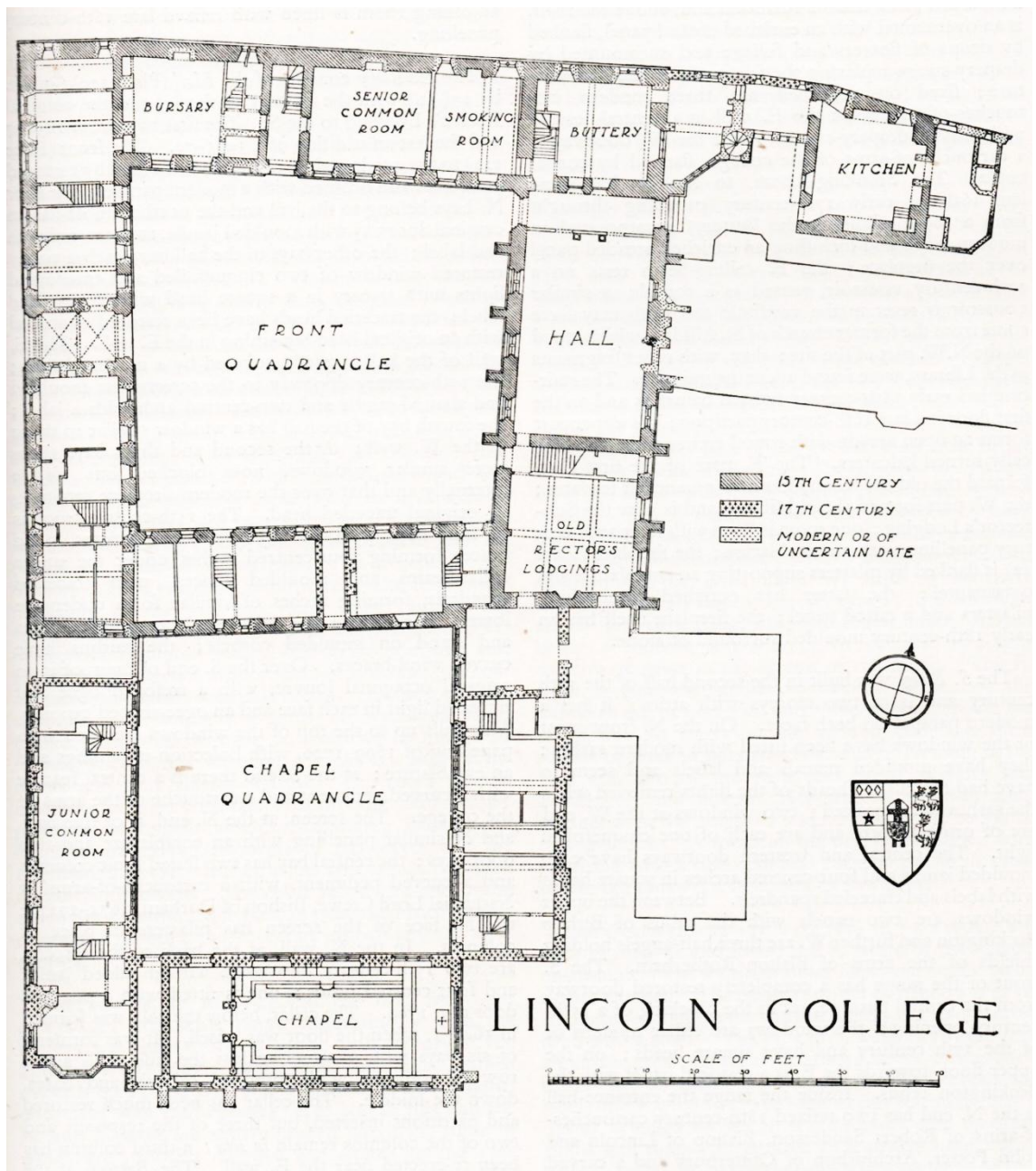


Figure 60:- Lincoln College, Oxford. Groundplan of building phases.

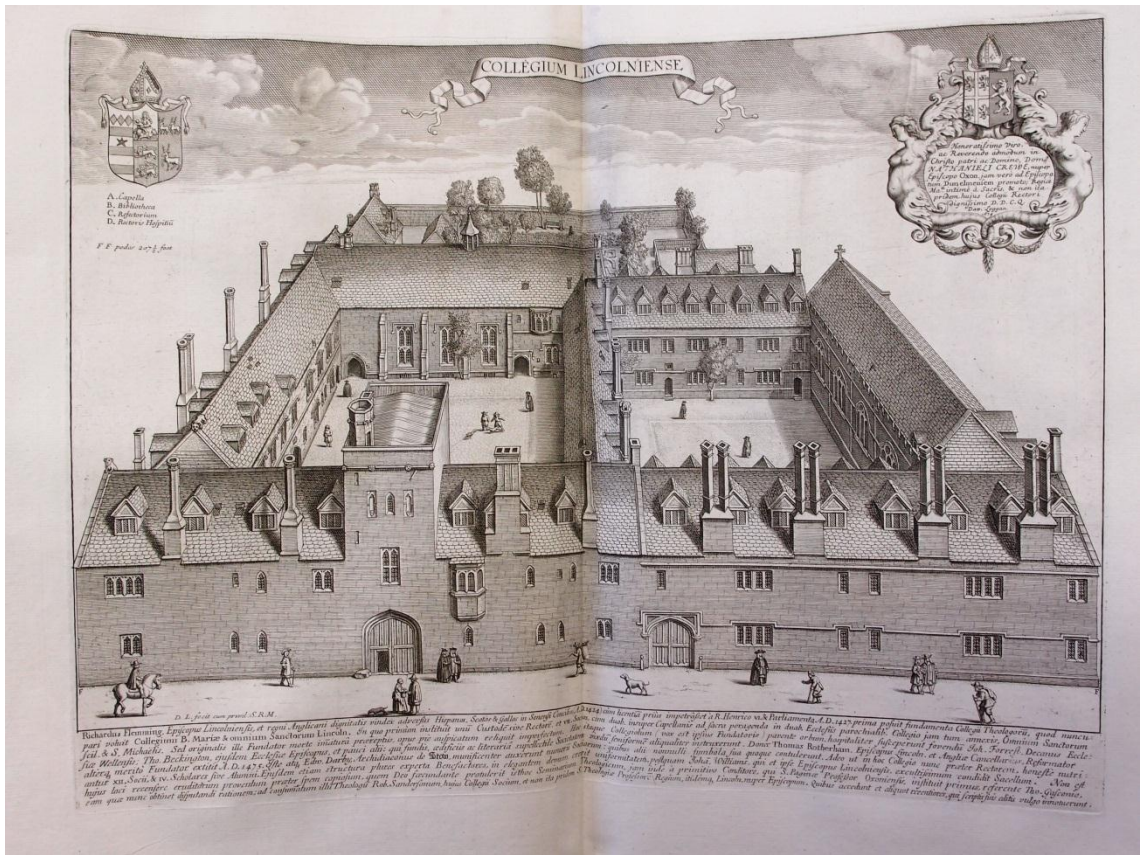


Figure 61:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Lincolniense' - aerial view of Lincoln College, from *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675).

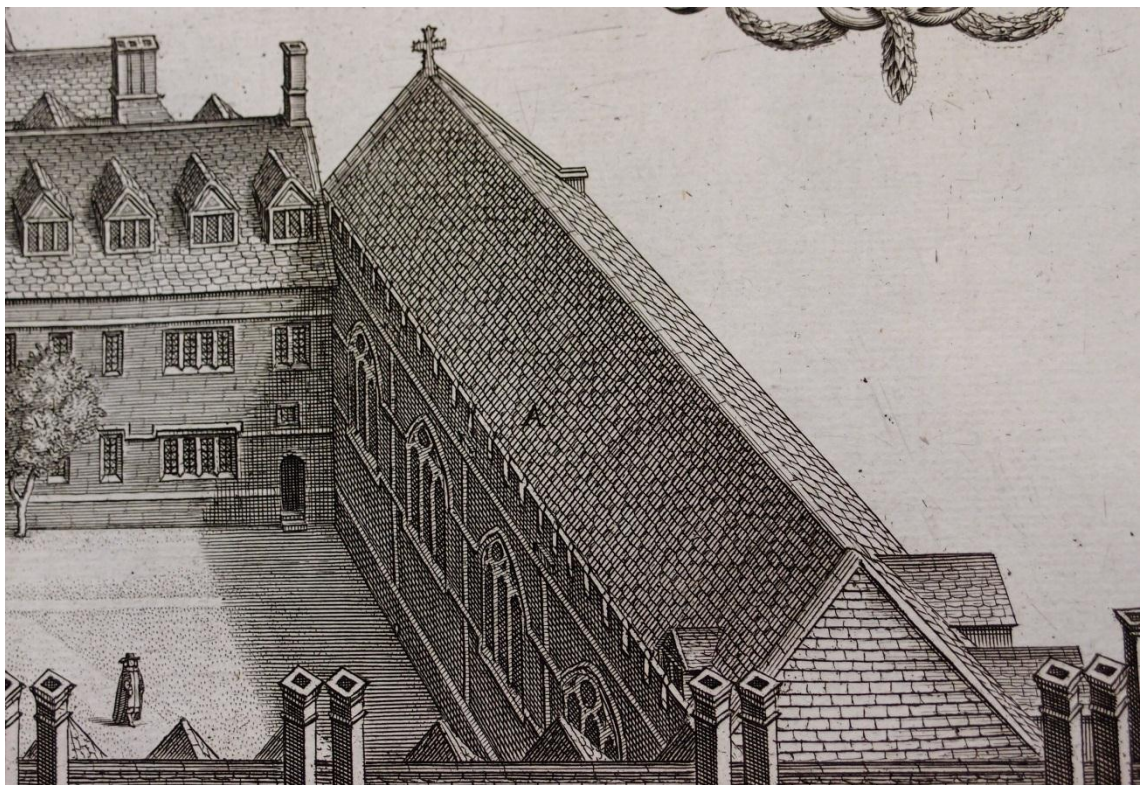


Figure 62:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Lincolniense' - aerial view of Lincoln College, from *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675). Detail of the Chapel (labelled 'A') looking east.



Figure 63 (Left):- The Old Library, St John's College, Cambridge. Elevation from the River Cam.

Figure 64 (Right):- The Old Library, St John's College, Cambridge. Detail of elevation of a typical bay, with moulding sections

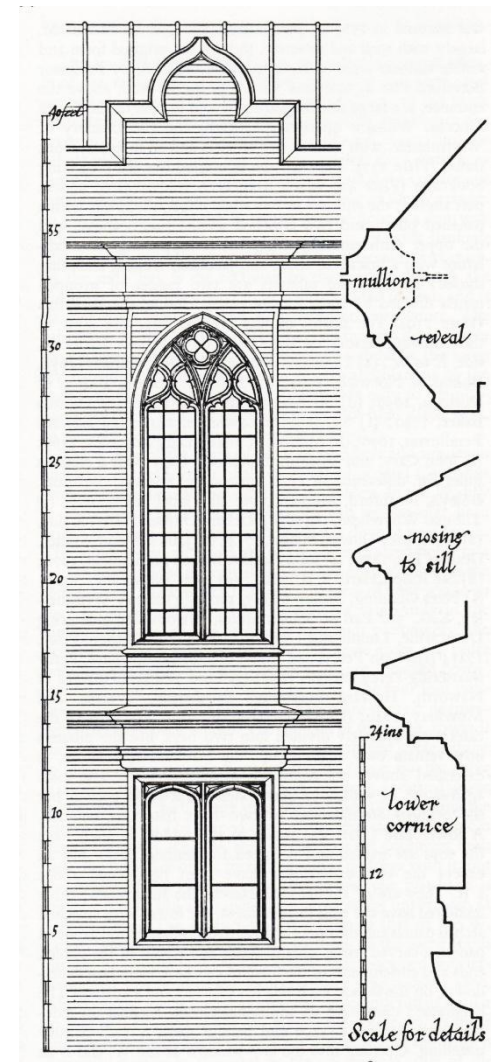




Figure 65:- Lincoln College chapel, Oxford. Detail of painted glass in the tracery lights depicting the Arms of Williams, impaling the See of Lincoln, and tiered in pale between the See of Lincoln and Westminster. Executed by Abraham van Linge (1629-31).



Figure 66:- Westminster Abbey, four westernmost statues in the buttress niches of the nave (identifiable as Edward the Confessor; Henry III; Abbot John Islip and James I), installed by John Williams, datable to 1620-37.

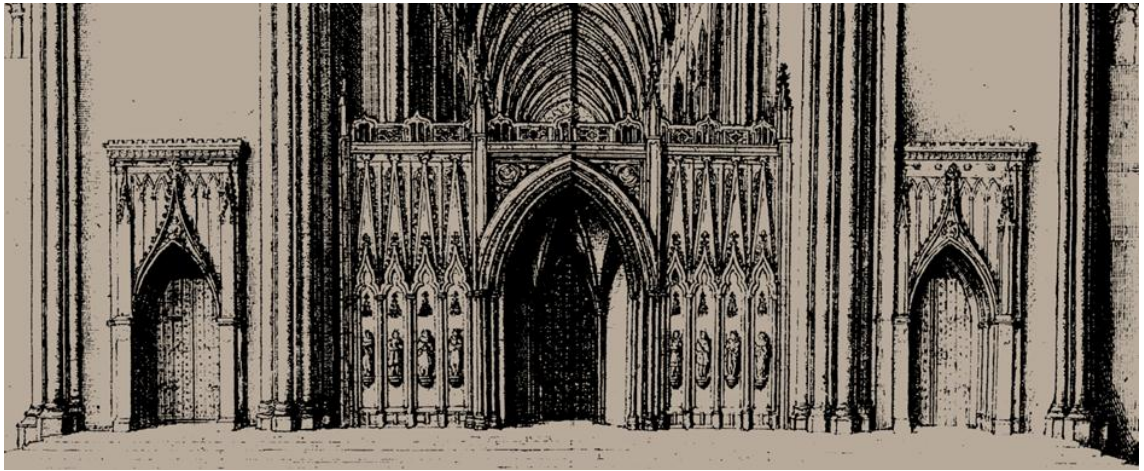


Figure 67:- Wenceslaus Hollar. *Partis exterioris Chori ab Occidente prospectus*, detail displaying statues of benefactors installed in the 1630s, from Dugdale's *History of St Pauls* (1658).

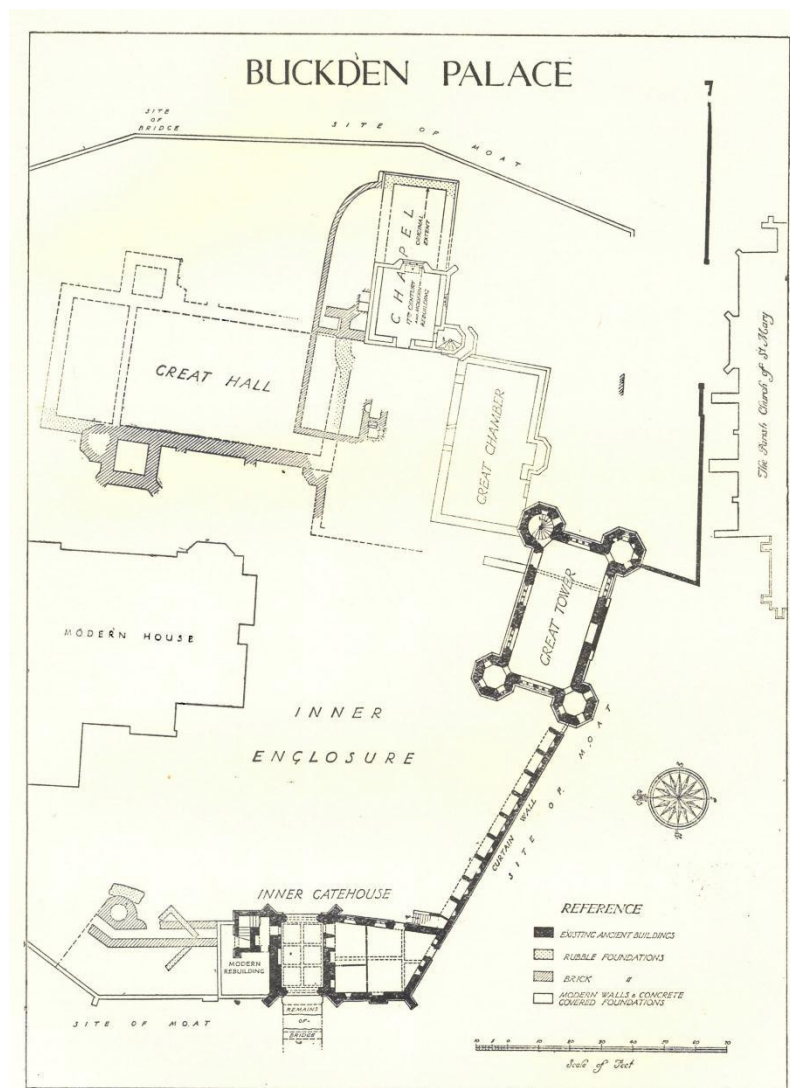
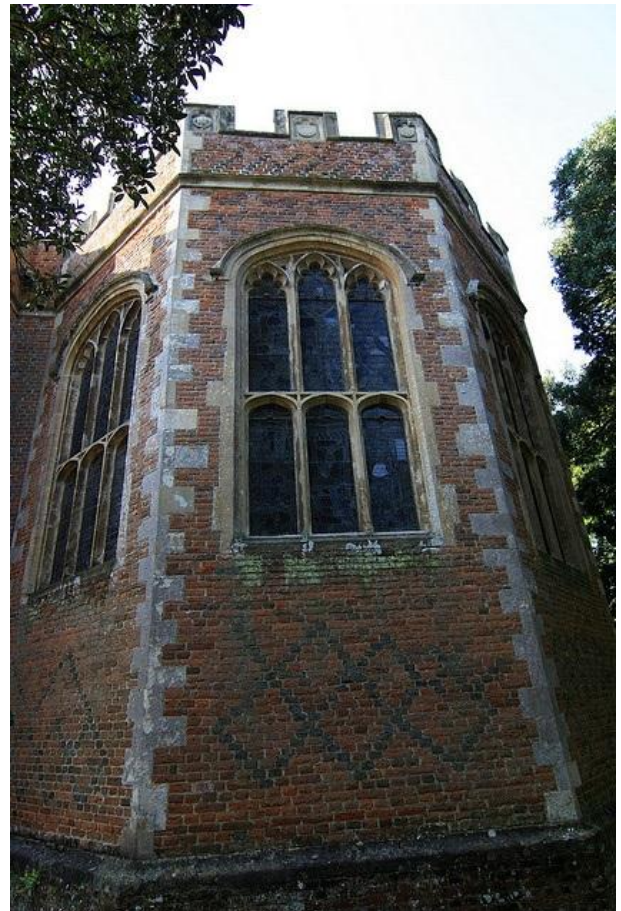


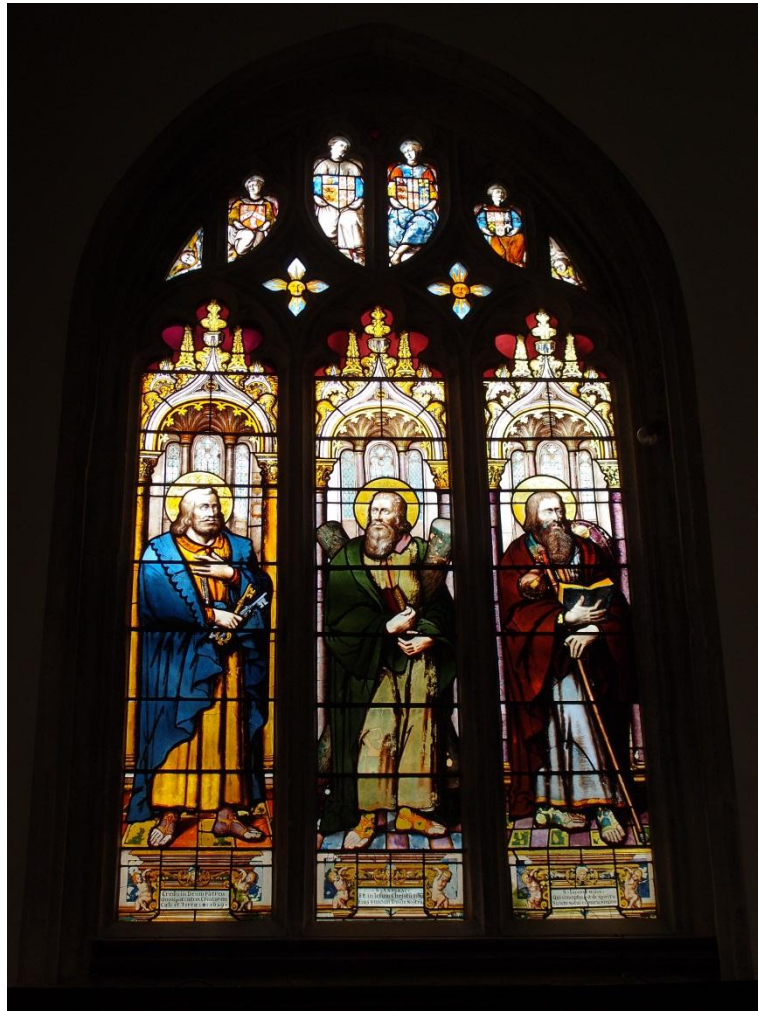
Figure 68:- Groundplan of the Episcopal palace, Buckden.



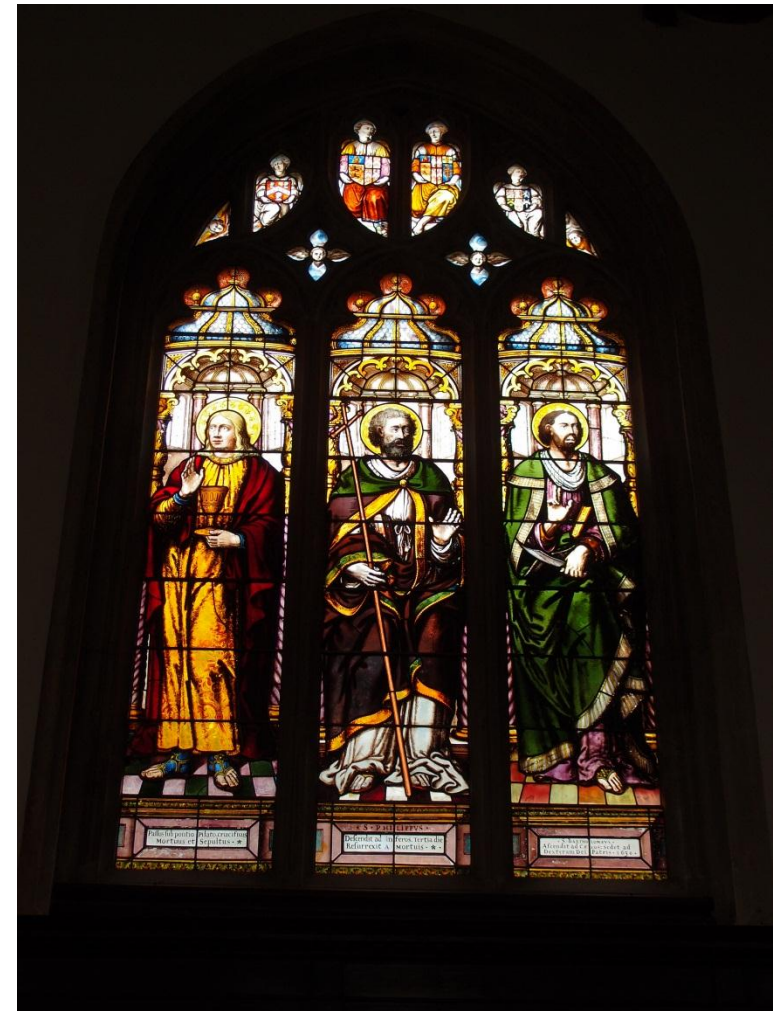
Figure 69 (Above):- The Vyne, Hampshire. Exterior of the domestic chapel from the north, built c.1520.

Figure 70 (Right):- The Vyne, Hampshire. Exterior of the polygonal apse of the domestic chapel from the east, built c.1520.



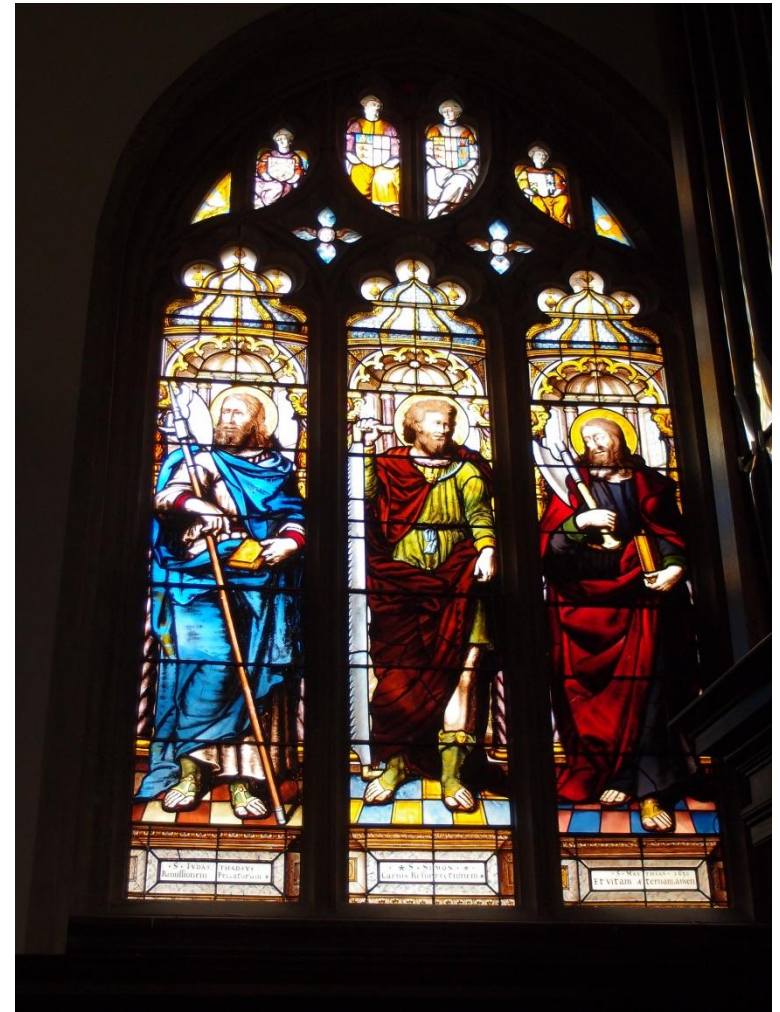


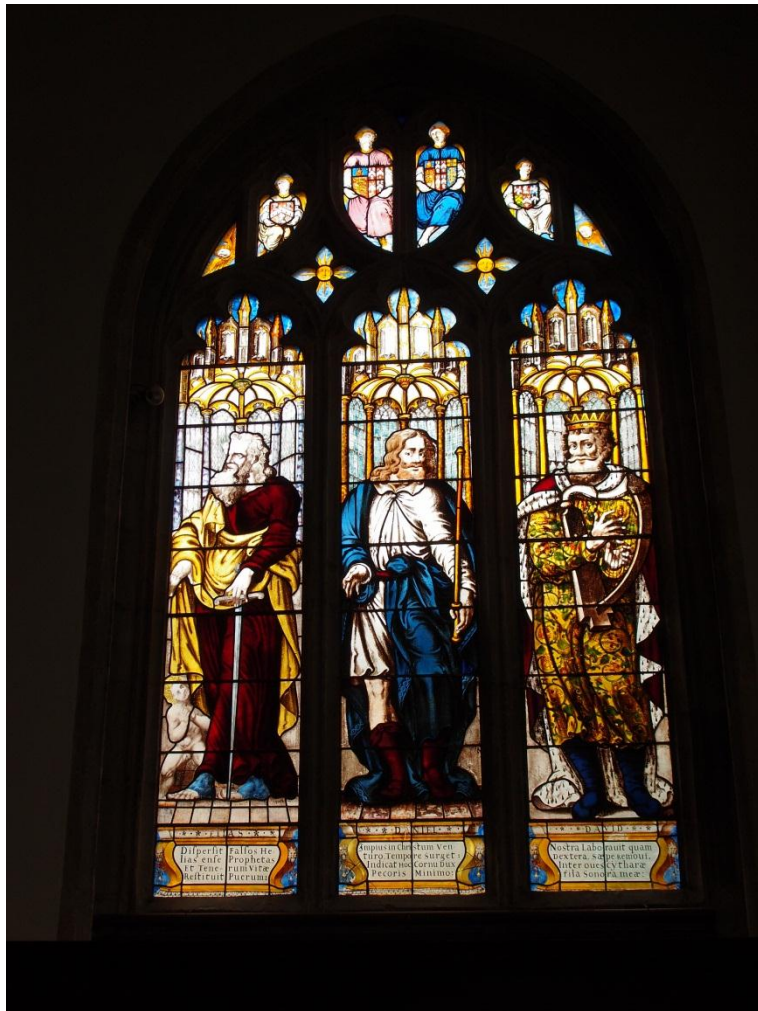
Figures 71 (Left) & 72 (Right):-
Abraham van Linge. Sequence of
the Twelve Apostles with the
Apostles' Creed, dated 1629-1630.
Lincoln College chapel, Oxford.
Sts Peter, Andrew, James the
Great (s.I); Sts John, Philip,
Bartholomew (s.II).



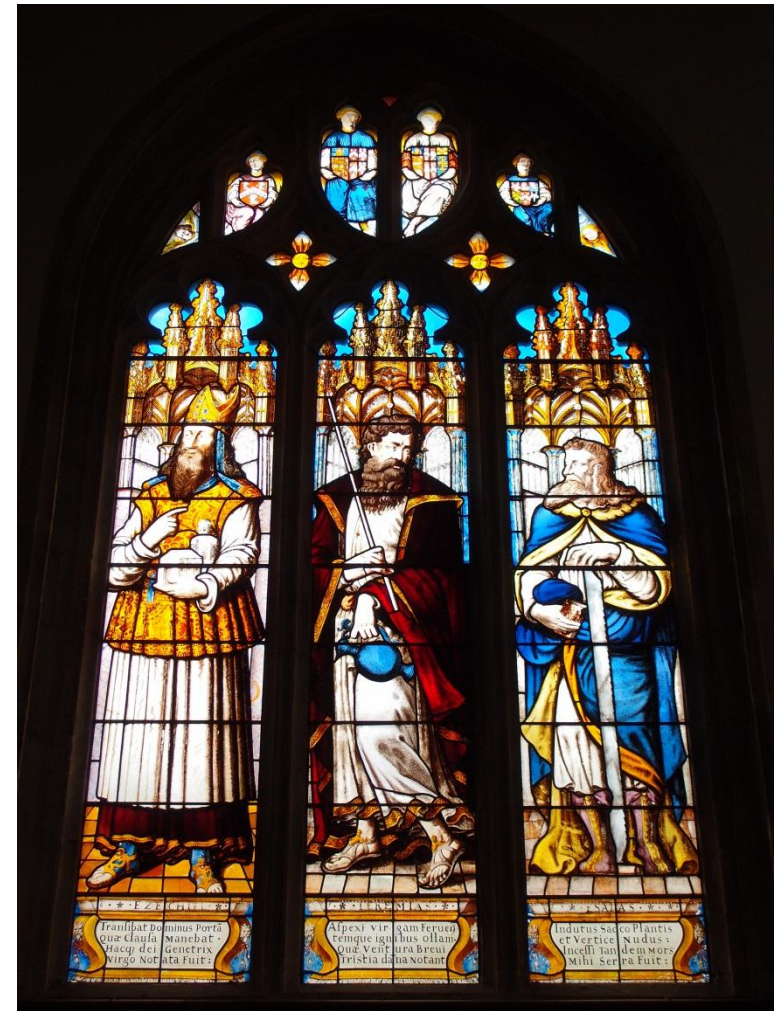


Figures 73 (Left) & 74 (Right):-
 Abraham van Linge. Sequence of
 the Twelve Apostles with the
 Apostles' Creed, dated 1629-1630.
 Lincoln College chapel, Oxford.
 Sts Thomas, James the Less,
 Matthew (s.III); Sts Jude,
 Simon, Matthias (s.IV).



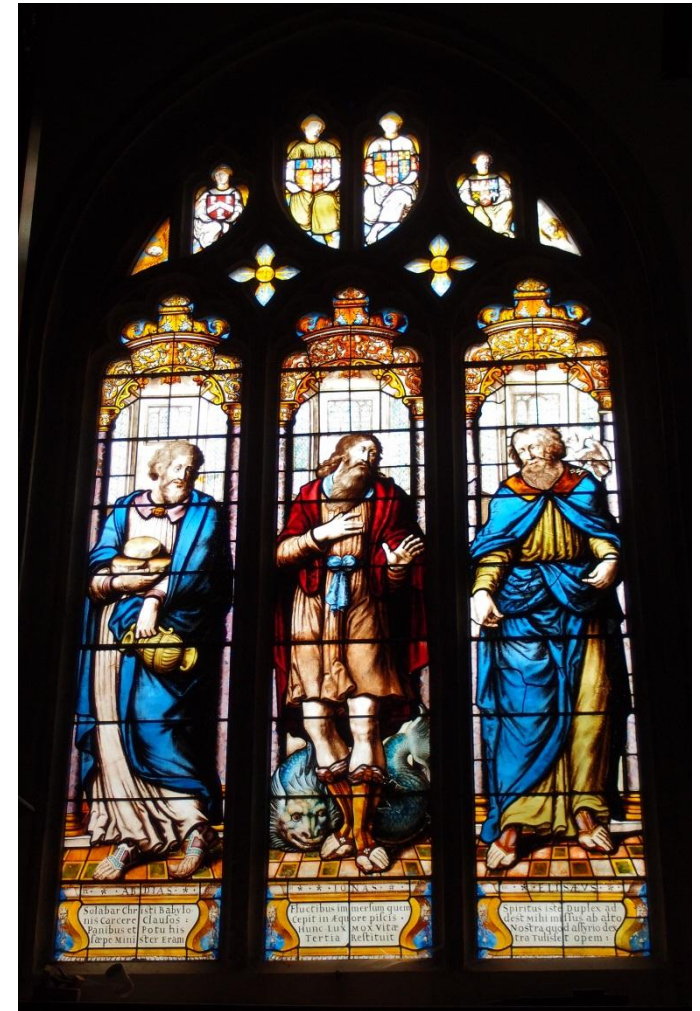


Figures 75 (Left) & 76 (Right):-
 Abraham van Linge. Sequence of
 Twelve Greater Prophets, 1629-
 1631, Lincoln College chapel,
 Oxford. David, Daniel, Elijah
 (n.I); Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel
 (n.II).





Figures 77 (Left) & 78 (Right):-
 Abraham van Linge. Sequence of Twelve
 Greater Prophets, 1629-1631, Lincoln
 College chapel, Oxford. Amos,
 Zachariah, Malachi (n.III); Elisha,
 Jonah, Obadiah
 (n.IV).



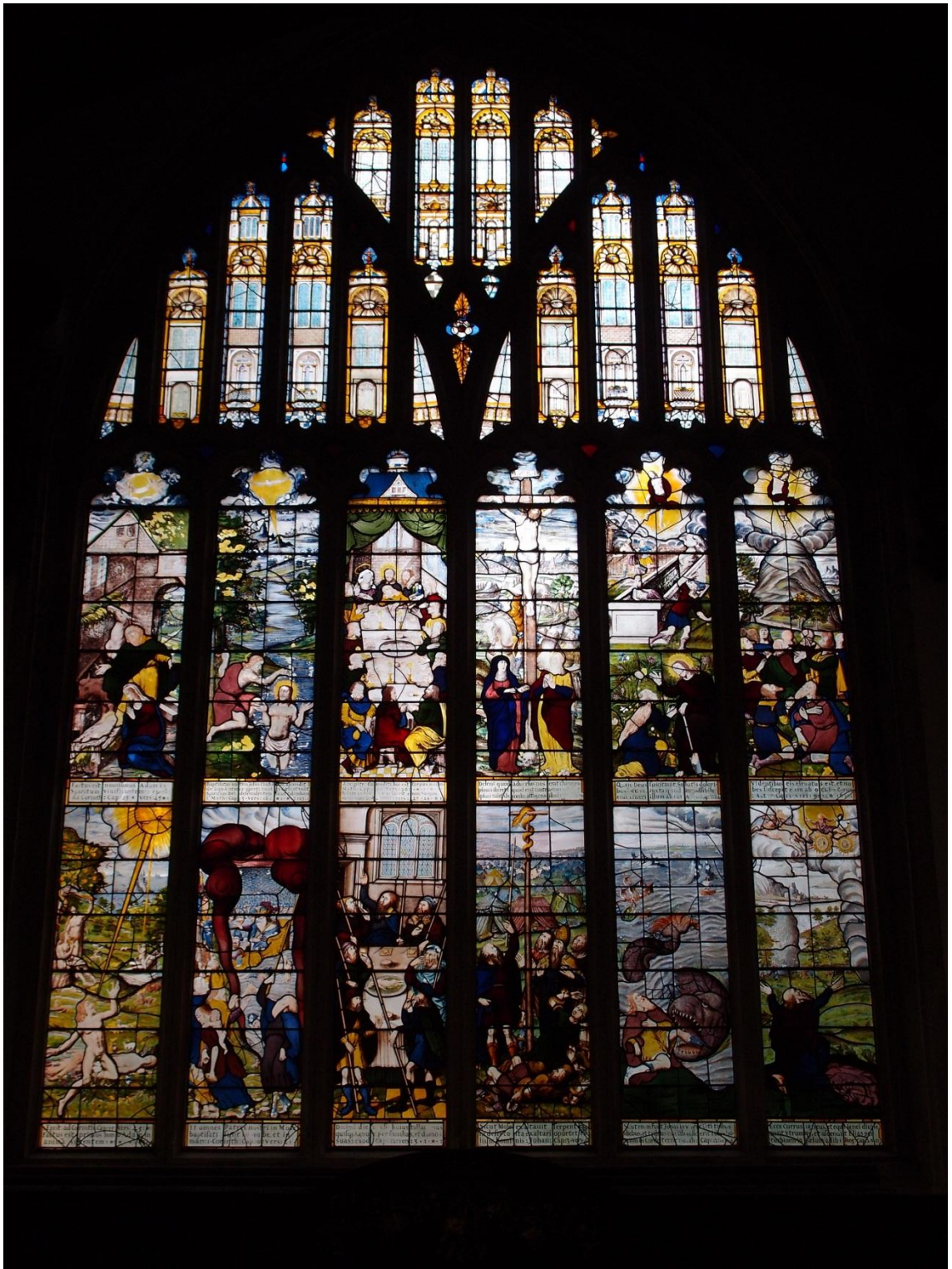


Figure 79:- Abraham van Linge. Sequence of typological comparisons, dated 1631, East window, Lincoln College chapel. The Creation of Man, the Nativity; the Parting of the Red Sea, the Baptism of Christ; the Passover, the Last Supper; the Brazen Serpent, the Crucifixion; Jonah disgorged by the Whale, the Resurrection; the Ascent of Elijah, the Ascension.



Figure 80 (Above):- Oriel College, Oxford. East range of the Front Quadrangle, looking east, dated c.1637-42.



Figure 81 (Left):- Oriel College, Oxford. Detail of a window on the south wall of the chapel, dated c.1637-42.

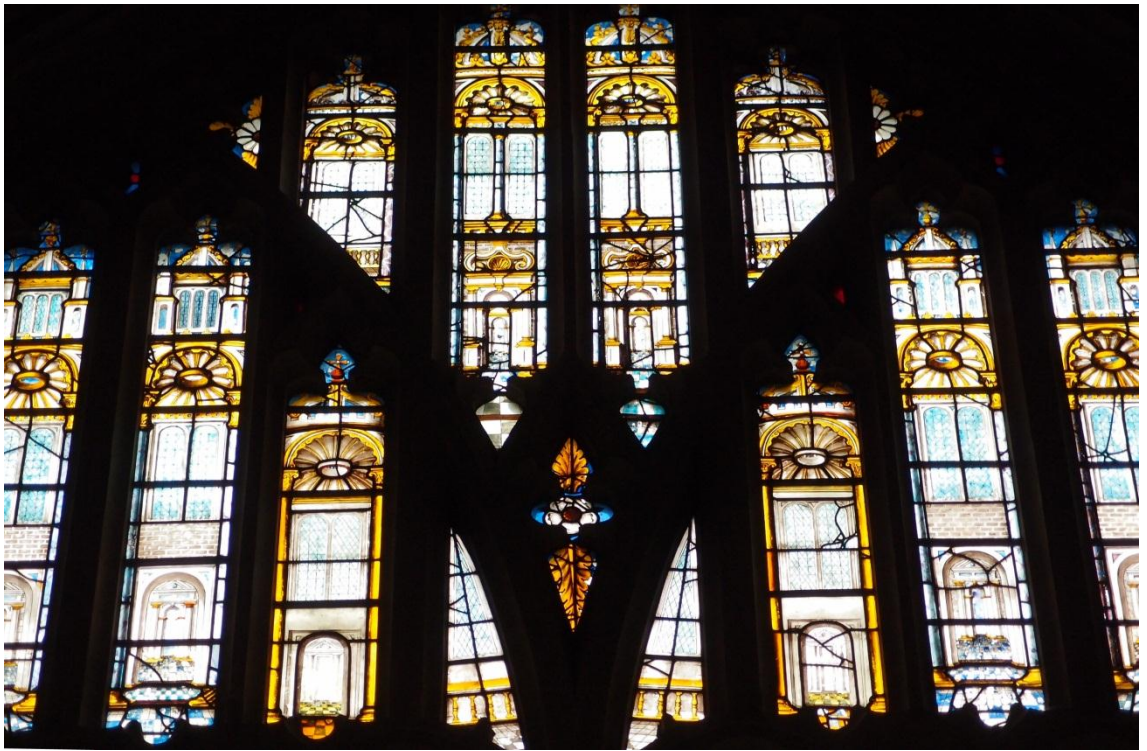


Figure 82:- Abraham van Linge. East window tracery lights of architectural motifs, dated 1631, Lincoln College Chapel, Oxford.

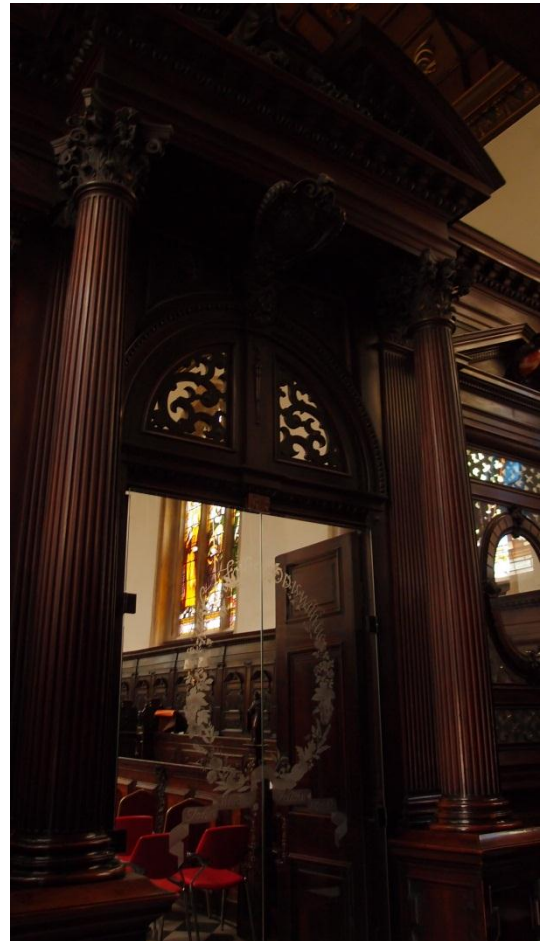


Figure 83:- Lincoln College Chapel, Oxford. Detail of wainscot panelling behind stalls, dated c.1629-32.



Figure 84 (*Above*):- Lincoln College Chapel.
Antechapel screen from the east, here dated
c.1629-32.

Figure 85 (*Right*):- Lincoln College Chapel.
Detail of the Antechapel screen from the west,
here dated c.1629-32.



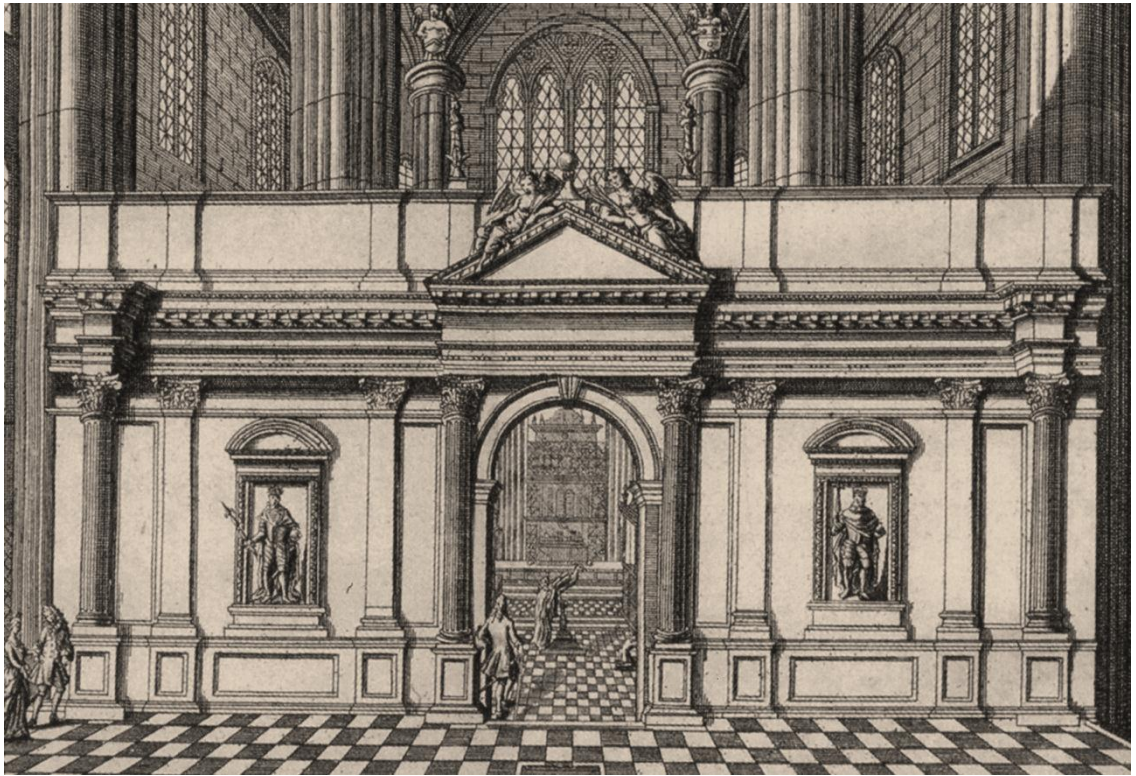


Figure 86:- Inigo Jones. Pulpitum of Winchester Cathedral, dated 1637. Detail of engraving by Charles Woodfield (1714).



Figure 87:- Lincoln College chapel. The cedarwood Holy Table, dated c.1629-32.

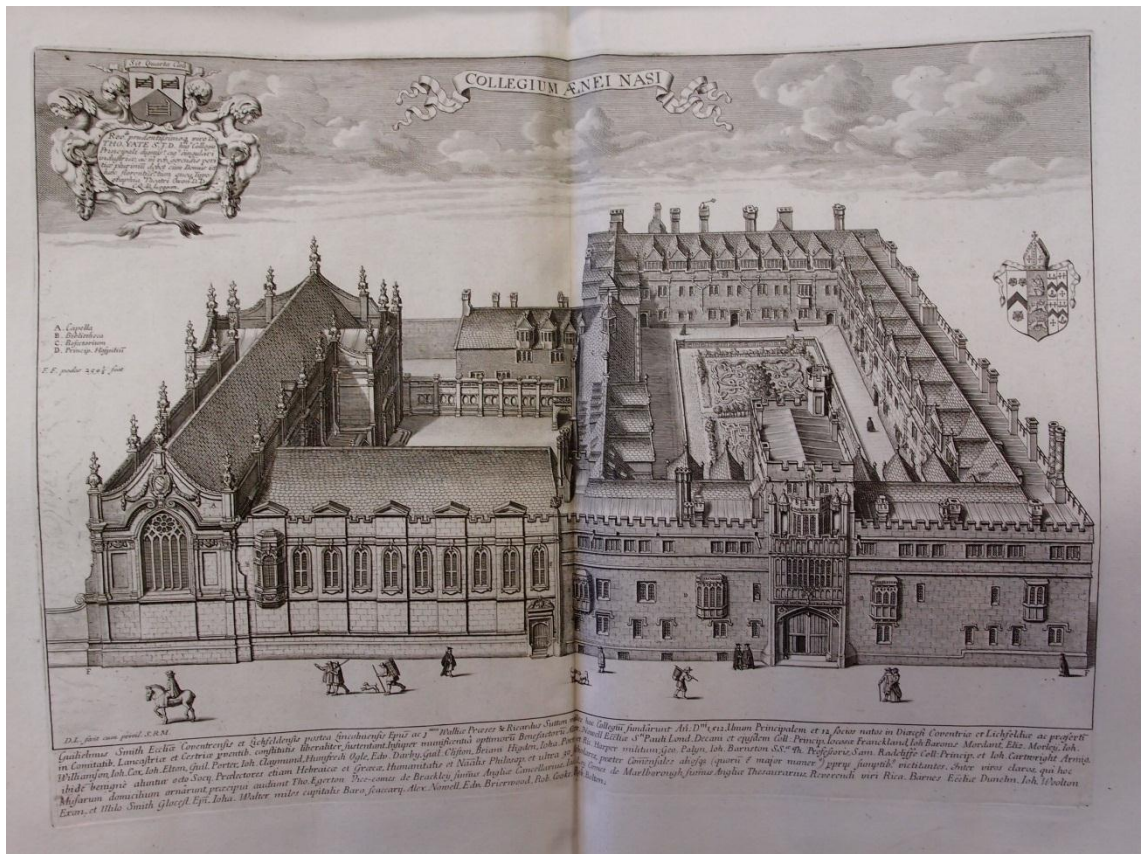


Figure 88:- David Loggan. 'Collegium Ænei Nasi' - aerial view of Brasenose College, from *Oxonia Illustrata* (1675), the chapel (labelled 'A'), looking west.



Figure 89:- Brasenose College, Oxford. Busts of the College founders, carved by Hugh Davies, 1636.



Figure 90:- Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Roof of the hall, attributed to Humphrey Coke, second decade of the sixteenth century.



Figure 91 (Above):- Brasenose College chapel, designed by John Jackson, 1656-59. Exterior of the north wall and cloister, looking south.



Figure 92 (Left):- Brasenose College chapel, designed by John Jackson, 1656-59. Exterior of the east wall, looking south-west.

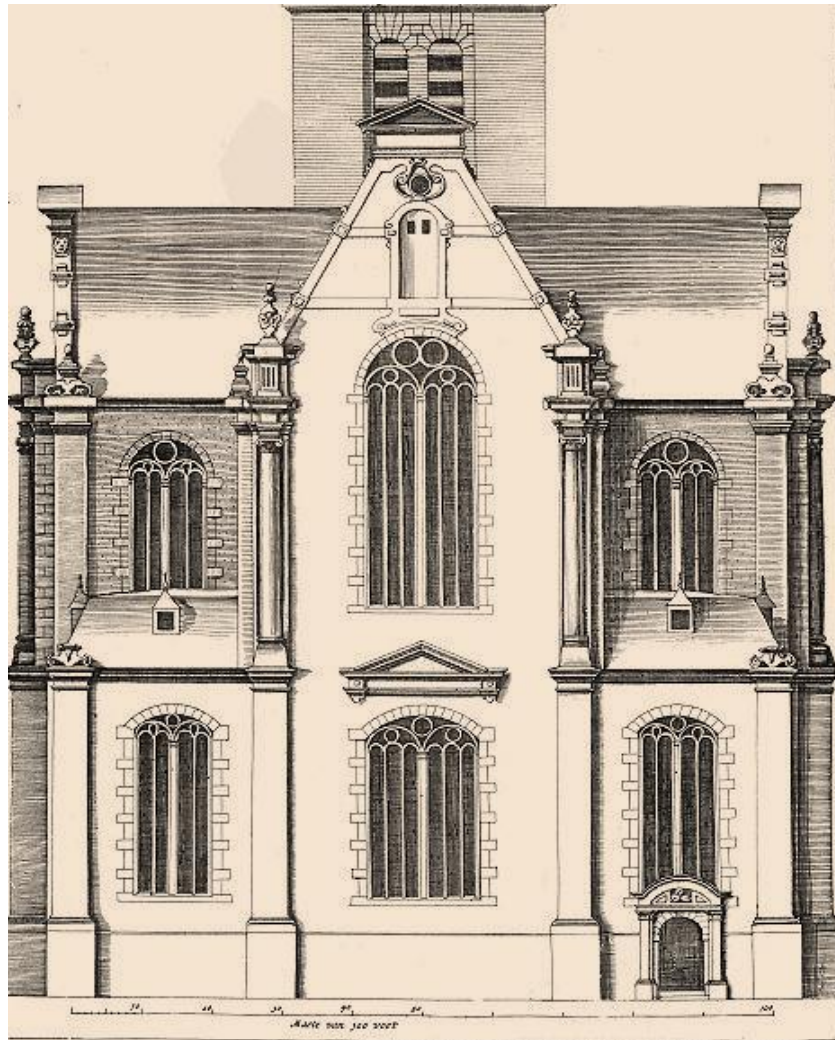


Figure 93:- Salomon de Bray. Elevation of the Westkerk, Amsterdam, designed by Hendrick der Keyser, built 1620-31, from *Architectura Moderna* (1631).

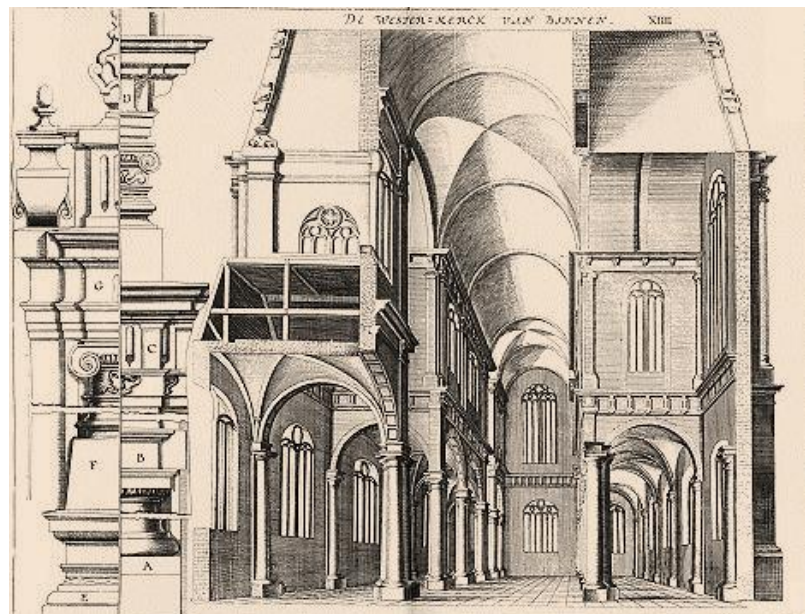


Figure 94:- Salomon de Bray. Latitudinal cross-section of the Westkerk, Amsterdam, with architectural details, from *Architectura Moderna* (1631).

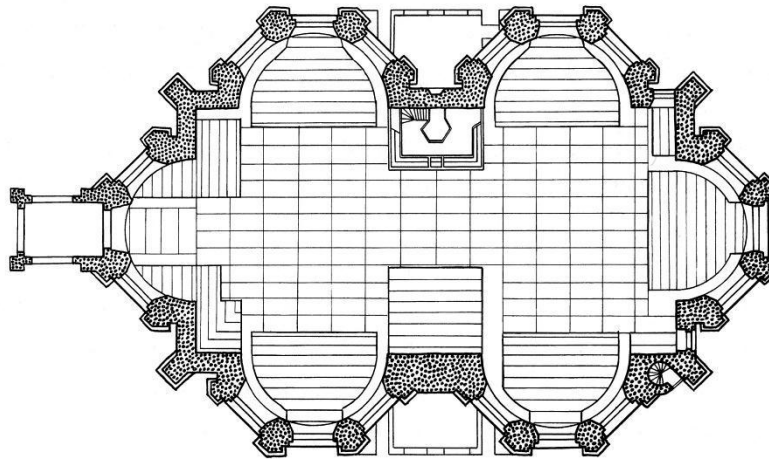
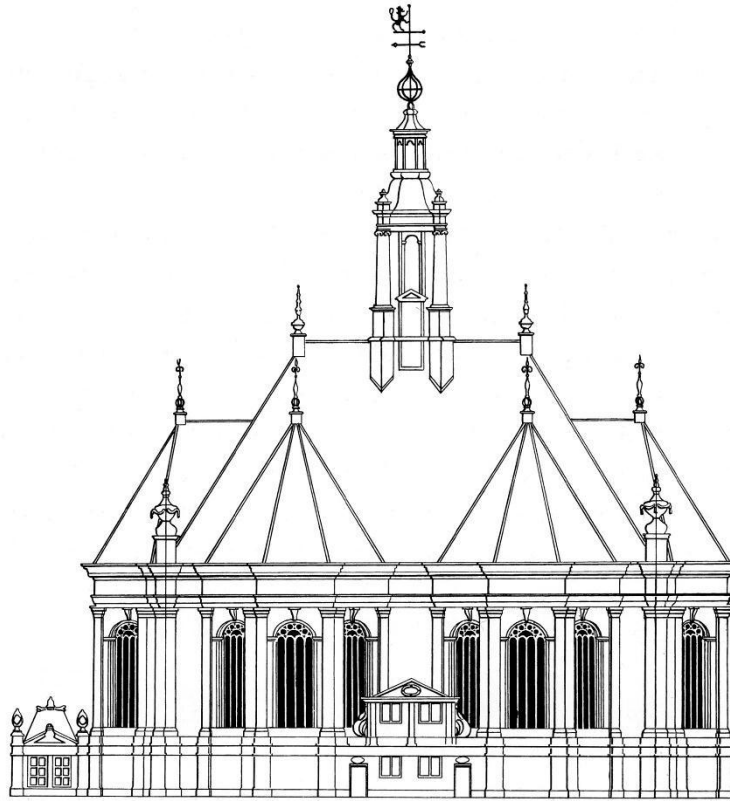


Figure 95:- Elevation and ground plan of the Nieuwe Kerk, The Hague, designed by Peter Aaronsz Noorwits, built 1649-65.



Figure 96:- Christ Church, Oxford. Tom Quadrange, showing the responds for the projected cloister, as left in 1529.



Figure 97:- Christ Church, Oxford. Fan vault over the hall stairs, attributed to Robert Smith, dated c.1636-38.

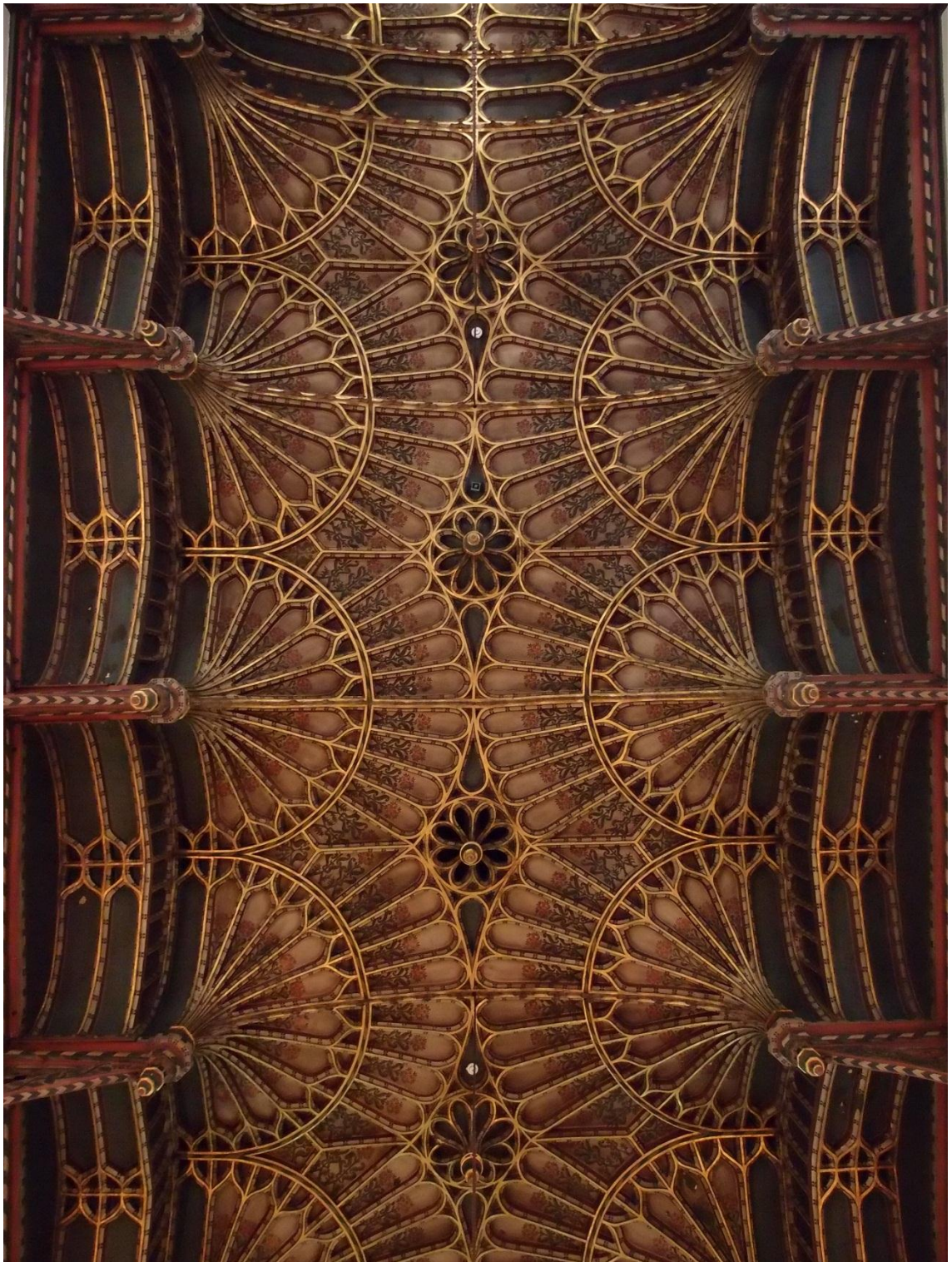


Figure 98:- Brasenose College chapel. Fan vault, designed by John Jackson, constructed 1658-59.

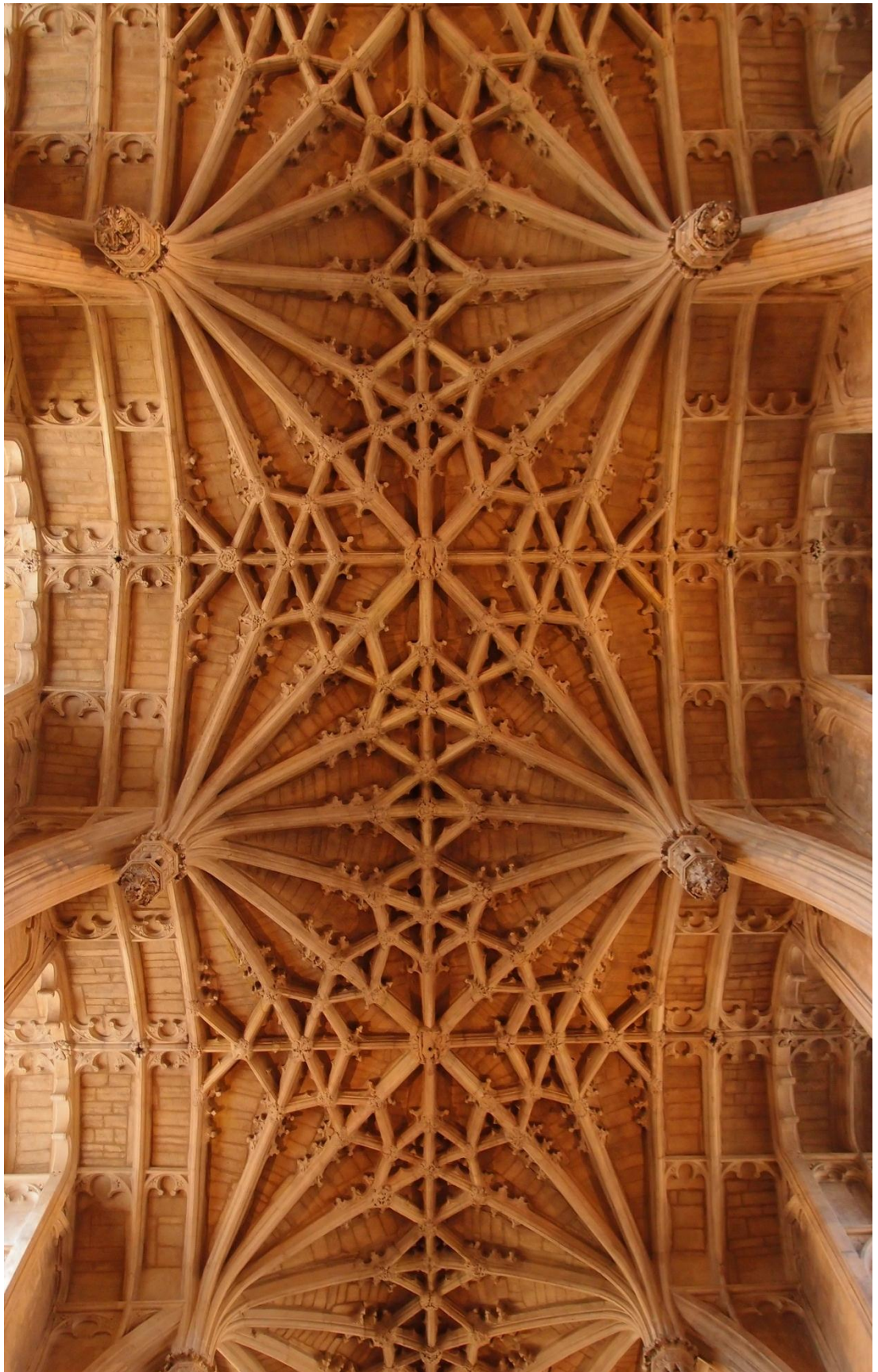


Figure 99:- Christ Church cathedral, Oxford. Vault over the quire, attributed to William Orchard, dated c.1500.



Figure 100:- Porch of the University Church, Oxford, design attributed to Nicholas Stone, executed by John Jackson, dated 1637.